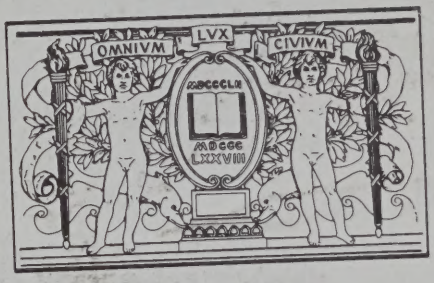
QUO FATA FERUNT



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BERMUDAS OR SOMERS ISLANDS

VOL. I.

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MEMORIALS OF THE

DISCOVERY AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

OF THE

BERMUDAS OR SOMERS ISLANDS

1515–1685

COMPILED FROM THE COLONIAL RECORDS
AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES

MASSACHUSETTS STATE

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL J. H. LEFROY, R.A., C.B., F.R.S.

HON. MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SOMETIME GOVERNOR OF THE BERMUDAS

VOL. I.

1515–1652

WITH MAP

LONDON

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1877

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PREFACE.

THIS COMPILATION of Colonial records was commenced by the writer as a congenial employment and upon his own responsibility, but not without a hope that their intrinsic historical interest, especially to residents in Bermuda, and to many of the visitors who now resort to the islands in pursuit of health, would justify their publication as a private enterprise, if public aid were not forthcoming. But the liberality of the Legislature of the colony has removed all difficulty on that score, by a Resolution, dated August 2, 1876, which provides for the entire cost of printing and publishing the present work. The Editor's only anxiety, therefore, is to do justice to the natural desire of the descendants of the early settlers for details which are principally of a local interest, relating to persons and places chiefly familiar to themselves, without relinquishing the hope that readers unacquainted with the colony may find in these pages a picture of English life and society in the seventeenth century, which has claims to their notice.

Nor could the writer forget that, if there are too many persons whose associations with the name are painful, a very much larger number may be found with whom they are wholly agreeable: officers of the army and navy of every rank, and the families of hundreds of them,

who look back to the days spent in Bermuda as among the happiest of their lives, and who enquired in vain for the information these volumes afford, when they were on the spot.

It is somewhat like reading history through a telescope reversed to follow the struggles of the English Revolution on the miniature stage of the Somers Islands. To see the shadow of a war pass, and the garrison of the King's Castle reinforced by five men ;[1] to find Royalists and Roundheads, Anglicans, Independents and Presbyterians, in turn persecuting or being persecuted, but all of one mind as regards Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists and Quakers.

The great Plague and the Fire of London both find their place in these records, and influenced the distant colony : but it is curious to observe, notwithstanding Defoe, how much less impression the former produced than the latter.

So far as the writer has been able to learn, there is no British colony of the seventeenth century whose social history can be so fully traced, or dates from so early a stage of settlement; and it presents a more faithful picture of the habits, manners, and morals of the mother-country than at first might be expected. The Bermuda Company may be said to have been organized on co-operative principles, and there was a great deal more personal communication between the settlers and the mother-country than, looking to the length and discomforts of the passage, would appear probable. Many of the proprietors never visited their estates ; but, on the other hand, many of them were residents. These retained all their privileges and voted at Quarter Courts when their occasions took them home.[2] Those settlers who were free

[1] In 1627 ; p. 441.

[2] Not always without dispute. Thus the Governor and Council write to the Company, 10 March, $167\frac{1}{6}$:—'Wee observing Captain John Jenkins to have signed your generall Letter, Wee think fitt to informe your Hon^rs that wee conceiue

of City companies retained their franchise even to the extent of being able to make their apprentices in Bermuda free of the same companies.[1] The bulk of the industrial class, however, were halvers; that is to say, tenants paying half the produce by way of rent, whose interests were usually in conflict with the landlords. And there were the servants or apprentices, who were bound for a term of years, and at the expiration of it sometimes remained as freemen, sometimes went home. To these were added by the civil wars a considerable number of Scotch and Irish prisoners, who were convicts at large. Thus the little community possessed very varied elements of English life, and was indeed a piece of England itself, only modified by the novel conditions of climate and soil in which it was planted. As for the slaves, whether Indian or Negro, it never occurred to anybody in that age that they had personal rights; and they enter no more into the political constitution of society than the cattle or other chattels of their masters.

There does not appear to have been wilful misrepresentation in the stories circulated by the companions of Sir George Somers (or Summers, for the words are one); nevertheless the plantation originated in erroneous and delusive expectations, and the strict monopoly the proprietors endeavoured to secure was from the first a source of perpetual difficulty. Their opinion that it was no commonwealth, but a private inheritance enclosed to the use of the purchasers,[2] was one it was impossible to maintain against English settlers. It was not at once perceived that the resources which so dazzled the shipwrecked crew were only skin-deep. They were exhausted in the using.

that he hath alienated all his interest in theis Islands And therefore Wee do desire you to demand of him by what Right he sitteth a member of that your Honoble Court.'

[1] See the Indenture of Robert Day, 1625, p. 352.

[2] See p. 357.

Ambergris, then worth 3*l.* an ounce, was not 'driven ashore by every storm where the wind bloweth.'[1] The abundance of turtle, fish, and fowl rapidly came to an end. The islands had no natural advantage over countries nearer the market in regard to any of the productions recommended to the first settlers as 'marchandize than which there could be no better sent for England,'[2] and tobacco was exposed to competition from so many quarters, that its value must have rapidly declined without the crushing effect of the taxes upon it.

Waller might write—

> Figs there implanted through the fields do grow
> Such as fierce Cato did the Romans show.
> Tobacco is the worst of things, which they
> To English landlords, as their tribute pay.
> Such is the mould that the bless'd tenant feeds
> On precious fruits, and pays his rent in weeds.'

But the tenant drew a different picture.

Such, however, was the tenor of the first accounts, although there were not wanting grave heads that doubted;[3] and whether it were from the romance of the *Sea Venture*, or the early disasters of the Virginian plantation, or from really statesman-like views that the new possession was 'a bit to rule a great horse,'[4] an advantage against the naval power of Spain, or from the general awakening of the enterprise and imagination of the day, certain it is the Somers Islands enjoyed for a few years a reputation for importance which they scarcely deserved.[5] It can

[1] P. 111. [2] P. 117.
[3] See Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, 1616, p. 126.
[4] P. 494.
[5] It is one of the evidences of this reputation, that the map given in the present volume from Richard Norwood's first survey was twice or three times engraved. Besides the plate of Abraham Goos, dated 1626, here reproduced, there is another of the same date by Henricus Hondius, and there is a third also by Hondius, dated 1630. This may indeed be the same plate as the second; but if so, some of the details have been altered. The first two, although bearing different names, and slightly different titles, are so identical in their delineation of the islands, that they can scarcely be distinguished. See *Atlas* sive Cosmographicæ meditationes de Fabrica mundi et Fabricati Figura. Primum a Gerardo Mercatore

best be compared to the short-lived glitter of the Swan River Settlement, forty years ago. They preserved for a much longer period characteristics which belong now only to the larger dependencies. They provided for their own defence, raised and paid a militia, cultivated branches of industry long since driven away, and were self-dependent for most of the necessaries of life. The centralization of modern times, whatever its advantages, has deprived small colonies of many valuable elements of social life.

The question whether Shakespeare had the Isla de Demonios in view in writing the 'Tempest' can scarcely be passed over in treating of the Bermudas. That the play does not contain a single plain allusion, and very few phrases, which, taken apart from their context, have a local colour, is very apparent. The flight of his fancy also divided 'the still vexed Bermoothes' from the island of Prospero by perhaps an imaginary severance;[1] but it was in his time believed that the true Bermudas were another group not now to be found;[2] and not only are the early accounts very imperfectly descriptive, but it is also obvious that to look for attention to details in such a flight of glorious invention would be dull in the last degree. Malone was assuredly right in considering the circumstances attending the storm by which Sir George Somers was wrecked as having suggested the title and some of the incidents of the play; and the passages quoted at pages 23-27 go far to prove that William Strachey's narra-

inchoatæ, deinde a Indico Hondio piæ memoriæ ad finem productæ, jam vero multis in locis emendatæ—et de novo in novum Editæ Edit 10me Sumptibus n typis æneis Henrici Hondii Amsterolami AnD 1630.

[1] In the deep nook where once
Thou calledst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still vexed Bermoothes. There she's hid.

The name is spelt Bermootha in marginal notes to King James's Charter of 1615.

[2] See note, p. 30.

tive, published before its appearance, was the one he had before him.

Next to Shakespeare, it is to Edmund Waller that the Bermudas owe their place in English literature; but his poem of the 'Battle of the Summer Islands' bears strong internal proofs that he never was there. No man who had seen the tree would have written of

> The lofty cedar which to heaven aspires.

An epithet could not be less happy.

> With the sweet sound of Sacharissa's name
> I'll make the listening savages grow tame,

is a boast applicable to Virginia, but not to Bermuda, where there were none. His praises of the climate and the fruits bear much more the stamp of imagination than of experience; and as there is no evidence at all that he ever was in the islands, but on the contrary a great difficulty in reconciling such a visit with other well-known facts of his career, it must be given up. It would have been scarcely possible for so great a wit and so active a politician to have lived and moved in the little community without leaving traces of his residence; but there are none. The only Wallers mentioned about this time, who may have been his relatives, are Roger Waller in 1628 and John Waller in 1644, both in rather humble circumstances. The name occurs often enough.

The mathematical publications of Richard Norwood are now forgotten, but his name is more familiar than that of any of his contemporaries in Bermuda, being inseparably associated with the land settlement of the islands, which he twice surveyed. He was among the original settlers taken out by Richard Moore in 1612, and, with the exception of an interval of about sixteen years, 1623–1638, during which he measured the arc of the Meridian between London and York, he lived and died in

the islands. He was councillor for Devon or Pembroke tribes for many years, and his letters, preserved in the Public Record Office in London, throw a great light on the religious controversies of the day. He was not above the superstition of his generation in respect to witchcraft, and he did not escape the suspicion of being a wizard himself. A note-book of his, probably containing many mathematical figures, was burnt by one of his descendants within the present century, to keep her children from studying its perilous contents.

The beautiful and often-quoted poem of Andrew Marvel—

> Where the remote Bermudas ride
> On Ocean's bosom unespied—

inserted in ch. ix., is not known to be based on any historical fact. If any of the Puritan party sought refuge here from 'prelates' rage,' of which there is no evidence, it must have occurred between 1620 and 1640, when many of them found an asylum in New England. The records are complete enough for the first half of this period to show that nothing of the kind then occurred, as they are also in the years 1639 and 1640. There is an interval of five years, 1634-8, of which we know very little, and then, if ever, 'the holy and the harmless note' must have been heard. It coincides with the crisis of the struggle at home, when John Hampden made his name immortal, and before the Long Parliament had entered on its course of resistance to royal and prelatical usurpations; but it is singular that, if any extensive religious immigration occurred during this short interval, we should find no allusion to it. The incident before the poet's eye was probably of a private character, and the arrival of the *Dorset* about August 1635, bringing out as she did at least three prominent members of the Puritan

party,[1] may have given rise to it; but, on the other hand, it is certain from the private letters of Captain Roger Wood that the discipline of the Church of England was strictly enforced in 1634, and a few casual arrivals can scarcely have made a change all at once. In January 1634, he writes that he has received the Books of Homilies, and addressed them so far as they will serve to the six tribes. To another correspondent about the same time he complains of the veneration of antiquities, and of the Company having ordered the reading of Homilies, made in King Edward's days, in all the churches, so that all the famous divines, of whose writings there were great plenty among them, must give way to those old Homilies. The Independents in Bermuda did not formally separate themselves from the Church of England before 1644; and were then so far in a minority that the Royalist party was able to banish the Rev. Nathaniel White, their leader, to Eleutheria in 1649. These are considerations against the supposition that the islands were ever an asylum for persecuted saints.

There are few, if any, other names by which the Somers Islands have become known to literature, until we come to that of Thomas Moore in quite recent times. A small volume of Latin poems, called 'Musæ Somerensis,' was published by Mr. George Stirke, son of a Bermudian minister of that name, who graduated at Harvard College in 1655;[2] and the Rev. Nathaniel Bernard, Rev. Patrick Copeland, Rev. Nathaniel White, all contributed to the controversial literature of their day. The only writing of the former, however, which the editor has been able to find, is a sermon published in 1644, on the text, 'For

[1] Rev. John Oxenbridge, Josias Forster, and W. Wilkinson.

[2] 'Biogr. Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University,' by John Langdon Sibley, 1873. Rev. George Stirke, the father, seems also to have indulged in 'poesie.'

rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king.' (1 Sam. xv. 23.)

The Editor first became aware in 1872 that there were in the custody of the Clerk of Her Majesty's Council in Bermuda, a number of bundles of old papers, and tattered volumes, without covers, of whose contents nothing was officially known, and which in all probability had been in much the same state since the seat of government was transferred from the ancient capital of St. George's to Hamilton, in the year 1815. Other volumes of equal antiquity, and in nearly as lamentable a state, were found in the office of the Colonial Secretary. On examination, no doubt remained that they contained the civil records of the colony from its very commencement, and were well worth the labour of rearrangement, which the writer undertook. The original quality of the paper in the great books was so excellent, that notwithstanding long neglect, the ravages of insects, and the effects of a very damp climate, the pages were generally entire, except at the margins, and pretty complete. To this, however, one volume, which ought to contain records running from 1639 to 1660, is an exception; much of it is wanting. The paper is very poor, and it is so much devoured that the leaves hardly hold together. It was only possible to handle them by placing each between two leaves of clean paper, which has also, as a matter of precaution, been done for nearly all the others of early date. The ink was in some parts so much faded as to require the application of a reviving fluid; but, generally speaking, the superiority of the paper, ink, and penmanship to those of the present day is marked enough.

The Orders and Constitutions of the Bermuda Company, dated February 6, 1622, which will be found in the text, define the position and duties of the Secretary in Bermuda, in seven articles (see page 182). He was required to keep (1) a register of the decrees and orders of the Council (§158), which we have from March 1626; (2) a register-book of verdicts and judgments at the Assizes (§159)—these were entered in the same volume; (3) a register of Acts of the General Assembly, of which he was *ex officio* the Speaker (§ 160); (4) a register of wills (§ 161); (5) a register of births, deaths and marriages (§ 161), and (6) a list of passengers and immigrants arriving (§ 162). Some of these were entered in duplicate for the information of the Sheriff and other officers; and besides fair copies, there were rough minute-books also in use, to receive the original entries, some of which have been preserved. It is much to be regretted that no trace exists in the colony of the list of passengers and immigrants; but it is not impossible that it may still be found in the Record Office or the British Museum. Concurrently with the issue of these ordinances, the Company transmitted a set of books, several of which were folios of very large size, calculated to last many years, and the first duty of the Secretary was to enter up in one of them the records of Assize since the first Assize of Daniel Tucker, in 1616. By a good fortune scarcely to be hoped for, this commencement was found; and although there was scarcely a trace of the writing discernible at first, it was ultimately deciphered. Of the records, if any there were, of the government of Richard Moore, no remains have been found. But many particulars have been preserved in Smith's 'History of Virginia,' and will be found in their proper place. No records of Council have been pre-

served of earlier date than March 4, 1626, after which they are pretty continuous, with two interruptions, one extending from 1631 to 1638, and the other from 1640 to 1647. Some few records of these periods have been found ; but the loss of the regular documents for so large a part of the reign of Charles I., and of the light they might probably have thrown upon the subsequent growth of religious and political discord, creates a degree of obscurity at a very important crisis.

The present state of the originals is as follows—detached quires and portions of books of different sizes not belonging to the large folios are distinguished by letters :—

(1) Volume I. folio, without covers—a few quires were imperfectly connected by remains of the original sewing, most of the leaves loose and without order, now arranged, and interleaved, originally about 400 pages—contains records of the Assizes from June 1616 to March 1631, and again from November 1638 to October 1640 ; records of Council from March 4, 1626, to November 1630 ; proclamations, presentments, petitions, a few letters from the Lords of the Privy Council, miscellaneous business, and Acts of Assembly, 1620.

(2) Fragment A, about 70 pages demy, contains copies of the commissions of Richard Moore, 1612, Daniel Tucker, 1616, and John Bernard, 1622 ; the oaths required to be taken by the Governor and all other officers ; the commission of certain Commissioners of Inquiry, 1622 ; two letters from the Privy Council, 1622-1623 ; a collection and record of all such things as were handled in the time of Captain Bernard's government, 1622 ; eight proclamations, warrants or instructions, 1622-1623 ; sixteen Acts of the General Assembly held in 1623 ; miscellaneous papers.

(3) Fragment B, about 56 pages foolscap; part of its contents are also copied in A.

Catalogue of martial officers in the time of Captain Nathaniel Butler; two letters, one from a settler in Virginia, the other from a parson in England, apparently addressed to the Secretary, Roger Wood; directions for conducting a criminal trial according to English forms, which Smith informs us were first used in June 1620; numerous proclamations, 1622-1623, by Governors John Bernard, John Harrison, Nathaniel Butler, and Philip Woodhouse; directions for the election of churchwardens and sidesmen; summons of a General Assembly and gaol delivery, 1623; memorials of grievances of the Governor and of the people.

(4) Fragment C, 12 pages foolscap, very closely written, containing copies of three long letters. The two first are initialled 'Jo. B.,' and were therefore written by Captain John Bernard, 1622. They seem to have been written from the Hague, and relate to some political transaction, apparently in Ireland, antecedent to his coming to Bermuda, in which one Ashepoole was concerned, and which was of sufficient consequence to be dealt with by the Privy Council; but, as the Editor has failed to obtain any clue to it, and as it does not appear to have any connection with Bermuda, these letters are omitted. The third letter was, by internal evidence, written to the Company by Captain Henry Woodhouse in 1625, and will be found in the text (p. 340).

(5) Fragment D, foolscap, paged from 57 to 86, contains letters from the Company to Capt. Henry Woodhouse in 1625; transactions growing out of the defiance of the Company's regulations by John Delbridge in 1626-7, and the record of a letter of marque issued in September 1627, when England was at war with Holland

and France. Most of these documents will be found in the text.

(6) Fragment E, 64 pages foolscap, contains Minutes of Council, records of Assize, and a great number of miscellaneous entries ranging in date from December 29, 1629, to September 1633, with some *lacunæ*; many of the pages are tattered and defective, and part of the contents are also found in Volume I.

(7) Fragment F. This is one of the most interesting, but at the same time the most decayed and imperfect, of all the remains. It is a rough letter-book of Captain Roger Wood, Secretary 1622-1629, Governor 1629-1637, and afterwards Councillor, Captain of Southampton Fort, &c. He lived until 1654. The letters were written 1631 to 1634. There is scarcely one which is entire, and from the abbreviations, interlineations, and crossings, as well as the bad writing, they are very illegible. The editor has therefore been able to make less use of them than he could have wished. Extracts will be found in the text.

(8) Volume II. The leaves to which we give this designation are entirely separate, and some quires of them in a decayed and tattered state. They are of folio size, numbered from 4 to 394, that is to say, complete all but two leaves, and contain chiefly indentures, powers of attorney, leases, deeds, and such like civil documents extending from 1636 to 1661. Among them, however, are some Minutes of Council and a few State papers: for example, the proclamation of the Long Parliament in 1645 (ch. ix.), establishing liberty of divine worship in the Somers Islands and elsewhere.

(9) Volume III. folio. The book thus numbered is, as to its contents, a continuation of Volume I., but it is very inferior to it in quality of paper and in penmanship. It is imperfect, and what remains very much decayed, about

one-fourth of every page in the first quire or two being wanting. The first page extant records proceedings against the Rev. Nathaniel White for nonconformity, in July 1647 (ch. ix.), and it contains Minutes of Council, records of Assize, presentments, proclamations, &c., ranging in date from 1647 to 1661. These include most of the trials for witchcraft, which commence in 1651. Without attributing its imperfect state to intentional injury, it shows a relaxation of official regularity during the civil war, which has unfortunately led to the loss of many customary civil records for several consecutive years, at a period when they might have been most interesting. The gap has been imperfectly filled from other sources, such as the controversial pamphlets of William Prynne and Winthrop's History of Massachusetts.

(10) Volume IV. folio. This book contains fair copies of the letters from the Company, and their inclosures, including orders of the Quarter Courts, from July 27, 1647, to October 25, 1613. All the leaves are loose, and the first of them very much mutilated; but the paper is of the same excellent quality as that of Vol. I., and the writing good. These letters contain the annual appointments of councillors and other officers, the Company's decisions on appeals, confirmations of Acts of the Assembly, laws enacted by the Company, directions concerning the Scotch prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester, many of whom were held to bondage in Bermuda, directions concerning the whale fishery, the correspondence which preceded the abolition of the Company by a writ of Quo Warranto in 1685; and generally, in modern language, all the despatches from the Company for thirty or forty years preceding its dissolution.

(11) Volume V. A folio of 840 pages, the quires of which are still attached, although the covers are wanting.

End A, paged from 1 to 526, commences with a copy of a deed of sale of two shares of land by the Right Hon. Sir Henry Riche, knight, Captain of His Majesty's Guard, second son of the Right Hon. the Earl of Warwick and the Lady Isabella his wife, to Henry Percy and Mary his wife, dated September 26, 1622. Jane Riche, a niece of this Sir Henry, married Thomas Grimsditch, and several families in Bermuda, Darrells, Harveys, and Hunts, trace descent from her. The next document is dated 1640, and the last 1667. The contents of this part of the volume are chiefly copies of deeds, powers of attorney, and similar documents.

End B (reversed) is paged from 1 to 314, and contains records of Council from April 1, 1661, to 1676, records of Assize, &c.

(12) Here in the order of date must be enumerated fragment G, consisting of two quires of a foolscap book relating to shipping transactions and the arrival and departure of ships and passengers between July 2, 1655, and April 2, 1671. The beginning is wanting.

Fragment H, 10 pages small foolscap, containing Acts of the General Assembly, held in January 1663.

(13) Fragment I, 32 folio pages, found among the leaves of Volume IX., with which at some former time they had been paged, but with so little attention that many of the folios were folded the wrong way and the dates much confused. They evidently do not belong to that volume, nor is it obvious that they belong to any other. The handwriting is that of Volume IV., of which they are an imperfect counterpart. They begin with the conclusion of a letter from Governor Whalley and his Council to the Bermuda Company, dated July —, 1668, and contain copies of annual general letters, written in answer to those received from the Company down to May 1677.

(14) Vol. VI., a thin foolscap folio of 100 pages, which contains the specifications or descriptive particulars transmitted by Richard Norwood in 1663 to the Bermuda Company, with his survey of that date. This precious volume, the Domesday Book of the colony, is written with extreme neatness, and, except that the ink has faded, is in excellent preservation, having been repaired and rebound in Russia in the best manner in London, in 1874. The title-page is

A Survey of Sommer Islands sometimes called Bermudas lying in the West Indies in the latitude 32° 20′ namely, the northermost part in the Latitude 32° 24½′ and the southermost in 32° 15′ and in Longitude from London near 64°-00 with all the Islands and Lands there or therevnto belonging.[1]

Taken there according to the order and appointment of the Right Honorable the Governour and Company of Adventurers for these Islands Anno 1662 and 1663 the perticulars whereof are here expressed, the numbers against each parcell having reference to those parcells as they are described in the mapp or Description of this country herewith sent

By Richard Norwood. S.

The signature is in Norwood's hand, which can be identified by other autographs of his, and so appears to be the text, although the writing is formal.

The history of this volume, and of the map now accompanying it, is curious, and their identification as originals being a matter of importance, because, unlike the other documents, they have not been handed down in an unbroken charge, a short space may be devoted to it.

It is certain that there were no originals or authentic copies of Norwood's surveys in the Secretary's office in 1801, when the House of Assembly presented an address to Governor Beckwith, requesting him 'to authorize some proper person to procure and make a correct copy of Norwood's Chart of Survey of these Islands, and of the

[1] The Longitude is about 1° too much to the East, the Latitude only 3′ or 4′ too far to the North.

Book of directions accompanying it, to be deposited in the Secretary's Office for public use.' The terms used imply that the existence of the chart and book was known, and that they were accessible.

On April 30, 1802, the Governor communicated to the Assembly 'a copy of Norwood's Survey and Book, taken by the Worshipful John Van Norden, Esquire, Mayor of the town of St. George's, which in compliance of the Resolution of the House at the close of the last Session, he most readily undertook, upon the Governor's application, and which this gentleman is now desirous to present, without remuneration, for the public service; the proprietor of the original Survey having lent it with the utmost cheerfulness for this purpose.' The House thereupon appointed a Committee to compare the copy with the original, which we must presume to have been done, but there is no record of their report.

The copies so executed and so compared are still extant in the Secretary's office, and copies of the map were made again in 1834.

In the meantime, however, all clue to the originals was lost, and when in 1843 it became of great importance to refer to them in connection with some litigation about Crown lands, the then Attorney-General, now the Honorable John Harvey Darrell, ex-Chief-Justice of Bermuda, found it impossible to trace them. Mr. Darrell, however, on whose report to Governor Reid in 1843, and communications to the present writer, the whole of this narrative is founded, in the course of his enquiries ascertained that there was a MS. in the British Museum, catalogued 'Harl. Biblio. 6669, Norwood's Survey, &c. of Bermuda,' a copy of which, by the kindness of Sir Frederick Madden, was transmitted to the colony, and is proved to be one (for there were at least two) of Norwood's originals. The

map was not then discovered: but it turned up not long after in the State Paper Office to which Mr. Darrell had been directed casually in the course of his indefatigable researches. This map, of which a very beautifully executed copy was also procured for the colony, and is carefully preserved, was headed

A Mapp or Description of Sommer Islands sometimes called Bermudas lying in the West Indies in the Northerly Latitude of thirty-two degrees twenty minutes and differing in Longitude from the City of London neare sixty foure degrees distant by sea reckoning from Cape Hatterask in South Virginia being the nearest knowne land foure hundred and twenty miles towards the east-south-east halfe a point southerly

The numbers in the mapp have referense to the names of the present owners and tennants in each Tribe and of the publique lands as they are expressed in the booke of the suruey of the Country herewith sent.

The Castle and Forts I have delineated in the Booke. The Soundings, Channels, Rocks and shoulds or ledges About these Islands I thought it not convenient to expresse, especially having no such order from you the Hon^{ble} Company

Your honours to be commanded

RICHARD NORWOOD.

Copied from the original map transmitted by Alured Popple Esq. Gov^{r} of Bermudas to the Board of Trade the 10th of May 1739

By GABRIEL MATHIAS

There is no date showing when Gabriel Mathias copied it.

However satisfactory the acquisition of these authentic copies of English originals, it left unsolved the question what had become of the Bermuda originals which had been referred to in 1802. It was not until 1846 that Mr. Darrell, who never lost sight of the subject, obtained the clue which led to their ultimate recovery. He ascertained from private papers placed in his hands that there formerly was a map and book of Norwood's survey, supposed to be originals made by his own hand, in the

possession of Governor Alured Popple,[1] who was said to have purchased them for ten pistoles (about 8*l.*) It was ascertained that after his death this possession was carried by his widow to England, and in 1752 sold by her to Mr. Thomas Parsons for the same sum. Parsons purchased them on behalf of Mr. Jeremiah Burch, of Bermuda, and sent them out to him by the vessel 'Relief,' Josias Forster, master.

It was next ascertained that a daughter of Mr. Jeremiah Burch had married Mr. Henry Harvey, of Mangrove Bay, Bermuda, after whose death they were seen by many persons in possession of his nephew, Mr. B. D. Harvey,

[1] Governor Alured Popple died in 1744, and his administration does not fall within the scope of this work, but the reader will pardon the introduction here of the remarkable epitaph in St. George's parish church, which at once celebrates his many virtues and castigates some courtier or minister of the day. It was evidently executed in England.

Died at Bermuda November 17 1744
in the 46th year of his age
The good Governor
ALURED POPPLE Esq^re^
During the course of his Administration
which to the inconsolable grief of the Inhabitants
continued but six years
of the many strangers who resorted hither for their health
The *observant* easily discovered in him
Under the graceful veil of modesty
an understanding and abilities equal
To a more important trust
The *Gay* and *Polite* were charmed with the unaffected
Elegance and amiable simplicity of his manners
and ALL were chear'd
By his hospitality and diffusive benevolence
which steadily flowed and undisturbed (*sic*)
from the Heart
To praise according to his Merit
The Deceased
would be but too sensible a reproach
To the Living
and to enumerate the many rare virtues
which shone united on the Governor
of that little spot
were to tell how many great talents
and Excellent Endowments are
wanting in some
Whom the capriciousness of Fortune
exposes
In more elevated and conspicuous stations.

who died in 1836. Finally, the book and map were found in the possession of a gentleman connected with the family, who had forgotten them, and they were both restored to the Harvey family.

They had still another adventure to undergo. They were borrowed by one of the litigants in the suit referred to, then the Colonial Secretary, and by this means got back into official custody, from which the book does not seem to have since escaped. The map, however, some years afterwards was reclaimed, and again forgotten ; the present writer, at that time ignorant of these particulars, learnt after numerous enquiries that a lady residing in St. Georges had a very old and highly valued map, supposed to be Norwood's, which she was so good as to send for examination. Shortly afterwards, another person hearing that the map was in the Governor's possession, wrote to claim it, and as the rightful owner requested that it might on no account be given up, it remained in his safe keeping until her death. The lady was the widow of the late Mr. Seth Harvey, some time Solicitor-General of Bermuda, which gentleman had inherited it from his father, Ben jamin Dickinson Harvey, who bought it from the executors of his uncle Henry Harvey, who had obtained both book and map by his marriage with the daughter of Jeremiah Burch. And thus the links of descent were completed, and no doubt remained that it was the identical map purchased by Governor Alured Popple nearly a century and a half before.

It is drawn on vellum to a scale of about 2·66 inches to one mile; but now very much faded. It was also in a lamentable state of dilapidation, almost in shreds. But Her Majesty's Council in Bermuda purchased it at a liberal rate of the family representative in 1873, and it has since been very skilfully mounted and repaired.

The title is word for word the same as that of the copy in the State Paper Office, which is only slightly more modern in spelling.

To revert to the Records:

(15) Volume VII. was originally a folio of 355 pages, designated in the Secretary's office, 'Wills No. 4.' A portion of it, paged 1 to 136, now detached, contained copies of wills proved 1707 to 1712; but the rest of the book, paged 1 to 219, contained Minutes of Council, and this has been separately numbered, as above. These Minutes range in date from December 11, 1676, to February 1689, and therefore include the period of the transfer of the government from the Bermuda Company to the Crown; but there is no direct or formal record of that event to be found, except a portion of a law document in Latin, bearing date Hilary term 35 and 36, Charles II., which appears to be the judgment of the court at Westminster in the Quo Warranto, by which the charter of the Company was declared to be forfeited to the Crown. Mr. J. H. Darrell has taken the trouble to translate it, but it extends no further than the recitals, which are of inordinate length, and it would appear as if a period of some confusion and irregularity preceded the transfer, as in fact is proved by a letter of February 21, 1681 (see VII. p. 99), addressed by the Lords of the Council to Sir J. Heyden for the purpose of enforcing the Company's waning authority. There are Minutes of Council in the latter years of the government of Sir John Heyden, of Captain Florentia Seymour, Captain H. Durham, Colonel R. Coney, the actual Governor at the time of the issue of the Judgment upon the writ of Quo Warranto, and of Sir R. Robinson, who was, after an interval of two years, appointed by the Crown to succeed him, and entered upon his office April 12, 1687. The book con-

tains also the records of Assize, 1676 to 1681, and miscellaneous civil documents.

(16) Volume VIII., a folio of about 300 pages, originally numbered in the Secretary's office 'Bonds, bills, grants, No. 5.'

This book commences with the deed of sale of two shares of land, one in Hamilton tribe, one at the Overplus dated May 16, 1677, reciting previous conveyances from 1657.

It contains the instructions of Charles II. to Governor R. Coney, dated May 19, anno regni 32 (1680), appointing William Blathwayt surveyor and auditor-general of all the royal revenues arising in America, with a salary of 500*l.* sterling, to be raised as follows :—

Out of the revenue	of Virginia	£100	per annum
„	of Barbadoes	150	„
„	of the Leeward Carribee Islands	100	„
„	of Jamaica	150	„
		£500	

All governors, deputy-governors, councils, commanders, and their and every of their subordinate officers and ministers, and all and every collector, receiver, treasurer, &c., are required to be aiding and assisting him or his deputy in the premises. Although the Somers Islands are not mentioned by name, and were not to contribute, they appear to be embraced in the scope of the commission.

The next entry is an order of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, dated Whitehall, November 6, 1686, containing the appointment of Colonel R. Coney as royal Governor, and of his Council, requiring him to transmit quarterly a particular account and journal of all matters of importance, whether civil, ecclesiastical, or military, which shall concern His Majesty's Bermudas or Somers Islands, &c.

This is followed by the instructions of James II. to Sir Robert Robinson, dated November 23, 1686, empowering the above-mentioned William Blathwayt, Esq., surveyor and auditor-general of royal revenues in America, to exercise his office in Bermuda without any impediment or interruption whatsoever. Then follows one Act of Governor Sir R. Robinson imposing a tax on all strong liquors imported, to which there is no date, and eight Acts passed by the General Assembly held March 1691 under Governor Isaac Richier. These Acts, all but two of them, are included in a small folio printed volume, which is exceedingly scarce, but can be consulted in the Secretary's office, Bermuda.[1]

The rest of the contents of Volume VIII. belong to a period considerably later than we are concerned with.

(17) Volume IX. A folio of about 418 pages originally numbered in the Secretary's office 'Deeds Bonds markt C N° 11.' (*sic*). It commences with an entry dated April 12, 1677, and contains the same class of documents as Volume II.—that is to say, indentures, deeds of sale, bonds, writs, petitions, &c., continued in the same handwriting for 142 pages, down to October 1681. This hand reappears occasionally to 1683, after which the records somewhat alter in character. The last is dated January 1692.

It has not been thought necessary to incumber this book with many references to these MS. documents, the present arrangement of which will probably be altered, but the student in Bermuda will find all the guidance he can require in an annotated copy deposited in the Secretary's office.

In addition to the foregoing materials, which are purely local, and only accessible on the spot, the editor

[1] There is a copy in the library of Harvard College.

has found in the Public Record Office, London, in the controversial writings of William Prynne, in the memoirs of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts, which include his diary from 1630 to 1649, and elsewhere, much which belongs to the subject, and has been brought in in its proper place, and these additions might no doubt have been largely extended if he had enjoyed access to a good library.

It will however be apparent that the mass of available material, although defective in some places, is so great as to make the difficulty of selection considerable, especially from 1660 onwards. The editor has spared no pains to present such a continuous series of records or documents *in extenso*, that if those now unpublished should hereafter perish, as many of them probably will do, there will still be preserved a full picture of a state of society which is not the less interesting for being localised in the smallest of English plantations.

The orthography of the originals has been very closely followed, even to the extent of retaining in some places what may be regarded as clerical errors; finding however the spelling of proper names without capital letters, which is frequent enough, to be rather a blemish in print, the capitals have been in most cases supplied.

It only remains for the writer to acknowledge his numerous obligations. The calendar of State papers, colonial series 1574-1660, edited by Mr. W. Noël Sainsbury, has been, it is needless to say, invaluable in these researches; but the writer is also much indebted to Mr. Joseph Burtt, of the Public Record Office, for kind assistance. The venerable ex-Chief Justice of Bermuda, Hon. John Harvey Darrell, C.M.G., has placed the resources of his remarkable memory and his ample stores of information upon every subject relating to Bermuda at the author's

disposal with unwearied kindness. The excellent and faithful wood-cut on page 4 is from a drawing by Captain T. P. White, Royal Engineers, to whom is also due a suggestion, made too late to appear in the text, that the initials may possibly be those of the Frenchman Russel, Sir William Monson's informant: they certainly resemble T. R. much more than F. C. (page 3), and there is nothing in the date irreconcilable with the Admiral's statement. The wreck he refers to must have occurred some time before he fell in with Russel, and may not improbably have been twenty years before.

The tedious work of abstracting the subjects for the index was kindly undertaken for the editor by Hon. Henry Fowler. For the nominal index, the editor is indebted to a lady whose devotion to her native island made the task a pleasure.

To Mr. George Dexter, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the writer is indebted for a clue to the intricacies of some of the religious struggles of the Independents and to their actors, which was most valuable; and lastly the editor is indebted to Professor Montague Burrows for his assistance in unravelling the tangled story of the temporary introduction of forms of public worship borrowed from the Liturgy of Guernsey and Jersey in 1620, which is treated in the Appendix.

J. H. LEFROY.

BERMUDA: *December* 1, 1876.

Note.—The inscription given at p. 152 has perpetuated a mistake which ought to have been noticed in that place. Sir George Somers died November 9, 1610, not 1611. The exigencies of rhyme have much to answer for, and this appears to be an instance of it.

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1527		Abortive commission of Hernando Camelo to settle them.
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1609	July 28	Shipwreck of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers.
1610	May 10	Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers leave for Virginia.
„	June 19	Sir George Somers volunteers to return to Bermuda.
„	Nov. 9	Death of Sir George Somers in Bermuda.
1611	Before July	Captain Matthew Somers returns to England with his uncle's remains, leaving three men behind.
1612		The Virginia Company despatch Richard Moore, with fifty settlers. He arrives, July 11.
„	Nov. 25	The Virginia Company transfers its rights to a new Company.
1614	Nov. 23	The new Company resigns to the Crown.
1615	June 29	The Crown, by letters-patent, incorporates the Bermuda Company.
„		Moore establishes a provisional government of six commissioners, and leaves.
1616	May	Governor Daniel Tucker arrives.
„	June	First Assize. Marvellous escape of six men.
1618		Richard Norwood begins his survey.

1619		Daniel Tucker returns to England, leaving Miles Kendall in temporary charge.
„	Oct. 20	Captain Nathaniel Butler arrives as governor, with 'a good supply.'
1621	Nov.	Wreck of the Spanish galleon 'S. Antonio.'
1622	*Cir.* Oct. 25.	Captain Nathaniel Butler quits Bermuda without leave. Succeeded by the sheriff, John Harrison.
„	*Cir.* Nov.	Captain John Bernard arrives as governor; secretary, Captain Roger Wood.
1623	Jan.	Bernard dies. Harrison again succeeds. The 'Seaflower' blown up.
„	Dec.	Captain Henry Woodhouse arrives as governor.
1626	Sept. 20	Captain Phillip Bell appointed governor.
1629	Aug. 29	A great hurricane. Captain Roger Wood, governor; Anthony Jennour, secretary.
1633		Wood's term of office as governor renewed.
		Records are very defective from 1632 to 1637.
1637	July (?)	Captain Thomas Chaddock, governor; Captain Josias Forster, secretary.
1641		Captain W. Sayle, governor.
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1643		Captain W. Sayle governor again; Henry Smith, secretary.
1644		A triumvirate government of W. Sayle, S. Paynter, and W. Wilkinson.
1645		Captain Josias Forster governor again. The triumvirate government again. Henry Smith succeeded by John Vaughan as secretary.
1647		Captain Thomas Turnor, governor. He resigns.
1649	Sept. 25	Mr John Trimingham elected governor by the people, who had risen in arms against the Independent party.
1650		Captain J. Jennings appears to have been governor.
„	Nov.	Captain Josias Forster again governor, with John Vaughan as secretary.
1652		Anthony Jenour succeeds Vaughan as secretary. He died in January 1677.
1659	Jan. 3	Captain W. Sayle sworn as governor, and so continues—at least to December 1662.

1663	Jan. 12	Captain Florentia Seymour assumes the government. (This governor's wife was a Quakeress. —MS. IV., B, p. 241.)
1666	Nov. 1	His term is extended two years in consequence of the confusions occasioned by the Fire of London.
1668	May 15	Captain Samuel Whalley, governor.
1669	May 15	Sir John Haydon, who had been for several years deputy-governor of the Company in London, succeeds to the government of Bermuda; which he holds for twelve years.
1681	June 30	Captain Florentia Seymour again succeeds to the government; and dies in office, November 3, 1682.—MS. VIII., p. 118.
1682	Nov. 9	Captain Henry Durham chosen by the council to administer the government *ad interim*.
1683	Jan. 29	Colonel R. Coney succeeds to the government on appointment by the Bermuda Company, and afterwards confirmed in it by the Crown some time in 1685.
1687	April 12	Sir R. Robinson succeeds by direct appointment of the Crown; and is usually regarded as the first royal governor.

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MAPS.

Early Spanish Discoveries in the Gulf of Mexico, from the *Legatio Babylonica* of Peter Martyr; reduced from a plate of $11\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches, given in some copies of the First Edition of 1511 . . . . . *To face page* 2

The Somers Islands, as surveyed by Richard Norwood, 1618, from a chart in the British Museum . . . . . *At the end*

WOODCUT.

Woodcut of the Inscription on Spanish Rock, from an etching by Captain T. Pilkington White, R.E. . . . . *Page* 4

Errata and Addenda.

Page xvi. line 10, *for* Phillip *read* Henry Woodhouse.

„ xvii. „ 19 „ 1613. „ 1683

„ xxvi. „ 6 from bottom. This document is not quite accurately described as containing Col. Coney's appointment. It refers to it as if already made, which it was.

„ 39, bottom. The services of Richard Frobisher were commemorated by the following inscription, which is said to have been found engraven on a palmetto-tree, and 'set up in the Governor's Hall over his chair,' where it was to be seen in 1671.

CONDITVR IN HOC LOCO NAVIS PER RICHARDVM
FROBISHERVM ONERIS 70. QUÆ VIRGINIÆ
DESTINATOR (*sic*) NOS OMNES HINC
TRANSPORTABAT ANNO 1610 MAY 4.

This occurs in the poetic 'Description of the Last Voyage to Bermudas in the ship Marygold, S. P. Commander. By J. H.' (John Hardie), Nov. 12, 1670, to May 3rd, 1671, a copy of which is in the Library of Hon. H. Murphy, Brooklyn. See for the arrival, p. 738.

„ 73. It might have been here observed that the editions of Smith's 'Virginia' of 1624–1626 and 1627 contain a plate which gives a small chart of Bermuda surrounded by representations of the forts. This plate is omitted in the edition of 1632.

„ 110, line 12, *for* 26 *read* 16; *for* 20 in the margin *read* 10; the error was occasioned by the resemblance of the unit to a 2.

„ 159, note, *for* 1620 *read* 1622.

„ 182. A copy of these Orders and Constitutions, printed by Francis Kyngston, 1622, is in the library of Congress, Washington.

„ 234, line 13, *for* Hen Riche *read* Hen Percy; line 26, *for* Riche *read* Isabella Riche.

„ 241, headline, *for* Gondmoar *read* Gondomar.

„ 286, line 10, *for* tres *read* ltres, contraction for 'letters.'

„ 326, last line, *for* from England *read* for England, *i.e.* to England; the error is in the original.

„ 333, note, *dele* 'these accounts have been already.'

„ 407, line 6, *for* to the X *read* to the full.

„ 533, line 8, *for* vnvoice *read* invoice.

„ 548, line 22. Trimingham held office until May 22, 1650.

„ 548, last line but one. Forster was sworn governor May 22, 1650.

„ 659, paragraph 3. It appears by documents annexed to a Petition from the Governor and Company to the Council of State, dated July 19, 1651, a printed copy of which is to be found in the library of Congress, that this ship arrived on Wednesday, May 22, bringing letters from the Company dated January 1, 1649-50, by which Forster was appointed governor, as above stated.

„ 663, article 9. Stephen Painter and W. Rener were among these banished persons. *See* the above-quoted document.

„ 664, to precede article 10. Here should be inserted the Proceedings of a General Court of the Somers Islands Company, Sir J. Danvers governor, held January 15, 1650–1, directing the promulgation in the Somers Islands of Acts of Parliament establishing the Commonwealth, viz. Acts of January 20, May 19, October 12, 1649, and January 2, 1650. *See* the same document.

MEMORIALS OF THE BERMUDAS.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1511–1611.

The discovery of the Bermudas followed very closely on that of the continent of America; exactly when and by whom the islands were first sighted is, however, a question involved in some obscurity. The name of a certain Juan de Bermudez has adhered to them, and, following the narrative of Gonzales Ferdinando d'Oviedo,[1] it has been hitherto supposed that he made the discovery when he had the honour of conveying that distinguished personage home from the Indies in 1515. An attentive consideration of the passage, however, will show that Oviedo makes no such statement, and that his language favours a belief that the islands were already known. That such was actually the case can now be proved; but the writer is entirely indebted to Mr. James Carson Brevoort, superintendent of the Astor Library, New York, for the evidence.

Among the rarest of printed books is the first edition of the 'Legatio Babylonica' of Peter Martyr, published in 1511,[2] copies of which, however, exist in three libraries of the United States.[3] There were two impressions of

[1] Oviedo, 'De la natural Hystoria de las Indias.' Toledo, MDXXVI. The original text will be found in Appendix I.; and it may be remarked that the date of publication is alone sufficient to disprove the dates assigned for the discovery in many books of reference, *e.g.* Harris's 'Collection of Voyages,' 1526; 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' 1527, &c.

[2] P. Martyris Angli Mediolanensis opera. Legatio Babylonica, oceani decas, Poemata. Epigrammata. *Cum privilegio.* Impressum Hispali cũ summa diligencia per Jacobũ coram berger Alemanũ. Anno Millesimo quingentessimo, xj., mẽse vero Aprili (1511).

[3] The library of Hon. H. Murphy, Brooklyn; the Lennox Library, New York; and the Carter-Brown Library, Providence.

CHAP. I. 1511-1611.

this work in the same year,[1] and in one of these impressions is given the map subjoined, the genuineness of which is placed beyond a doubt by the text being continued at the back of it. *La bermuda* is here plainly inserted. There is but slight reference to the map, and none to the Bermudas, in the book, but none is required to establish the identification. We are forced, therefore, to conclude that, if Juan de Bermudez was the discoverer, as Herrera plainly states,[2] and as the association of his name with the group implies, he must have found them in a previous voyage. There was an earlier Francisco Bermudez who commanded the carabela *Santiago de Palos*[3] in the expedition of Columbus, 1502, but the name is too common to suggest that they may have been the same person. It was indeed the name of the caravel of Columbus himself. Whoever he was, the discoverer has left no account of his own, and we are indebted to Oviedo for the earliest description. The following is his narrative, as translated by Richard Eden:—[4]

In the yeere 1515, when I came first to enforme your maiestie of the state of things in India, and was the yeere following in Flanders, in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your kingdoms of Arragon and Castile, whereas at that voyage I sayled aboue the Island Bermuda, otherwise called Garza, being the furthest of all the Ilands that are found at this day in the world, and arriueing there at the depth of eight yards of water, and distance from the land as far as the shot of a piece of ordinance, I determined to send some of the ship to land, as well to make search of such things as were there, as also to leaue in the Iland certaine hogs for increase. But the time not seruing my purpose by reason of contrarie winde, I could bring my ship

[1] See a full bibliographical description in the printed catalogue of the Carter-Brown Library. 'Bibliotheca Americana,' vol. i. 1875. The map is reproduced from this publication, but will also be found in the 'Historical and Geographical Notes' of Mr. Henry Stevens, 1869. It is here reduced in size.

[2] Llameron á esta Isla la Bermuda, e por otro nombre la Garça, porque el Capitano que la descubrió, se llamaba Juan Bermudez, natural de la villa de Palos, e la nao que lleveba Garça. Herrera, 'Historia General,' Madrid, first edit. 1601.

[3] Navarete, 'Coleccion de los viages,' vol. i. 291, edit. 1825.

[4] 'The history of Trauayle in the West and East Indies and other countreys lying eyther way towards the fruitfull and riche Moluccaes as Moscouia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Ægypte, Ethiopia, Guinea, China in Cathayo and Giapan. With a discourse of the North-West Passage. Gathered in parte and done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. Newly set in order, augmented and finished by Richarde Willes. *Imprinted at London* by Richarde Iugge, 1577,' p. 214. This translation was borrowed by Purchas, vol. iii. p. 988, 1625.

EARLY SPANISH DISCOVERY IN THE GULF OF MEXICO. From the *Legatio Babilonica* of Peter Martyr, edit. 1511.

To face page 2.

no neerer the Iland; being twelue leagues in length, and six in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the three and thirtieth degree of the north side. While I remayned here, I saw a strife and combat betweene these flying fishes, and the fishes named giltheads, and the fowles called sea mewes, and cormorants, which surely seemed vnto me a thing of as great pleasure and solace as could be deuised. While the giltheads swam on the brim of the water, and sometimes lifted their shoulders above the same, to raise the flying fishes out of the water to drive them to flight, and follow them swimming to the place where they fall, to take and eate them suddenly. Againe on the other side, the sea mewes and cormorants, take many of these flying fishes, so that by this meanes they are neither safe in the Aire, nor in the water. In the selfe same perill and danger doe men liue in this mortal life, wherein is no certaine securitie, neither in high estate, nor in lowe. Which thing surely ought to put vs in remembrance of the blessed and safe resting place which God hath prepared for such as loue him who shall acquiet and finish the trauailes of this troublesome world, wherein are so many dangers, and bring them to that Eternall life where they shall find eternal security and rest.

The terms of this narrative imply a stay of some slight duration, which is to be inferred also from the approximation with which the dimensions of the group are fixed; and it is very unlikely that none of the party landed. Anchoring within a gun-shot of the shore, in four-fathom water, he was almost certainly off the east end of the island, in what is now 'Five Fathom Hole,' off St. George's; for there is scarcely any other neighbourhood where safe anchorage[1] is to be found; and it is probable that the purpose he was prevented from fulfilling was that of landing hogs, not that of communicating with the shore. The wild hogs found by subsequent visitors may be sufficiently accounted for by the numerous wrecks which occurred before that of Sir George Somers. The name La Garza is never met with, and can have had little currency.

The accounts given of the discovery must have been favourable; for we learn from Herrera, under

[1] 'There is one spot on the south side of the islands, near Brackish-pond Bay, tolerably sheltered from the north winds, where ships sometimes anchor in winter, though less frequently since the introduction of steam tugs.'—J. H. D. (These initials, which will frequently be found to notes, are those of the Hon. John Harvey Darrell, C.M.G., ex-Chief Justice of Bermuda, to whom the writer is much indebted).

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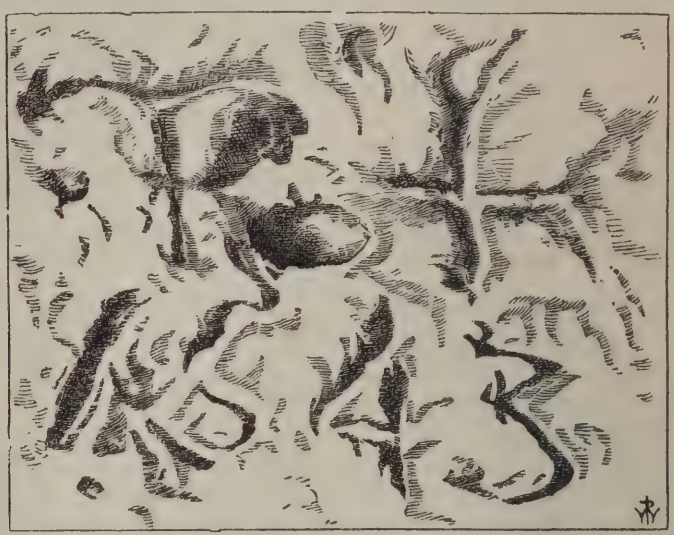
date 1527,[1] that Hernando or Ferdinando Camelo, a Portuguese, native of the Island of San Miguel, one of the Açores, learning that the king was desirous of peopling the island of Bermuda, offered to convey thither, within four years, a good number of people, and to raise seeds, flocks and plants, upon certain conditions. The proposal came to nothing, but it has given rise to a local belief that some mutilated initials, with the figures 1543, which are still to be seen cut on a rock in Smith's Parish, are a monument of the visit of Camelo. The letters



Inscription on the Spanish Rock (so called), south shore of Smith's Parish.

however, although they may be a monogram for F T, are certainly not F C, of which second letter there is no trace. They are deeply cut, and have a great appearance of genuineness, as have the numerals and the cross following them. The rock in this place is moderately hard, and not exposed to any destructive agency. It is about seventy feet above the sea. It is not impossible that they may have been carved by some shipwrecked mariner, but the place is not one which would ever have been selected for a commemorative inscription by the leader of an expedition.

[1] The date given in Churchill's 'Collection of Voyages' (1746) for this attempt at colonization is 1552.

Herrera's narrative is as follows:—

Of sundry events which took place at this time in the Indies and of the treaty made for the settlement of the island of Bermuda.

The peopling of the island of Bermuda and treaty for the same with the king, and its conditions.

Hernando Camelo of the island of St. Michael, one of the Azores, knowing the wish the king had to people the island of Bermuda, offered to establish a settlement therein of a good number of persons in four years, and to take seeds and cattle and plants, and the conditions the king accepted were:

That the people should be settled within the four years and no more; that, on account of the difficulty of having a settlement solely of Spanish and Portuguese, this was dispensed with, and leave was granted to take persons though not belonging to these realms.

That for twenty years the settlers should be free of Alcavala or any other tax except Tithes, which are due to God, and which in all the realms of the Indies belong to the kings of Castille and Leon by gift of the Holy Apostolic See, but that His Majesty thought it good that these tithes in the aforesaid twenty years should be divided into five parts. The 1st for His Majesty. 2nd, for the present or future Bishop or Prelate of the island. 3rd, for the work of the Church; and the two remaining for the said Hernando Camelo, to whom the king gave them conditionally, with the good will he shewed in the establishment of the colony, and similarly granted him, after the twenty years, the tenth part of the tithes for ever. He was given the title of Governor and Captain-general of the island for his life and that of the son he should appoint as most fit and proper, conjointly with the person nominated by the king, to apportion the lands and houses of the settlement, as most expedient according to the quality of the settlers, arranging the same with equity and rectitude so that no person should be aggrieved thereby.

The above-mentioned advantageous treaty was entered into very readily, for the island of Bermuda being 3,000 leagues from Castile and 200 from the island of San Juan of Porto Rico to the westward, and being uninhabited, having neither in itself or vicinity any people whatever, and being made for by all the fleets and vessels coming from the Indies, it was desirable it should be inhabited, so that there could be found a roadstead and also assistance for so long a voyage, and to ascertain if, with the peopling of it, a remedy could be found for the tempests there encountered, caused by the great dampness owing to its

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dense woods; and notwithstanding the great advantages given, no settlement had been made in the said island, which, owing to the bad weather there found, sailors had recourse to with great caution.

This island was called Bermuda or La Garza (the Heron) because the captain who discovered it was called Juan Bermudes and his vessel La Garza (the Heron).

It is a small island and not very high, having a ridge in the middle, and a vast quantity of land and sea birds.

It is in 33°, and always covered with clouds.[1]

The islands are represented in the Mappa Mundi of Sebastian Cabot, published in 1544, as *y^a de demonios*, but are drawn on a very small scale, and with no resemblance to their actual form. They do not appear in the Portuguese 'Portolando' of 1514 or thereabouts.[2] The evil reputation they acquired so early is itself a proof that they were in one sense well known long before their settlement. In the imperfect navigation of those days, they served as a landmark for the galleons bound to Spain, which ran through the Florida channel, following the Gulf Stream as far as latitude 33°, and then steered an easterly course for the Açores; many a vessel no doubt sighted them, to her destruction. We have one such instance preserved by Sir William Monson, and it is remarkable as anticipating by some years the wreck of La Barbotière. 'I knew above fifty years since,' he says, 'one Captain *Russel*, a *Frenchman*, shipwrecked on that island, and with great industry of his people, for few of his men were lost, they patched up a boat out of the materials of the perished ship that carried them to *Newfoundland*, where they found relief and passage to their own country.'[3] Sir William Monson died in 1643. A casual allusion to 'this present year 1600' fixes the date of Book III. of his Tracts; the tenor of his account of Bermuda, in Book IV., points to a date not long after the arrival of the first inhabitants, and from the absence of any allusion to the large body of settlers taken out by Captain Butler in 1619, it would appear to have been written before that event. We are probably warranted, therefore, in placing

[1] Herrera, translation by Lieut. J. Brackenbury, R.N.

[2] From the fac-similes published by Mr. Henry Stevens, of Newhaven, Conn., in his 'Historical and Geographical Notes,' A.D. 1453–1530.

[3] Admiral Sir W. Monson, 'Naval Tracts,' Bk. iv. in Churchill's 'Collection,' vol. iii., 1745.

the shipwreck of the Frenchman Russel between 1560 and 1570. There is no trace or tradition of the event, nor have I found any other allusion to it. It is quite certain that the writer was not thinking of the subsequent shipwreck of La Barbotière, because he proceeds to refer to that accident as also known to him. 'Our men,' says Captain John Smith, a few years later, 'found diuers crosses, pieces of Spanish monies here and there. Two or three wracks also they found by certaine inscriptions to be some Spanish, some Dutch, some French.'[1] Although I cannot discover proof that this writer was ever in Bermuda, he speaks as an eyewitness. 'We found it at first all ouergrowne with weeds and plants of seuerall kinds, as many tall and goodly Cedars, infinite store of Palmetoes, numbers of mulberries, wild Olive trees store, with diuers others unknowne both by name and nature.' His account, however, is remarkably accurate, and will be frequently referred to in this book.

The voyage of three tall ships, from Plymouth to the East Indies, begun April 10, 1591, is fully related in Hakluyt. They were the 'Penelope,' 'Merchant Royal,' and 'Edward Bonaventura,' and in the latter was a seaman named Henry May, who, in August 1590, was transferred by his captain, Mr. James Lancaster, to a French vessel bound to Europe, and commanded by M. de la Barbotière, with a view to his certifying to the owners what had passed in all the voyage, 'as also of the unruliness of the company.' M. de la Barbotière sailed from the port called Laguna, in Hispaniola, on November 30, 1593, from which point we may take up Henry May's narrative.

1593. H. May's Narrative, 1594.

The 17 of December next insuing [says he], it was his fortune to haue his ship cast away vpon the Northwest part of the Isle of Bermuda about midnight, the pilots making themselues at noone to be to the southward of the Island twelve leagues, certified the Captain that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of height,[2] the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it

[1] Smith's 'Generall Historie of Virginia, &c.,' 1629. Book v. Among the persons so lost was a son of Pedro Menendez, about 1560. *See* Parkman's 'Pioneers,' &c., p. 88.

[2] Wine given on safely reaching a certain latitude.

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were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away; and I being but a stranger among fifty and odde Frenchmen and others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saued. I hope to his seruice and glory. We made account at the first that we were cast away, hard by the shore being hie cliffs, but we found ourselues seuen leagues off, but with our boat and a raft, which we had made and towed at our boats sterne, we were saued some twenty-six of vs; among whom were no more English but myselfe. Now being among so many strangers, and not seeing roome for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the boat, nor vpon the raft for fear lest they should haue cast me ourboord, or els haue killed me; so I stayed in the ship, which was almost full of water, vntill the captaine being entred the boat called me unto him, being at hand, for that it stood vpon life or death: and so I presently entred, leauing the better halfe of our company to the mercy of the sea. After this we rowed all the day vntil an hour or two before night yer we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on shore, being all the day without drinke, euery man tooke his way to see if he could find any; but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found fresh water, to all our great comforts being only raine water; and this was all the water we found on shore. But there are in this Island many fine bayes wherin if a man did dig, I thinke there might be fond store of fresh water. This Island is diuided all into broken Islands; and the greatest part I was vpon, which might be some four or five miles long, and two miles and a halfe ouer, being all woods, as Cedar and other timber, but Cedar is the chiefest. Now it pleased God before our ship did split, that we saued our Carpenters tooles, els I thinke we had bene there to this day; and hauing recouered the aforesaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, and in the end built a small barke of some eighteen tons, for the most part with tronnels and very few nailes. As for tackling we made a voyage aboord the ship before she split; and cut down her shrouds, and so we tackled our barke, and rigged her. In stead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oyl of tortoises, and as soone as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of vs a small sticke in our hands, did plaister the mortar into the seames, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no sooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a stone. In this moneth of April 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afrayd our water should fayle vs; and therefore made the more haste away; and at our departure we were constrayned to make two great chests, and calked them, and stowed them on ech side of our

mainmaste, and so put in our prouision of raine water and thirteen liue tortoises for our food, for our voyage which we intended to Newfoundland.

In the South part of this Island of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are so leane that you cannot eat them, by reason the Island is so barren, but it yieldeth great store of fowle, fish and tortoises. And to the eastward of the Island are very good harbours, so that a shippe of 200 tun may ride there land-locked, without any danger, with water enough.

Also in this island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies, but that the place is subiect to foule weather, as thundering lightning and raine; but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather.

The 11 May it pleased God to set vs cleare of the Island, to the no little ioy of vs all, after we had liued in the same almost the space of five moneths, and the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to cape Briton, where we ran into a fresh water riuer, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballast, and here the people of the country came vnto vs, being clothed all in furs with the furred side vnto their skins, and brought with them furres of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of wild ducks; so some of our company hauing saued some small beads bought some of their ducks. Here we stayed not aboue foure hours, and so departed. This should seeme to be a very good country. And we saw very fine champion ground and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with diuers, but none would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God that wee met with a Barke of Falmouth, which receiued vs all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ship. Wherein I left Capitan de la Barbotier, my deere friend, and all his Company, and stayed myself aboord the English barke, and hauing passage in the same, in the moneth of August I arriued at Falmouth, 1594.[1]

There is nothing more remarkable in this narrative than the statement that they made account at the first that they were cast away hard by the shore, being high cliffs, whereas they found themselves seven leagues off. It is a positive proof that the north-west reefs, only a few points of which are now above water at the lowest spring tide, were then some feet above it. The expression high cliffs must be interpreted by the circumstance of seamen in a small boat approaching a dangerous shore, with a heavy swell on, rendering it dangerous and diffi-

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iv., 1811, pp. 55–6.

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cult to land. But if they were only ten feet high, the amount of subsidence in less than three centuries, shown by their present submergence, is a most significant geological fact; and Henry May has rendered an invaluable service by mentioning the circumstance. The map in Purchas, published 1625, confirms it. It shows three distinct islets that have now disappeared along the line of the northern reefs. The north rock of Bermuda, fourteen feet high, and some smaller rocks near it, are all that remain to attest the accuracy of these early descriptions. The adventure of Henry May brings us down to the commencement of the history of Bermuda as a colony. It was succeeded within a few years by the shipwreck of Sir George Somers, whose modest narrative has not, that the editor is aware of, been published before, although it is in every way worthy of that heroic age when the deeds of Englishmen so far transcended the accounts they left of them. The original is preserved in the Record Office in London.

Somers. 1610.

Sir George Somers to the Earl of Salisbury,[1]

June 20, 1610.

Right Honorable

May yt please yo^{r} good honor to bee advertised that sithence our dep.ture out of England in goinge to Virginia about some 200 leagues from the Bermoodas wee weare taken with a verie greate storme or hurricane which sundred all the fleete & on S^{t} Jame's daye beinge the 23 of Julie wee had such a leake in our ship insomuch that there was in her 9 ffoote of water before wee knewe of any such thinge wee pumped with ij pumpes and bailed in iij or iiij places with certaine Barrackoos & and then wee kept 100 men alwaies workinge night and daie from the 23rd vntill the 28th of the same Julie being ffridaie (at w^{ch} time) wee sawe the Iland of Bermuda, wheare our ship liethe vpon the rocke, a quarter of a mile distant from the shoare wheare wee saved all our liues & afterwards saued much of our goodes, but all our bread was wet & lost. We continewed in this Iland from the 28th Julie vntill the 10 of Maie In w^{ch} time we built ij small Barkes to carrie our people

[1] MS. Colonial, 1574–1611, vol. i.

to Virginia which in number whare 140 men & woemen at the coming to the Iland Wee dep.ted from the Bermuda the 12 of Maie & arived in Virginia the 23rd of the same monethe and cominge to Cape Henrie the Captaine theare tould vs of the ffamen that was at James Towne whereupon wee hastened vp there and found yt true ffor they had eaten all the quick thinge that weare theare & some of them had eaten snakes or adders. But by the industrie of our Governor in the Bermooda (Sir Thomas Gates) thear was saued a litell meale: ffor our allowance would not extende to aboue one pownde & a halfe ffor a man a weeke and this wth ffishe wee liued & this allowance 9 monethes our Govern^{r} Sir Thomas Gates did allowe them as wee had with some Porke & recovered all savinge iij that did die & weare past recou^{r}ie before our cominge Wee consulted together what course wear best to bee taken ffor our meanes would not continue aboue 14 daies Wee thought good to take into our iiij pinaces as much of the munic̄on as wee could & tooke in all the people & weare goinge downe the River but by the waie wee met wth the Lorde Laware & Lord Governor which made our heartes verie glad & wee p.sently returned vp to James towne & theare wee found noe saluages for they weare affraid to come thither for they did not trade wth our men these manie monethes The Trothe is they had nothing to trade withal but mulberries Nowe wee are in a good hope to plant & abide heere ffor heere is a good course taken & a greater care than ever thear was I ame goeinge to the Bermooda for ffishe & hogges with ij small Pinaces & ame in a good opinion to bee back againe before the Indians doe gather their harvest The Bermooda is the most plentifull place that ever I came to, for ffishe Hogges and ffowle. Thus wishinge all healthe with the increase of honor doe humblie take my leave ffrom Virginia the xxth of June 1610

Yr honors to comand

George Somers

ffrom James Towne in Virginia.

I have sent yo^{r} honor a briefe of the Iland of Bermooda.

To the Right Honor^{ble} the Earle of Salisburie Lord Treasurer of England these.

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How great the exertions were by which Sir George Somers was mainly instrumental in saving the lives of all his companions in shipwreck would never have been gathered from his own report, and we must turn to their narratives to appreciate them rightly. I have selected three of these; the first, which is anonymous and very short, is inserted because it was published in his lifetime, and is the earliest and rarest of all printed notices of the Somers Isles. The narratives of Silvanus Jourdan and of William Strachy contain necessarily a good deal of the same matter; but they are substantially different, and each will have its own interest to Bermudian readers of the present day.

In a Tract entitled 'A Trve Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandelous reports as haue tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise. Published by aduise and direction of the councell of Virginia,'[1] 1610, we find the writer, after vindicating Sir Thomas Gates from responsibility for the state of destitution to which that infant colony had been reduced in 1609, proceeding as follows:—

True it is that when *Sir Thomas Gates*, *Sir Georges Summers*, and *Captaine Newport* were in the height of 27° and the 24th of July 1609, there arose such a storme as if Jonas had been flying vnto *Tarshish*; the heauens were obscured, and made an Egyptian night of three daies perpetuall horror; the women lamented, the hearts of the passengers failed, the experience of the sea captaines was amased, the skill of the marriners was confounded, the ship most violently leaked, and though two thousand tunne of water by pumping, from Tuesday noone to Fryday noone was discharged, notwithstanding the ship was halfe filled with water and those which laboured to keepe others from drowning were halfe drowned themselues in labouring. But God that heard *Ionas* crying out of the belly of hell, he pittied the distresses of his seruants: For behold, in the last period of necessitie *Sir George Summers* discryed land, which was by so much the more ioyful by how much their danger was despairefull. The Islands on which they fell were the *Bermudos*, a place hardly accessible through the enuironing rocks and dangers: notwithstanding they were forced to runne their ship on shoare, which through Gods prouidence fell between

[1] London, 1610, forming No. 1, vol. iii. of Peter Force's 'Collection of Historical Tracts,' Washington, 1844.

two rockes that caused her to stande firme and not immediately to be broken, God continuing his mercie vnto them, that with their long Boats they transported to land before night all their companie, men, women, and children, to the number of one hundred and fiftie; they carried to shoare all the prouison of vnspent and vspoyled victuals, all their furniture and tacking of the ship, leauing nothing but bared ribs as a pray vnto the ocean.

These Islands of the *Bermudos* have euer beene accounted as an inchaunted pile of rockes, and a desert inhabitation for Diuils; but all the Fairies of the rocks were but flocks of birds, and all the Diuels that haunted the woods, were but heards of swine. Yea and when *Acosta* in his first booke of the hystories of the *Indies* auerreth, that though in the continent there were diuerse beasts, and cattell, yet in the Islands of *Hispaniola Jamaica Marquarita* and *Dominica* there was not one hoofe, it increaseth the wonder, how our people in the Bermudos found such abundance of Hogs, that for nine moneths space they plentifully sufficed; and yet the number seemed not much diminished. Again as in the great famine in Israell, God commanded *Elias* to flie to the brooke Cedron and there he fed him by Rauens: so God prouided for our disconsolate people in the midst of the sea with foules: but with an admirable difference: vnto *Elias* the Rauens brought meate; vnto our men the foules brought (themselves) for meate; for when they whisteled or made any strange noyse, the fowles would come and sit on their shoulders, they would suffer themselves to be taken and weighed by our men, who would make choyse of the fattest and fairest, and let flie the leane and the lightest. An accident, I take it, that cannot be parraleld by any hystorie, except when God sent abundance of Quayles to feed his *Israel* in the barren wildernesse. Lastly they found the berries of *Cedar*, the Palmeto tree, the prickle peare, sufficient fish, plentie of Tortoises and diuers other kinds, which sufficed to sustaine nature. They found diuersity of woods, which ministred materials for the building of two Pinaces, according to the directions of the three prouident Gouernours.

Consider all these things together. At the instant of neede, they discryed land, half an hower more had buried their memorial in the sea. If they had fel by night, what expectation of light from an uninhabited desert? They fell betwixt a laberinth, which they conceiue are mouldred into the Sea by thunder and lightning. This was no Ariadnes thread, but the direct line of Gods prouidence. If it had not beene so neere land their companie or prouision had perished by water. If they had not found Hogs, and foule, and fish, they had perished

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by famine: if there had not beene fuell, they had perished by want of fire: if there had not been timber, they could not have transported themselues to *Virginia*, but must haue beene forgotten for euer. *Nimium timet qui Deo non credit*, he is too impiously fearfull, that will not trust in God so powerfull.

What is there in all this tragicall Comœdie that should discourage vs with impossibility of the enterprize? when of all the Fleete one onely ship by a secret leake was indangered, and yet in the gulfe of despair, was so graciously preserued. *Quæ videtur pœna est medicina*, that which we accompt a punishment of euill, is but a medecine against euill.

After nine moneths aboade in these Islands on the 10 May, 1610, they imbarqued themselues in their two new built Pinances, and after some eleuen daies saile, they arriued neere point Comfort vpon the coast of *Virginia*; where they had intelligence of so wofull miserie as if God had onely preserued them, to communicate in a new extremitie.

P. Force's 'Collection of Historical Tracts,' vol. iii. No. 3, 1844.

A discovery of the Barmodas, now called the Sommer Ilands,[1] 1609–1610.

I being in ship called the Sea-venture, with *Sir Thomas Gates* our Gouernour, *Sir George Sommers* and captain *Newport*, three most worthy honoured Gentlemen (whose valour and fortitude the world must needes take notice of, and that in most Honourable designes) bound for Virginia in the height of thirty degrees of northerly latitude, or thereabouts; we were taken with a most sharpe and cruell storme vpon the five-and-twentieth day of July, Anno 1609,

[1] 'A discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels, by *Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captayne Newport*, with Diuers others, set forth for the loue of my country, and also *for the Good* of the plantation in Virginia.'—Sil. Jourdan, 1610. Hakluyt, vol. v.

This tract is also separately published under the title of 'A Plaine description of the Barmodas now called Sommer Ilands. With the manner of their discouerie Anno 1609 by the shipwrack and admirable deliuerance of Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Sommers*, wherein *are truly set forth the commodities and profits of that Rich Pleasant and Healthfull Countrie.* With an addition or more ample relation of diuers other remarkeable matters concerning those Ilands since then experienced, lately sent *from thence by one of the Colonie*, now there resident.' London 1613. It is preceded by the following short preface:—

To the Reader.

Good Reader, this is the first Booke published to the world touching Sommer Ilands; *but who shall liue to see the last! A more full and exact description of the countrie, and narration of the nature, site, and commodities, together with a true Historie of the great deliuerance of* Sir Thomas Gates, *and his companie vpon them which was the first discouerie of them; thou maiest surely expect, if God will, to come into thy hands. This short narration, in the meane time, shall rather prepare thee for it, than preuent thee of it.*

An Epistle dedicatory to Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the Muscouia, East India, North-West Passage, and Sommer Ilands Companies, from whom Smith's Tribe takes its name, is prefixed.

which did not onely separate vs from the residue of our fleet (which were eight in number), but with the violent working of the seas our ship became so shaken, torne, and leaked, that shee receiued so much water as couered two tire of hogsheads aboue the ballast: that our men stood vp to the middles, with buckets, baracos and kettles to baile out the water, and continually pumped for three dayes and three nights together, without any intermission; and yet the water seemed rather to increase, then to diminish: insomuch that all our men vtterly spent, tyred and disabled for longer labour, were euen resolued, without any hope of their liues, to shut vp the hatches, and to haue committed themselues to the mercie of the sea (which is said to be merciless) or rather to the mercie of their mightie God and Redeemer (whose mercies exceed al his works). Seeing no helpe, nor hope, in the apprehension of man's reason, that any mother's childe could escape that ineuitable dãger, which euery man had proposed and digested to himselfe of present sinking. So that some them hauing some good and comfortable waters in the ship fetcht them, and drunke one to the other, taking their last leaue one of the other, vntill their more ioyfull and happy meeting in a more blessed world; when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull prouidence, so to direct and guide our ship (being left to the mercy of the Sea) for her most advantage; That Sir George Sommers sitting vpon the Poope of the ship (where he sate three dayes and three nights together, without meales, meate, and little or no sleepe) couning the ship to keep her as vpright as he could (for otherwise shee must needes haue instantly haue foundered), most wishedly and happily descried land: wherevpon he most comfortably encouraged the company to follow their pumping, and by no meanes to sease bayling out of the water, with their buckets, baracos and kettles; whereby they were so ouerwearied, and their spirits so spent with long fasting, and continuance of their labour, that for the most part they were fallen asleepe in corners, and wheresoeuer they chanced first to sit or lie; but hearing newes of land, wherewith they grew to be somewhat reviued, being caried with will and desire beyond their strength, euery man bustled vp, and gathered his strength and feeble spirits together, to performe as much as their weake force would permitte them; through which weake meanes it pleased God to work so strangely as the water was staied for that little time (which, as wee all much feared, was the last of our breathing) and the ship kept from present sinking, when it pleased God to send her within halfe an English mile of that land that *Sir George Sommers* had not long before descried; which were the Ilands of the Barmudas, and there neither did

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our ship sincke, but more fortunately in so great a misfortune fell in betweene two rockes, where shee was fast lodged and locked, for further budging: whereby wee gained not only sufficient time, with the present help of our Boate and Skiffe safelye to set and convey our men ashore (which were one hundred and fiftie in number), but afterwards had time and leasure to saue some good part of our goods and prouision, which the water had not spoyled, with all the tacking of the ship, and much of the yron about her, which were necessaries not a little auailable for the building and furnishing of a new Shippe and Pinnace which we made there, for the transporting and carrying of vs to Virginia. But our deliuery was not more strange in fallinge so opportunely and happily vpon the land, as our feeding and preseruation was beyond our hopes, and all mens expectations most admirable. For the Ilands of the Barmudas, as euery man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were neuer inhabited by any christian or Heathen people, but euer esteemed and reputed a most prodigious and inchanted place, affoording nothing but gusts, stormes, and foule weather, which made euery nauigator to auoide them, as Scylla and Charibdis, or as they would shun the Diuell himselfe; and no man was euer heard to make for the place, but as against their willes they have by stormes and dangerousnesse of the rockes, lying *seuen leagues* into the sea, suffered shipwracke; yet did we finde there the ayre so temperat, and the countrey so abundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries for the sustentation and preseruation of man's life, that most in a manner of all our prouisions of bread, beere, and victuall being quite spoyled, in lying long drowned in salt water; notwithstanding, we were there for nine moneths (few dayes ouer) not onely well refreshed, comforted and with good satiety contented, but out of the abundance thereof, prouided vs some reasonable quantitie and proportions of prouision, to carry us for Virginia, and to maintaine ourselues, and that Companie wee found there, to the great releefe of them as it fell out in their so great extremities, and in respect of the shortnes of time vntill it pleased God, that by my Lord *de la Wars* coming thither, their store was better supplied, and greater & better prouision wee might haue made, if we had had better meanes for the storing and transportation thereof. Wherefore my opinion sincerely of this Iland is, that whereas it hath beene and is still accounted, the most dangerous, infortunate, and most forlorne place in the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land (the quantitie and bignesse thereof considered), and meerely natural as euer man sat foote vpon: the particular profits and benifits whereof shall be more Especially inserted, and hereunto annexed, which euerie man to his owne priuate knowledge, that

was there can auouch and iustifie for a truth. Vpon the eight and twentieth day of July 1609 (after the extremity of the storme was something qualified) we fell upon the shore of the Barmudas; where after our Generall *Sir Thomas Gates*, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, had by their prouident carefulnesse Landed all their men and so much of the goods and prouisions out of the ship as was not vtterly spoyled, euerie man disposed and applyed himselfe to search for and to seeke out such releefe and sustentation as the countrie afforded: and Sir George Summers, a man inured to extremities (and knowing what thereunto belonged) was in this seruice neither idle nor backwarde, but presently by his carefull industry went, and found out sufficient of many kind of fishes, and so plentifull thereof, that in half an houre he tooke so many fishes with hookes, as did suffice the whole company one day. And fish is there so abundant, that if a man steppe into the water, they will come round about him: so that men were faine to get out for feare of byting. These fishes are very fat and sweete, and of that proportion and bignesse that three of them will conveniently lade two men: those we called Rockfish.[1] Besides there are such store of mullets that with a seane might be taken at one draught one thousand at the least, and infinite store of Pilchards, with diuers kinds of great fishes, the names of them vnknown to me: of tray fishes very great ones, and so great store, as that there hath been taken in one night with making lights, euen sufficient to feed the whole company a day. The countrie affordeth great abundance of Hogges, as that there hath been taken by *Sir George Sommers*, who was the first that hunted for them, to the number of two and thirtie at one time, which he brought to the company in a boate, built by his owne hāds. There is fowle in great number upon the Ilands, where they breed, that there hath beene taken in two or three houres, a thousand at the least: the bird being of the bignes of a good Pidgeon, and layeth egges as big as Hen egges vpon the sand, where they come and lay them dayly, although men sit downe amongst them: that there hath beene taken vp in one morning by *Sir* Thomas Gates men one thousand of Egges: and Sir George Sommers men, coming a little distance of time after them, haue stayed there whilst they came and layed their eggs amongst them, that they brought away as many more with them; with many young birds very fat and sweet.[2] Another

[1] *Trisotropis undulosus* (Goode), still so called.

Lieut. Saville G. Reed, Royal Engineers, who has devoted much attention to the ornithology of Bermuda, has favoured me with the following notes on the birds here mentioned:—

[2] Were it not for the *size* of the egg, this description would seem to indicate the

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Sea fowle there is that lyeth in little holes in the ground, like unto Coney holes,[1] and are in great numbers, exceeding good meate, very fat and sweet (those we had in the winter and their eggs are white, and of that bignesse, that they are not to be knowne from these egges. The other birds egges are speckled and of a different colour: there are also great store and plenty of Herons[2] and those so familiar and tame, that wee beate them downe from the trees with stones and staues: but such were young Herons: besides many white Herons,[3] without so much as a blacke or grey feather on them: with other birds so tame and gentle, that a man walking in the woods with a sticke, and whistling to them, they wil come and gaze on you so neare that you may strike and kill many of them with your sticke, and with singing and hollowing you may doe the like.[4] There are also great store of Tortoises (which some call turtles), and those so great, that I have seene a bushell of egges in one of their bellies, which are sweeter than any Henne egge: and the Tortose itselfe is all very good meate, and yieldeth great store of oyle, which is as sweete as any butter: and one of them will suffice fifty men a meale at least: and of these hath beene taken great store, with two boates at the least forty in one day.

The country yieldeth diuers fruits, as prickled peares,[5] great aboundance, which continue green vpon the trees all the yeare: also great plenty of mulberries, white and red: and on the same are great store of silke-wormes,[6] which yeeld cods of silke, both

Terns, *Sterna hirundo*, and *S. Dougallii*, which, until quite lately, bred in considerable numbers on the south shore of the Bermuda islands, especially about Castle Harbour. None were seen there last year (1874), and they have now probably deserted the islands as a breeding place. The Terns lay four eggs, which would be of great significance in accounting for the extraordinary number of eggs taken by the shipwrecked crew, but the egg of the Terns is far smaller than that of a hen, and the shape (being much pointed at one end) would probably have been noticed. The 'Boatswain' or Tropic Bird, *Phaëton flavirostris*, which also breeds in Bermuda, lays but one egg, and like the Cahow, lays it in a hole, not on the sand.—S. G. R.

[1] This must be the Dusky Shearwater, or 'Cahow,' *Puffinus obscurus*, which breeds in holes, and lays a single white egg, not unlike a hen's egg. A few pairs still breed annually in the islands.—S. G. R.

[2] The great Blue Heron, *Ardea herodias*, which is still resident, and which bred in the islands in 1846, and also the Night Herons, *Ardea nycticorax* and *A. violacea*, annual visitors only. All these species breed on trees, generally in companies.—S. G. R.

[3] The American Egret, *Ardea egretta*, and the smaller Snowy Heron, *Ardea candidissima*, both of which are now occasionally seen in the autumn on their passage southward.—S. G. R.

A white one was shot by Capt. Hussey, 20th Regiment, in October, 1875.—Ed.

[4] Probably the Cat Bird, *Mimus carolinensis*, and the White-eyed Vireo, or 'Chick-of-the-Village,' *Vireo noveboracensis*; both species will come hopping and scolding within a few feet of an intruder in their native cedar groves. They are resident, and exceedingly numerous.—S. G. R.

[5] *Cactus opuntia*. Very common.

[6] These were soon discovered to be only spiders. The silk spider is still abundant. The mulberry is probably *Conocarpus racemosus*, still called Sea Mulberry.

white and yellow, being some coarse, and some fine, And there is a tree called a Palmito tree,[1] which hath a very sweet berry, vpon which the hogs doe most feede: but our men finding the sweetnesse of them, did willingly share with the hogs for them, they being very pleasant and wholesome, which made them carelesse almost of any bread with their meate: which occasioned vs to carry in a manner all that store of flower and meale wee did or could saue for Virginia. The head of the Palmito tree is verie good meate, either rawe or sodden, it yeeldeth a head which weigheth about twentie pound, and is farre better meate, then any cabbidge. There are an infinite number of cedar trees (the fairest I thinke in the world) and those bring forth a verie sweete berrie and wholesome to eate.[2] The countrey (forasmuch as I could finde myself, or heare by others) affords no venimous creature or so much as a Rat or a mouse,[3] or any other thing vnwholesome. There is great store of Pearle,[4] and some of them very fair round and orientall, and you shall find at least one hundred seede pearle in one oyster. There hath beene likewise found some good quantitie of Amber greece,[5] and that of the best sort. There are also great plentie whales which I conceive are very easie to bee killed, for they come so usually and ordinarilie to the shore, that wee heard them oftentimes in the night abed: and haue seene many of them neare the shoare, in the day time. There was borne vpon the Barmudas, at the time of our being there, two children, the one a man child, there baptized by the name of Barmudas, and a woman childe baptized by the name of Barmuda: as also there was a marriage between two English people vpon that Iland. This Iland, I meane the maine Iland, with all the broken Ilands adiacent, are made in the forme of a half moone, but a little more rounder, and diuided into many broken Ilands, and there are many good harbours in it, but we could find but one especiall place to goe in, or rather to goe out from it, which was not altogether free from some Danger, where there is three fathom water at the entrance thereof, but within six seauen or eight Fathoms at the least, where you may safely lie land locked, from the daunger

[1] Sabal Palmetto; still common, and sometimes attaining a height of 50 ft.

[2] Cedar berries are eaten by children, and are not unpalatable. Palmetto berries are not used.

[3] Rats were introduced about 1618, with a cargo of grain (*see* Smith's 'Virginia'), and became a great pest. They are still very numerous.

[4] Pearls are seldom, if ever, found now.

[5] Ambergris is sometimes, but rarely, found still. The writer has seen one mass weighing six ounces, found in 1872, which was worth twenty-two shillings an ounce; but the price occasionally quoted in druggists' circulars is much higher. It was about 6*l.* an ounce in New York in 1875.

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of all winds and weathers, and moore to the Trees. The comming into it is so narrow and straight betweene the Rockes, as that it will with small store of munition bee fortified, and easily defended, against the forces of the Potentest king of Europe, such aduantage the place affoords.[1] There are also plentie of Hawkes,[2] and very good tobacco, as I think, which through forgetfulness I had almost omitted. Now hauing finished and rigged our ship and Pinnace, the one called the Deliuerance, the Pinnace which wee built there the Patience, wee prepared and made ourselues ready, to ship for Virginia, hauing powdered some store of Hogges flesh for prouision thither and the company thereof, for some reasonable time: but were compelled to make salt for the same purpose, for all our salt was spent and spoiled before wee recouered the shore. We carried with vs also a good portion of Tortoise oyle, which either for frying or baking did vs very great pleasure, it being very sweete nourishing and wholesome: the greatest defects we found there was tarre and pitch for our ship and pinnace, instead whereof wee were forced to make lime there of a hard kinde of stone and vse it: which for the present occasion and necessitie, with some wax wee found cast vp by the sea, from some ship-wracke, serued the turne to pay the seames of the pinnace *Sir George Sommers* built, for which hee had neither pitch nor tarre: so that God in supplying of all our wants, beyond all measure, shewed himselfe still mercifull vnto vs, that we might accomplish our intended voyage to Virginia, for which I confidently hope, hee doth yet reserue a blessing in store, and to the which I presume every honest and religious hart will readilie giue thier amen. When all thinges were made ready, and commodiously fitted, the wind comminge faire, wee set saile and put off from the Barmudas, the tenth day of May in the yeare 1610, and arriued at *James* towne in Virginia the foure and twentieth day of the same moneth; where we found some threescore persons liuing. And being then some three weeks or thereabouts passed, and not hearing of any supply, it was thought fitting by a generall cōsent, to vse the best means for the pre-

[1] The description applies only to the entrance of Castle Harbour. The trees exist no more.

[2] Hawks are occasionally shot, but do not breed in Bermuda.

It is quite possible that one or more of the numerous species of American buzzards were formerly common, and bred in the Bermudas. They would naturally be the first kind of bird to disappear before the advance of colonization and farming. Mr. Bartram, of St. George's, has, in his rich collection of native birds, a buzzard killed in the islands, and he was informed that there had been a nest in the cliffs of Harrington Sound.—S. G. R.

The Osprey, *Pandion haliaëtus*, may also have been a permanent resident, years ago. Several kinds of hawks visit Bermuda annually—the Pigeon Falcon, *Falco columbarius*; the Peregrine, *F. peregrinus*; and the Harrier, *Circus hudsonius*—but none of these appear in any great numbers.—S. G. R.

seruation of all those people that were liuing, being all in number two hundred persons. And so vpon the eight of June one thousand six hundred and ten, wee imbarked at James Towne, not hauing aboue fourteene dayes victuall, and so were determined to direct our course for Newfound-land there to refresh vs, and supply ourselues with victuall, to bring vs home; but it pleased God to dispose otherwise of vs, and to giue vs better meanes. For being all of us shipped in foure pinnaces, and departed from the towne, almost downe halfe the river, we met my Lord *de la* Warre comming vp with three ships, wel furnished with victuall which reviued all the company, and gaue them great content. And after some dayes my lord vnderstanding of the great plentie of Hogges and Fish was at the Barmudas, and the necessitie of them in Virginia, was desirous to send thither, to supply himselfe with those things, for the better comforting of his men, and the plantation of the country. Whereupon *Sir George Sommers*, being a man best acquainted with the place, and being willing to do seruice vnto his Prince and country, without any respect of his own priuate gaine, and being of threescore yeares of age at the least, out of his worthy and valient minde, offered himselfe to undertake to performe with Gods helpe that dangerous voyage for the Barmudas, for the better reliefe and comfort of the people in Virginia, and for the better plantation of it, which offer my Lord *de la Warre* very willingly and thankfully accepted, and so vpon the nineteenth day of June [1610] *Sir George Sommers* imbarked himselfe at James towne in a small barge of thirtie tonne, or thereabout, that he built at the Barmudas: wherein he labored from morning vnto night as duelie as any workman doth labour for wages, and built her all with cedar, with little or no yron worke at all: hauing in her but one boult which was in the kilson: notwithstanding thankes be to God, shee brought vs in safetie to Virginia, and so I trust he will protect him, and send him wel backe againe, to his harts desire, and the great comfort of all the company there.

The narrative by William Strachy which follows, appears to be the one from which Smith borrowed most of the materials of his account of Bermuda in the 'History of Virginia.' It gives the particulars omitted by Silvanus Jourdan of the mutiny among Sir Thomas Gates's men, and the execution of one of them; of the vessels that were built, and of the desertion of three men (the 'three Lords of Bermuda') who were left behind when the rest of their party set sail for Virginia.

§ I.

CHAP. I. 1515–1611.

A most dreadfull Tempest (the manifold deaths whereof are here to the life described) their[1] *wracke on* Bermuda, *and the description of those Ilands.*

2 June 1609.

EXCELLENT LADY, know that vpon Friday late in the euening, we brake ground out of the Sound of *Plymouth*, our whole Fleete then consisting of seuen good Ships, and two Pinnaces, all which from the said second of June, vnto the twenty three of July, kept in friendly consort together not a whole watch at any time, loosing the sight each of other. Our course when we came about the height of betweene 26. and 27. degrees, we declined to the Northward, and according to our Gouernours instructions altered the trade and ordinary way vsed heretofore by *Dominico*, and *Neuis*, in the West *Indies*, and found the winde to this course indeede as friendly, as in the iudgement of all Sea-men, it is vpon a more direct line, and by Sir *George Summers* our Admirall had bin likewise in former time sailed, being a Gentleman of approued assurednesse, and ready knowledge in Sea-faring actions, hauing often carried command, and chiefe charge in many Ships Royall of her Maiesties, and in sundry Voyages made many defeats and attempts in the time of the *Spaniards* quarrelling with vs, vpon the Ilands and *Indies*, &c. We had followed this course so long, as now we were within seuen or eight dayes at the most, by *Cap. Newports* reckoning, of making *Cape Henry* vpon the coast of *Virginia*: When on S. *James* his day, July 24. being Monday (preparing for no lesse all the blacke night before) the cloudes gathering thicke vpon vs, and the windes singing, and whistling most vnusually, which made vs to cast off our Pinnace, towing the same vntill then a sterne, a dreadfull storme and hideous began to blow from out the North-east, which swelling, and roaring as it were by fits, some houres with more violence then others, at length did beate all light from heauen; which like an hell of darkenesse turned blacke vpon vs, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and feare vse to ouerrunne the troubled, and ouermastered sences of all, which (taken vp with amazement)

Sea-course altered.

Sir *G. Summers* a good mariner and tried Souldier.

A terrible storme expressed in a patheticall and retoricall description.

Blackdarknes.

[1] 'Pvrchas His Pilgrimes.' Vol. iv. London, 1625. The Ninth Book. Chap. vi. '*A true reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir* THOMAS GATES *Knight; vpon, and from the Ilands of the* Bermudas: *his comming to* Virginia, *and the estate of that Colonie then, and after, vnder the gouernment of the Lord* LA WARRE, *July* 15. 1610. *written by* WILLIAM STRACHY, *Esquire.*' The marginal comments must have been added by Purchas, as Capt. Butler, who was Governor 1619-22 is referred to.

the eares lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and murmurs of the windes, and distraction of our Company, as who was most armed, and best prepared, was not a little shaken. For surely (Noble Lady) as death comes not so sodaine nor apparant, so he comes not so eluish and painfull (to men especially euen then in health and perfect habitudes of body) as at Sea; who comes at no time so welcome, but our frailty (so weake is the hold of hope in miserable demonstrations of danger) it makes guilty of many contrary changes, and conflicts: For indeede death is accompanied at no time, nor place, with circumstances euery way so vncapable of particularities of goodnesse and inward comforts, as at Sea. For it is most true, there ariseth commonly no such vnmercifull tempest, compound of so many contrary and diuers Nations, but that it worketh vpon the whole frame of the body, and most loathsomely affecteth all the powers thereof: and the manner of the sicknesse it laies vpon the body, being so vnsufferable, giues not the minde any free and quiet time, to vse her iudgement and Empire: which made the poet say:

Feare of death at Sea more fearefull.

Hostium vxores. puerique cæcos
Sentiant motus orientis Hœdi, &
Æquoris nigri fremitum, & trementes
Uerbere ripas.

For foure and twenty houres the storme in a restlesse tumult, had blowne so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did wee still finde it, not onely more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storme vrging a second more outragious then the former; whether it so wrought vpon our feares, or indeede met with new forces: Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and passengers, not vsed to such hurly and discomforts, made vs looke one vpon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosomes: our clamours dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder.[1] Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers: nothing heard that could giue comfort, nothing seene that might incourage hope. It is impossible for me, had I the voyce of *Stentor*, and expression of as many tongues, as his throate of voyces, to expresse the outcries and miseries, not

Continuance and increase.

[1] . . . Jove's lightnings, the precursors
O' the dreadful thunder claps, more momentary
And sight-outrunning were not . . .
The fire, and cracks
Of sulphurous roaring, the most mighty Neptune
Seemed to besiege, and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident shake.
The Tempest, sc. ii.

CHAP. I. 1515–1611.

languishing, but wasting his spirits, and art constant to his owne principles, but not preuailing. Our sailes wound up lay without their vse, and if at any time wee bore but a Hollocke, or halfe forecourse, to guide her before the Sea, six and sometimes eight men were not inough to hold the whipstaffe in the steerage, and the tiller below in the Gunner roome, by which may be imagined the strength of the storme: In which, the Sea swelled aboue the Clouds, and gaue battell vnto Heauen. It could not be said to raine, the waters like whole Riuers did flood in the ayre. And this I did still obserue, that whereas vpon the Land, when a storme hath powred itselfe forth once in drifts of raine, the winde as beaten downe, and vanquished therewith, not long after indureth: here the glut of water (as if throatling the winde ere while) was no sooner a little emptied and qualified, but instantly the windes (as hauing gotten their mouthes now free, and at liberty) spake more loud, and grew more tumultuous, and malignant. What shall I say? Windes and Seas were as mad, as fury and rage could make them; for mine owne part, I had bin in some stormes before, as well vpon the coast of *Barbary* and *Algeere*, in the *Leuant*, and once more distresful in the *Adriatique* gulfe, in a bottome of Candy, so as I may well say, *Ego quid sit ater Adriæ noui sinus, & quid albus Peccet Iapex.* Yet all that I had euer suffered gathered together, might not hold comparison with this: there was not a moment in which the sodaine splitting, or instant ouer-setting of the Shippe was not expected.

Swelling Sea set forth in a swelling stile.

Compared with the Authors former experiments.

Howbeit this was not all; it pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet vpon vs; for in the beginning of the storme we had receiued likewise a mighty leake. And the Ship in euery ioynt almost, hauing spued out her Okam, before we were aware (a casualty more desperate then any other that a Voyage by Sea draweth with it) was growne fiue foote suddenly deepe with water aboue her ballast, and we almost drowned within, whilest we sat looking when to perish from aboue. This imparting no lesse terrour then danger, ranne through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement, startled and turned the bloud, and tooke downe the braues of the most hardy Marriner of them all, insomuch as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himselfe, when he saw such a pond of water so suddenly broken in, and which he knew could not (without present auoiding) but instantly sinke him. So as ioyning (onely for his owne sake, not yet worth the sauing) in the publique safety; there might be seene Master, Masters Mate, Boateswaine, Quarter Master, Coopers, Carpenters, and who not, with candels in their hands, creeping along the ribs viewing the sides, searching euery corner,

Leake added to the stormes terrour.

and listening in euery place, if they could heare the water runne. Many a weeping leake was this way found, and hastily stopt, and at length one in the Gunner roome made vp with I know not how many peeces of Beefe; but all was to no purpose, the Leake (if it were but one) which drunke in our greatest Seas, and tooke in our destruction fastest, could not then be found, nor euer was, by any labour, counsell, or search. The waters still increasing, and the Pumpes going, which at length choaked with bringing vp whole and continuall Bisket (and indeede all we had, tenne thousand weight) it was conceiued, as most likely, that the Leake might be sprung in the Bread-roome, whereupon the Carpenter went downe, and ript vp all the roome, but could not finde it so.

Leake cannot be found, which cannot but be found.

I am not able to giue vnto your Ladiship euery mans thought in this perplexity, to which we were now brought; but to me, this Leakage appeared as a wound giuen to men that were before dead. The Lord knoweth, I had as little hope, as desire of life in the storme, and in this, it went beyond my will; because beyond my reason, why we should labour to preserue life; yet we did, either because so deare are a few lingring houres of life in all mankinde, or that our *Christian* knowledges taught vs, how much we owed to the rites of Nature, as bound, not to be false to ourselues, or to neglect the meanes of our owne preseruation; the most despairefull things amongst men, being matters of no wonder nor moment with him, who is the rich Fountaine and admirable Essence of all mercy.

Their labour for life three dayes and foure nights.

Our Gouernor, vpon the tuesday morning (at what time, by such who had bin below in the hold, the Leake was first discouered) had caused the whole Company, about one hundred and forty, besides women, to be equally diuided into three parts, and opening the Ship in three places (vnder the forecastle, in the waste, and hard by the Bitacke) appointed each man where to attend; and thereunto euery man came duely vpon his watch, tooke the Bucket, or Pumpe for one houre, and rested another. Then men might be seene to labour, I may well say, for life, and the better sort, euen our Gouernour, and Admirall themselues, not refusing their turne, and to spell each the other, to giue example to other. The common sort stripped naked, as men in Gallies, the easier both to hold out, and to shrinke from vnder the salt water, which continually leapt in among them, kept their eyes waking, and their thoughts and hands working, with tyred bodies, and wasted spirits, three dayes and foure nights destitute of outward comfort, and desperate of any deliuerance, testifying how mutually willing they were, yet by labour to keepe each other from drowning, albeit each one drowned whilest he laboured.

CHAP. I. 1515–1611.

Sea breakes in.

Once, so huge a Sea brake vpon the poope and quarter, vpon vs, as it couered our Shippe from stearne to stemme, like a garment or a vast cloude, it filled her brimme full for a while within, from the hatches vp to the sparre decke. This source or confluence of water was so violent, as it rusht and carried the Helm-man from the Helme, and wrested the Whipstaffe out of his hand, which so flew from side to side, that when he would haue ceased the same againe, it so tossed him from Star-boord to Lar-boord, as it was Gods mercy it had not split him: It so beat him from his hold, and so bruised him, as a fresh man hazarding in by chance fell faire with it, and by maine strength bearing somewhat vp, made good his place, and with much clamour incouraged and called vpon others; who gaue her now vp, rent in pieces and absolutely lost. Our Gouernour was at this time below at the Capstone, both by his speech and authoritie heartening euery man vnto his labour. It strooke him from the place where hee sate, and groueled him, and all vs about him on our faces, beating together with our breaths all thoughts from our bosomes, else, then that wee were now sinking. For my part, I thought her alreadie in the bottome of the Sea; and I haue heard him say, wading out of the floud thereof, all his ambition was but to climbe vp aboue hatches to dye in *Aperto cœlo*, and in the company of his old friends. It so stun'd the ship in her full pace, that shee stirred no more, then if shee had beene caught in a net, or then, as if the fabulous *Remora* had stucke to her fore-castle. Yet without bearing one inch of saile, euen then shee was making her way nine or ten leagues in a watch. One thing, it is not without his wonder (whether it were the feare of death in so great a storme, or that it pleased God to be gracious vnto vs) there was not a passenger, gentleman, or other, after he beganne to stirre and labour, but was able to relieue his fellow, and make good his course: And it is most true, such as in all their life times had neuer done houres worke before (their mindes now helping their bodies) were able twice fortie eight houres together to toile with the best.

The Gouernors care.

Remero is fabled to be a small fish able to withstand a Shippe in her course.

God inableth whom he will saue to saue themselves.

Vtter darknes.

During all this time, the heauens look'd so blacke upon vs, that it was not possible the eleuation of the Pole might be obserued: nor a Starre by night, not Sunne beame by day was to be seene. Onely vpon the thursday night Sir *George Summers* being vpon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height vpon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were vpon any of the foure Shrouds: and for three or foure houres together, or rather more, halfe the night it kept

Light on the Shrouds.

with vs, running sometimes along the Maineyard to the very end, and then returning.[1] At which, Sir *George Summers* called diuers about him, and shewed them the same, who obserued it with much wonder, and carefulnesse: but upon a sodaine, towards the morning watch, they lost the sight of it, and knew not what way it made. The superstitious Sea-men make many construction of this Sea-fire, which neuerthelesse is vsuall in stormes: the same (it may be) which the *Græcians* were wont in the *Mediterranean* to call *Castor* and *Pollux*, of which, if one onely appeared without the other, they took it for an euill signe of great tempest. The *Italians*, and such, who lye open to the *Adriatique* and *Tyrrene* Sea, call it (*a sacred Body*) *Corpo sancto*: the *Spaniards* call it Saint *Elmo*, and haue an authentique and miraculous Legend for it. Be it what it will, we laid other foundations of safety or ruine, then in the rising or falling of it, could it haue serued vs now miraculously to haue taken our height by, it might haue strucken amazement, and a reuerence in our deuotions, according to the due of a miracle. But it did not light vs any whit the more to our knowne way, who ran now (as doe hoodwinked men) at all aduentures, sometimes North, and North-east, then North and by West, and in an instant againe varying two or three points, and sometimes halfe the Compasse. East and by South we steered away as much as we could to beare vpright, which was no small carefulnesse nor paine to doe, albeit we much vnrigged our Ship, threw ouer-boord much luggage, many a Trunke and Chest (in which I suffered no meane losse) and staued many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegar, and heaued away all our Ordnance on the Star-boord side, and had now purposed to haue cut downe the Maine Mast, the more to lighten her, for we were much spent, and our men so weary, as their strengths together failed them, with their hearts, hauing trauailed now from Tuesday till Friday morning, day and night, without either sleepe or foode; for the leakeage taking vp all the hold, wee could neither come by Beere nor fresh water; fire we could keepe none in the Cookeroome to dresse any meate, and carefulnesse, griefe, and our turne at the Pumpe or Bucket, were sufficient to hold sleepe from our eyes.

No sleepe or food from tuesday till friday.

And surely Madam, it is most true, there was not any houre

[1] I boarded the king's ship: now on the beak,
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin
I flamed amazement: sometimes I'd divide
And burn in many places: on the top-mast,
The yards, and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,
Then meet, and join.

The Tempest, sc. ii.

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(a matter of admiration) all these dayes, in which we freed not twelue hundred Barricos of water, the least whereof contained six gallons, and some eight, besides three deepe Pumpes continually going, two beneath at the Capstone, and the other aboue in the halfe Decke, and at each Pumpe foure thousand stroakes at the least in a watch; so as I may well say, euery foure houres, we quitted one hundred tunnes of water: and from tuesday noone till friday noone, we bailed and pumped two thousand tunne, and yet doe what we could, when our Ship held least in her (after tuesday night second watch) shee bore ten foote deepe, at which stay our extreame working kept her one eight glasses, forbearance whereof had instantly sunke vs, and it being now Friday, the fourth morning, it wanted little, but that there had bin a generall determination, to haue shut vp hatches, and commending our sinfull soules to God, committed the Shippe to the mercy of the Sea: surely, that night we must haue done it, and that night had we then perished: but see the goodnesse and sweet introduction of better hope, by our mercifull God giuen vnto vs.

1200 Barricos an houre, besides 3 Pumps, acquitting 100 tuns of water euery 4 houres.

Summer Ilands descried by Sir *George Summers*.

Sir *George Summers*, when no man dreamed of such happinesse, had discouered, and cried Land. Indeede the morning now three quarters spent, had wonne a little cleerenesse from the dayes before, and it being better surueyed, the very trees were seene to moue with the winde vpon the shoare side: whereupon our Gouernour commanded the Helme-man to beare vp, the Boateswaine sounding at the first, found it thirteene fathome, and when we stood a little in seuen fatham; and presently heauing his lead the third time, had ground at foure fathome, and by this, we had got her within a mile vnder the South-east point of the land, where we had somewhat smooth water. But hauing no hope to saue her by coming to an anker in the same, we were inforced to runne her ashoare, as neere the land as we could, which brought vs within three quarters of a mile of shoare, and by the mercy of God vnto vs, making out our Boates, we had ere night brought all our men, women, and children, about the number of one hundred and fifty, safe into the Iland.

They go a land.

We found it to be the dangerous and dreaded Iland, or rather Ilands of the *Bermuda*: whereof let mee giue your Ladyship a briefe description, before I proceed to my narration. And that the rather, because they be so terrible to all that euer touched on them, and such tempests, thunders, and other fearefull obiects are seene and heard about them, that they be called commonly, *The Deuils Ilands*, and are feared and auoyded of all sea trauellers aliue, aboue any other place in the world. Yet it pleased our mercifull God, to make euen this hideous and hated

Bermuda Ilands supposed the Diuels, &c.

place, both the place of our safetie, and meanes of our deliuerance.

And hereby also, I hope to deliuer the world from a foule and generall errour: it being counted of most, that they can be no habitation for Men, but rather given ouer to Deuils and wicked Spirits; whereas indeed wee find them now by experience, to bee as habitable and commodious as most Countries of the same climate and situation: insomuch as if the entrance into them were as easie as the place it selfe is contenting, it had long ere this beene inhabited, as well as other Ilands. Thus shall we make it appeare, *That Truth is the daughter of Time*,[1] and that men ought not to deny euery thing which is not subiect to their owne sense.

Bermuda Islands described.

The *Bermudas* bee broken Ilands, fiue hundred of them in manner of an *Archipelagus* (at least if you may call them all Ilands that lie, how little soeuer into the Sea, and by themselues) of small compasse, some larger yet then other, as time and the Sea hath wonne from them, and eaten his passage through, and all now lying in the figure of a Croissant, within the circuit of sixe or seuen leagues at the most, albeit at first it is said of them that they were thirteene or fourteene leagues; and more in longitude as I haue heard. For no greater distance is it from the Northwest Point to *Gates his Bay*, as by this Map your Ladyship may see, in which Sir *George Summers*, who coasted in his Boat about them all, tooke great care to expresse the same exactly and full, and made his draught perfect for all good occasions, and the benefit of such, who either in distresse might be brought vpon them, or make saile this way.

Sir *George Summers* diligent suruey: his draught which we haue not M. *Norgate* (Norwood) hath since published an exact Map.

It should seeme by the testimony of *Gonzalus Ferdinandus Ouiedus*, in his Booke intituled, *The Summary or Abridgement of his generall History of the West* Indies, written to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, that they haue beene indeede of greater compasse (and I easily beleeue it) then they are now, who thus saith: *In the yeere* 1515, *when I came first to informe your Maiesty of the state of the things in* India, *and was the yeere following in* Flanders, *in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your kingdomes of* Aragony *and* Casteel, *whereas at that voyage I sayled aboue the Iland* Bermudas, *otherwise called* Gorza, *being the farthest of all the Ilands that are yet found at this day in the world, and arriuing there at the depth of eight yards*[2] *of water, and distant from the Land*

[1] *Veritas temporis filia.* This motto is affixed to a rare portrait of Queen Mary, dated 1555, and reproduced by Sir W. Stirling Maxwell, in his 'Memoirs of Charles V.'

[2] Or fadams *braccia*. In his *Gen. hist. l.* 2. *c.* 9. he reciteth the same historie more particularly: he saith it hath two names, *Garza*, of the ship which first dis-

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as farre as the shot of a Peece of Ordnance, I determined to send some of the ship to Land, as well to make search of such things as were there, as also to leaue in the Iland certaine Hogges for increase, but the time not seruing my purpose, by reason of contrary winde I could bring my Ships no neerer: the Iland being twelue leagues in length, and sixteene in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the thirtie three degrees of the North side.

Thus farre hee.

True it is, the maine Iland, or greatest of them now, may bee some sixteene miles in length East North-east, and West South-west, the longest part of it standing in thirtie two degrees and twentie minutes, in which is a great Bay on the North side, in the Northwest end, and many broken Ilands in that Sound or Bay, and a little round Iland at the South-west end. As occasions were offered, so we gaue titles and names to certaine places.

These Ilands are often afflicted and rent with tempests, great strokes of thunder, lightning and raine in the extreamity of violence; which (and it may well bee) hath so sundred and torne downe the Rockes, and whurried whole quarters of Ilands into the maine Sea (some sixe, some seuen leagues, and is like in time to swallow them all) so as euen in that distance from the shoare there is no small danger of them and with them, of the stormes continually raging from them, which once in the full and change commonly of euery Moone (Winter or Summer) keepe their vnchangeable round, and rather thunder then blow from euery corner about them, sometimes fortie eight houres together: especially if the circle, which the Philosophers call *Halo*[1] were (in our being there) seene about the Moone at any season, which bow indeed appeared there often, and would bee of a mightie compasse and breadth. I haue not obserued it any where one quarter so great, especially about the twentieth of March, I saw the greatest when followed vpon the eues eue of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, the mightiest blast of lightning, and most terrible rap of thunder that euer astonied mortall men, I thinke. In August, September, and vntill the end of October, wee had very hot and pleasant weather, onely (as I say) thunder, lightning, and many scattering showers of

couered it, being so called, and *Bermudez* of the Captain of that ship named *Iohn Bermudes*. Note that placeth it more to the North, then that which is by ours inhabited, and say somtimes they see it, somtime not as they passe.

[1] The *Spaniards* (as I haue heard) which were wracked there in Cap. *Butlers* time, were of opinion that ours are not the *Bermudas*: Yea some of ours affirme, they haue seen such an Iland to the North of ours, and haue offered to discouer it; *sub iudice lis est: veritas temporis filia. Halo*, the circle seen about the Moon, of great compasse.

Raine (which would passe swiftly ouer, and yet fall with such force and darknesse for the time as if it would neuer bee cleere againe) wee wanted not any: and of raine more in Summer then in Winter, and in the beginning of December wee had great store of hayle (the sharpe windes blowing Northerly) but it continued not, and to say truth, it is wintry or summer weather there, according as those North and North-west windes blow. Much taste of this kind of Winter wee had; for those cold windes would suddenly alter the ayre: but when there was no breath of wind to bring the moyst ayre out of the Seas, from the North and North-west, wee were rather weary of the heate, then pinched with extreamitie of cold: Yet the three Winter moneths, December, January, and February, the winds kept in those cold corners, and indeed then it was heauy and melancholy being there, nor were the winds more rough in March, then in the foresaid moneths, and yet euen then would the Birds breed. I thinke they bredde there, most monethes in the yeere, in September, and at Christmasse I saw young Birds, and in Februarie, at which time the mornings are there (as in May in *England*) fresh and sharpe. Well may the *Spaniards*, and these *Biscani* Pilots, with all their Traders into the *Indies*, passe by these Ilands as afraid (either bound out or homewards) of their very Meridian, and leaue the fishing for the Pearle (which some say, and I beleeue well is as good there, as in any of their other *Indian* Ilands, and whereof we had some triall) to such as will aduenture for them. The Seas about them are so ful of breaches, as with those dangers, they may wel be said to be the strongest situate in the world. I haue often heard Sir *George Summers*, and Captaine *Newport* say, how they haue not beene by any chance or discouery vpon their like. It is impossible without great and perfect knowledge, and search first made of them to bring in a bable Boat, so much as of ten Tun without apparant ruine, albeit within there are many faire harbours for the greatest *English* Ship: yea, the *Argasies* of *Venice* may ride there with water enough, and safe landlockt. There is one onely side that admits so much as hope of safetie by many a league, on which (as before described) it pleased God to bring vs, wee had not come one man of vs else a shoare, as the weather was: they haue beene euer therefore left desolate and not inhabited.

The soile of the whole Iland is one and the same, the mould, dark, red, sandie, dry, and vncapable I beleeue of any of our commodities or fruits. Sir *George Summers* in the beginning of August, squared out a Garden by the quarter (the quarter being set downe before a goodly Bay), vpon which our Gouernor

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did first leape ashoare, and therefore called it (as aforesaid) *Gates his Bay*, which opened into the East, and into which the Sea did ebbe and flow, according to their tides, and sowed Muske Melons, Pease, Onyons, Raddish, Lettice, and many *English* seeds, and Kitchen Herbes. All which in some ten daies did appear aboue ground, but whether by the small Birds, of which there be many kindes, or by Flies (Wormes[1] I neuer saw any, nor any venomous thing, as Toade, or Snake, or any creeping beast hurtfull, onely some Spiders, which as many affirme are signes of great store of Gold: but they were long and slender legge Spiders, and whether venomous or no I know not, I beleeue not, since wee should still find them amongst our linnen in our Chests, and drinking Cans; but we neuer receiued any danger from them: A kind of *Melontha*, or blacke Beetell there was, which bruised, gaue a sauour like many sweet and strong gums punned together) whether, I say, hindred by these, or by the condition or vice of the soyle, they came to no proofe, nor thriued. It is like enough that the commodities of the other Westerne Ilands would prosper there, as Vines, Lemmons, Oranges, and Sugar Canes: Our Gouernour made triall of the later, and buried some two or three Garden mould, which were reserued in the wracke amongst many which wee carried to plant here in *Virginia*, and they beganne to grow, but the Hogs breaking in, both rooted them vp and eate them: there is not through the whole Ilands, either Champion ground, Valleys, or fresh Riuers. They are full of Shawes of goodly Cedar, fairer then ours here of *Virginia*; the Berries, whereof our men seething, straining, and letting stand some three or foure daies, made a kind of pleasant drinke: these Berries are of the same bignesse, and collour of *Corynthes*, full of little stones, and verie restringent or hard binding. *Peter Martin* saith, That at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* there is a kind of Cedar, which the Iewes dwelling there, affirme to be the Cedars of *Libanus*, which beare old fruite and new all the yeere, being a kinde of Apple which tast like Prunes: but then, neither those there in the *Bermudas*, nor ours here in *Virginia* are of that happy kind.

Spiders

Beetle very sweet.

Hogs.

Cedars.

Cedar-drinke.

American Cedars, are not the same kind with those of *Libanus*, as by the historie of them in our former Tome, *pag.* 1500, &c.

Likewise there grow great store of Palme Trees, not the right *Indian* Palmes, such as in Saint *Iohn Port-Rico* are called Cocos, and are there full of small fruit like Almonds (of the bignesse of the graines in Pomgranates) nor of those kind of Palmes which beares Dates, but a kind of Limerons or

Palmetos. Many sorts of Palmes,

[1] Experience hath better shewed since, as we after see, both for fruits, wormes, &c., those that dwell there finding more then these, which took there Inne or lodging. Yet the dawning and *Aurora* yeeld a delightsome light, though not all so certaine as the Sun: for which cause I haue not omitted these first discoueries. [August was the wrong season for sowing these seeds.]

wild Palmes in growth, fashion, leaues, and branches, resembling those true Palmes: for the Tree is high, and straight, sappy and spongious, vnfirme for any vse, no branches but in the vppermost part thereof, and in the top grow leaues about the head of it (the most inmost part whereof they call *Palmeto*, and it is the heart and pith of the same Trunke, so white and thin, as it will peele off into pleates as smooth and delicate as white Sattin into twentie folds (in which a man may write as in paper) where they spread and fall downward about the Tree like an ouer-blowne Rose, or Saffron flower not early gathered; so broad are the leaues, as an *Italian Vmbrello*, a man may well defend his whole body vnder one of them, from the greatest storme raine that falls. For they being stiffe and smooth, as if so many flagges were knit together, the raine easily slideth off. We oftentimes found growing to these leaues, many Silk-wormes inuolued therein, like those small wormes which *Acosta* writeth of, which grew in the leaues of the Tunall Tree, of which being dried, the *Indians* make their Cochinile so precious and marchantable. With these leaues we thatched our Cabbins, and roasting the Palmito or soft top thereof, they had a taste like fried Melons, and being sod they eate like Cabbedges, but not so offensiuely thankefull to the stomacke. Many an ancient Burger was therefore heaued at, and fell not for his place, but for his head: for our common people, whose bellies neuer had eares, made it no breach of Charitie in their hot blouds and tall stomackes to murder thousands of them. They beare a kind of Berry, blacke and round, as bigge as a Damson, which about December were ripe and luscious: being scalded (whilest they are greene) they eate like Bullases. These Trees shed their leaues in the Winter moneths, as withered or burnt with the cold blasts of the North winde, especially those that grow to the Seaward, and in March, there burgen new in their roome fresh and tender.

the Coco, the Date-Palme, the Wine-Palme, or tadie, &c. besides these Reed-Palmes.

Silke-wormes.

Other kindes of high and sweet smelling Woods there bee, and diuers colours, blacke, yellow, and red, and one which beares a round blew Berry, much eaten by our owne people, of a stiptick qualitie and rough taste on the tongue like a Slow to stay or binde the Fluxe, which the often eating of the luscious Palme berry would bring them into, for the nature of sweet things is to clense and dissolue.[1] A kind of Pease of the bignesse and shape of a *Katherine* Peare, wee found growing vpon the Rockes full of many sharpe subtill prickes (as a Thistle) which wee therefore called, *The Prickle Peare*, the outside greene, but being opened, of a deepe murrie, full of iuyce like a

Other Trees.

Prickle-peare.

[1] Probably cedar berries.

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Mulberry, and iust of the same substance and taste, wee both eate them raw and baked.

Waters.

No Springs then found, since Wells haue bin there digged which ebb and flow with the Sea, &c.

Sure it is, that there are no Riuers nor running Springs of fresh water to bee found vpon any of them: when wee came first wee digged and found certaine gushings and soft bublings, which being either in bottoms, or on the side of hanging ground, were onely fed with raine water, which neuerthelesse soone sinketh into the earth and vanisheth away, or emptieth it selfe out of sight into the Sea, without any channell aboue or vpon the superficies of the earth: for according as their raines fell, we had our Wels and Pits (which we digged) either halfe full, or absolute exhausted and dry, howbeit some low bottoms (which the continuall descent from the Hills filled full, and in those flats could haue no passage away) we found to continue as fishing Ponds, or standing Pooles, continually Summer and Winter full of fresh water.

Fish.

The shoare and Bayes round about, when wee landed first afforded great store of fish, and that of diuers kindes, and good, but it should seeme that our fiers, which wee maintained on the shoares side draue them from vs, so as wee were in some want, vntill wee had made a flat bottome Gundall of Cedar, with which wee put off farther into the Sea, and then daily hooked great store of many kindes, as excellent Angell-fish, Salmon Peale, Bonetas, Stingray, Cabally, Scnappers, Hogge-fish, Sharkes, Dogge-fish, Pilcherds, Mullets, and Rock-fish, of which bee diuers kindes: and of these our Gouernour dryed and salted, and barrelling them vp, brought to sea fiue hundred, for he had procured Salt to bee made with some Brine, which happily was preserued, and once hauing made a little quantity, he kept three or foure pots boyling, and two or three men attending nothing else in an house (some little distance from his Bay) set vp on purpose for the same worke.

Salt made there.

Likewise in Furbushers building Bay wee had a large Sein, or Tramell Net, which our Gouernour caused to be made of the Deere Toyles, which wee were to carry to Virginia, by drawing the Masts more straight and narrow with Roape Yarne, and which reached from one side of the Dock to the other: with which (I may boldly say) wee haue taken fiue thousand of small and great fish at one hale. As Pilchards, Breames, Mullets, Rocke-fish, &c., and other kindes for which wee haue no names. We haue taken also from vnder the broken Rockes, Creuises oftentimes greater then any of our best *English* Lobsters; and likewise abundance of Crabbes, Oysters, and Wilkes. True it is, for Fish in euerie Coue and Creeke wee found Snaules, and Skulles in that abundance, as (I thinke) no Iland in the world may haue greater store or better Fish. For they

5000 fishes taken at a hale.

sucking of the very water, which descendeth from the high Hills mingled with iuyce and verdor of the Palmes, Cedars, and other sweet Woods (which likewise make the Herbes, Roots, and Weeds sweet which grow about the Bankes) become thereby both fat and wholsome. As must those Fish needes bee grosse, slimy, and corrupt the bloud, which feed in Fennes, Marishes, Ditches, muddy Pooles, and neere vnto places where much filth is daily cast forth. Vnscaled Fishes, such as *Junius* calleth *Molles Pisces*, as Trenches, Eele, or Lampries, and such feculent and dangerous Snakes wee neuer saw any, nor may any Riuer bee inuenomed with them (I pray God) where I come. I forbeare to speake what a sort of Whales wee haue seene hard aboard the shoare followed sometime by the Sword-fish and the Thresher, the sport whereof was not vnpleasant. The Sword-fish, with his sharpe and needle Finne, pricking him into the belly when he would sinke and fall into the Sea; and when hee startled vpward from his wounds, the Thresher with his large Fins (like Flayles) beating him aboue water. The example whereof giues vs (saith *Ouiedus*) to vnderstand, that in the selfe same perill and danger doe men liue in this mortall life, wherein is no certaine security neither in high estate nor low.

Cause of their wholsomness.

No vnscaled fishes.

Whale and Sword-fish.

Cater-tray beare the bell away. *Medio tutissimus ibis.*

Fowle there is great store, small Birds, Sparrowes fat and plumpe like a Bunting, bigger then ours, Robbins of diuers colours greene and yellow, ordinary and familiar in our Cabbins, and other of lesse sort. White and gray Hernshawes, Bitters, Teale, Snites, Crowes, and Hawkes, of which in March wee found diuers Ayres, Goshawkes and Tassells, Oxen-birds, Cormorants, Bald-Cootes, Moore-Hennes, Owles, and Battes in great store. And vpon New-yeeres day in the morning, our Gouernour being walked foorth with another Gentleman Master *James Swift*, each of them with their Peeces killed a wild Swanne, in a great Sea-water Bay or Pond in our Iland. A kinde of webbe-footed Fowle there is, of the bignesse of an *English* greene Plouer, or Sea-Meawe, which all the Summer wee saw not, and in the darkest nights of Nouember and December (for in the night they onely feed) they would come forth, but not flye farre from home, and houering in the ayre, and ouer the Sea, made a strange hollow and harsh howling. Their colour is inclining to Russet, with white bellies, as are likewise the long Feathers of their wings Russet and White, these gather themselues together and breed in those Ilands which are high, and so farre alone into the Sea, that the Wilde Hogges cannot swimme ouer them, and there in the ground they haue their Burrowes, like Conyes in a Warren, and so brought in the loose Mould, though not so deepe: which Birds with a light bough in a darke night (as in our Lowbelling) wee caught. I haue beene at the taking

Fowles.

Wild Swans.

Web-footed Fowle.

They call it of the cry which it maketh a *Cohow.*

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of three hundred in an houre, and wee might haue laden our Boates. Our men found a prettie way to take them, which was by standing on the Rockes or Sands by the Sea side, and hollowing, laughing, and making the strangest out-cry that possibly they could: with the noyse whereof the Birds would come flocking to that place, and settle vpon the very armes and head of him that so cryed, and still creepe neerer and neerer, answering the noyse themselues: by which our men would weigh them with their hand, and which weighed heauiest they tooke for the best and let the others alone, and so our men would take twentie dozen in two houres of the chiefest of them; and they were a good and well relished Fowle, fat and full as a Partridge. In January wee had great store of their Egges, which are as great as an Hennes Egge, and so fashioned and white shelled, and haue no difference in yolke nor white from an Hennes Egge. There are thousands of these Birds, and two or three Ilands full of their Burrowes, whether at any time (in two houres warning) wee could send our Cock-boat, and bring home as many as would serue the whole Company: which Birds for their blindnesse (for they see weakly in the day) and for their cry and whooting, wee called the *Sea Owle*; they will bite cruelly with their crooked Bills.

Wild Hogges how first found out and taken.

Wee had knowledge that there were wilde Hogges vpon the Iland, at first by our owne Swine preserued from the wrack and brought to shoare: for they straying into the woods, an huge wilde Boare followed downe to our quarter, which at night was watched and taken in this sort. One of Sir *George Summers* men went and lay among the Swine, when the Boare being come and groueled by the Sowes, hee put ouer his hand and rubbed the side gently of the Boare, which then lay still, by which meanes hee fastned a rope with a sliding knot to the hinder legge and so tooke him, and after him in this sort two or three more. But in the end (a little businesse ouer) our people would goe a hunting with our Ship Dogge, and sometimes bring home thirtie, sometimes fiftie Boares, Sowes, and Pigs in a weeke aliue; for the Dog would fasten on them and hold, whilest the Hunts-men made in: and there bee thousands of them in the Ilands, and at that time of the yeere, in August, September, October, and Nouember, they were well fed with Berries that dropped from the Cedars and the Palmes, and in our quarter wee made styes for them, and gathering of these Berries serued them twice aday, by which meanes we kept them in good plight; and when there was any fret of weather (for vpon euery increase of wind the billow would be so great, as it was no putting out with our Gundall or Canow) that we could not fish nor take Tortoyses, then wee killed our Hogs. But in

February when the Palme Berries began to be scant or dry, and the Cedar Berries failed two moneths sooner, true it is the Hogs grew poore, and being taken so, wee could not raise them to be better, for besides those Berries, we had nothing wherewith to franke them: but euen then the Tortoyses came in againe, of which wee daily both turned vp great store, finding them on Land, as also sculling after them in our Boate strooke them with an Iron goad, and sod, baked, and roasted them. The Tortoyse is reasonable toothsom (some say) wholsome meate. I am sure our Company liked the meate of them verie well, and one Tortoyse would goe further amongst them, then three Hogs. One Turtle (for so we called them) feasted well a dozen Messes, appointing sixe to euery Messe. It is such a kind of meat as a man can neither absolutely call Fish nor Flesh, keeping most what in the water, and feeding vpon Sea-grasse like a Heifer, in the bottome of the Coues and Bayes, and laying their Egges (of which wee should finde fiue hundred at a time in the opening of a shee Turtle) in the Sand by the shoare side, and so couering them close leaue them to the hatching of the Sunne, like the *Manati* at Saint *Dominique*, which made the *Spanish* Friars (at their first arriuall) make some scruple to eate them on a Friday, because in colour and taste the flesh is like to morsells of Veale. Concerning the laying of their Egges, and hatching of their young, *Peter Martyr* writeth thus in his Decades of the Ocean: At such time as the heate of Nature moueth them to generation, they come forth of the Sea, and making a deepe pit in the sand, they lay three or foure hundred Egges therein: when they haue thus emptied their bag of Conception, they put as much of the same againe into the Pit as may satisfie to couer ther Egges, and so resort againe vnto the Sea, nothing carefull of their succession. At the day appointed of Nature to the procreation of these creatures, there creepeth out a multitude of Tortoyses, as it were Pismyers out of an Anthill, and this only by the heate of the Sunne, without any helpe of their Parents: their Egges are as big as Geese Egges, and themselues growne to perfection, bigger then great round Targets.

Tortoises.

§ II.

Actions and Occurrents whiles they continued in the Ilands: Rauens sent for Virginia; *Diuers mutinies*; PAINE *executed: Two Pinnaces built.*

So soone as wee were a little setled after our landing, with all the conueniencie wee might, and as the place, and our many wants would giue vs leaue, wee made vp our long Boate

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H. Rauens voyage from *Bermuda* to *Virginia.*

(as your Ladyship hath heard) in fashion of a Pinnace, fitting her with a little Deck, made of the Hatches of our ruin'd ship, so close that no water could goe in her, gaue her Sayles and Oares, and intreating with our Masters Mate, *Henry Rauens* (who was supposed a sufficient Pilot) wee found him easily wonne to make ouer therewith, as a Barke of *Auiso* for *Virginia*, which being in the height of thirtie seuen degrees, fiue degrees from the Iland which we were, might bee some one hundred and fortie leagues from vs, or thereabouts (reckoning to euery degree that lies North-east, and Westerly twentie eight *English* leagues) who the twentie eight of August being Munday, with sixe Saylers, and our Cape Merchant *Thomas Whittingham*, departed from vs out of *Gates* his Bay: but to our much wonder returned againe vpon the Wednesday night after, hauing attempted to haue got cleere of the Iland, from the North North-east to the South-west, but could not as little water as shee drew, which might not bee aboue twentie inches for shoales and breaches, so as he was faine to go out from *Summers* Creeks, and the same way we came in on the South South-east of the Ilands, and from thence hee made to Sea the Friday after the first of September, promising if hee liued and arriued safe there, to returne vnto vs the next new Moone with the Pinnace belonging to the Colony there: according vnto which instructions were directed vnto the new Leiftenant Gouernour, and Councell from our Gouernour here, for which the Ilands were appointed carefully to be watched, and fiers prepared as Beacons to haue directed and wafted him in: but two Moones were wasted vpon the Promontory before mentioned, and gaue many a long and wished looke round about the Horizon, from the North-east to the South-west, but in vaine, discouering nothing all the while, which way soeuer we turned our eye, but ayre and sea.

You may please, excellent Lady, to know the reason which moued our Gouernour to dispatch this long Boat, was the care which hee tooke for the estate of the Colony in this his inforced absence: for by a long practised experience, foreseeing and fearing what innouation and tumult might happily arise, amongst the younger and ambitious spirits of the new companiesto arriue in *Virginia*, now comming with him along in this same Fleet, hee framed his letters to the Colony, and by a particular Commission confirmed Captaine *Peter Win* his Lieutenant Gouernor, with an Assistance of sixe Counsellours, writing withall to diuers and such Gentlemen of qualitie and knowledge of vertue, and to such louers of goodnesse in this cause whom hee knew, intreating them by giuing examples in themselues of duty and obedience, to assist likewise the said Lieutenant

Gouernor, against such as should attempt the innouating of the person (now named by him) or forme of gouernment, which in some Articles hee did likewise prescribe vnto them: and had faire hopes all should goe well, if these his letters might arriue there, vntill such time as either some Ship there (which hee fairely beleeued) might bee moued presently to aduenture for him: or that it should please the right honourable, the Lordes, the rest of his Maiesties Councell in *England*, to addresse thither the right honourable the Lord *Lawar* (one of more eminencie and worthinesse) as the proiect was before his comming forth) whilest by their honourable fauours, a charitable consideration in like manner might bee taken of our estates to redeeme vs from hence. For which purpose likewise our Gouernour directed a particular letter to the Councell in *England*, and sent it to the foresaid Captaine *Peter Winne* (his now to bee chosen Lieutenant Gouernour) by him to bee dispatched (which is the first) from thence into *England*.

Cap. *Win.* L. *Lawarre.* Sir *George Summers* his suruay and other Industrie.

In his absence *Sir George Summers* coasted the Ilands, and drew the former plot of them, and daily fished, and hunted for our whole company, vntill the seuen and twentieth of Nouember, when then well perceuing that we were not likely to heare from *Virginia*, and conceiuing how the Pinnace which *Richard Frubbusher* was a building would not be of burthen sufficient to transport all our men from thence into *Virginia* (especially considering the season of the yeare, wherein we were likely to put off) he consulted with our Gouernour, that if hee might haue two Carpenters (for we had foure, such as they were) and twenty men, ouer with him into the maine Iland, he would quickly frame vp another little Barke, to second ours, for the better sitting and conueiance of our people. Our Gouernour, with many thankes (as the cause required) cherishing this so carefull and religious consideration in him (and whose experience likewise was somewhat in these affaires) granted him all things sutable to his desire, and to the furthering of the worke: who therefore had made ready for him all such tooles and instruments, as our owne vse required not: and for him, were drawne forth twenty of the ablest and stoutest of the company, and the best of our men, to hew and square timber, when himselfe then, with daily paines and labour, wrought vpon a small Vessell, which was soone ready as ours: at which wee leaue him a while busied, and returne to our selues. In the meane space did one *Frubbusher* borne at *Graues end*, and at his comming forth now dwelling at *Lime* House (a painefull and well experienced Shipwright, and skilfull workman) labour the building of a little Pinnace: for the furtherance of which, the Gouernour dispensed with no trauaile of his body, nor forbare any care or

He builds a Pinnace.

R. Frubbusher builds another

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study of minde, perswading as much and more, an ill qualified parcell of people, by his owne performance, then by authority, thereby to hold them at their worke, namely to fell, carry, and saue Cedar, fit for the Carpenters purpose (for what was so meane, whereto he would not himselfe set his hand, being therefore vp earely and downe late?) yet neuerthelesse were they hardly drawne to it, as the Tortoise to the inchantment, as the Prouerbe is, but his owne presence and hand being set to euery meane labour, and imployed so readily to euery office, made our people at length more diligent, and willing to be called thereunto, where, they should see him before they came. In which, we may obserue how much example preuailes aboue precepts, and how readier men are to be led by eyes, then eares.

Power of example.

And sure it was happy for vs, who had now runne this fortune, and were fallen into the bottome of this misery, that we both had our Gouernour with vs, and one so solicitious and carefull, whose both example (as I said) and authority, could lay shame, and command vpon our people: else, I am perswaded, we had most of vs finished our dayes there, so willing were the maior part of the common sort (especially when they found such a plenty of victuals) to settle a foundation of euer inhabiting there; as well appeared by many practises of theirs (and perhaps of some of the better sort) Loe, what are our affections and passions, if not rightly squared? how irreligious, and irregular they expresse vs? not perhaps so ill as we would be, bnt yet as wee are; some dangerous and secret discontents nourished amongst vs, had like to haue bin the parents of bloudy issues and mischiefes; they began first in the Sea-men, who in time had fastened vnto them (by false baits) many of our land-men likewise, and some of whom (for opinion of their Religion) was carried an extraordinary and good respect. The Angles wherewith chiefely they thus hooked in these disquieted Pooles, were, how that *in Virginia, nothing but wretchednesse and labour must be expected, with many wants, and a churlish intreaty, there being neither that Fish, Flesh, nor Fowle, which here (without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any threatning, and are of authority) at ease, and pleasure might be inioyed: and since both in the one, and the other place, they were (for the time) to loose the fruition both of their friends and Countrey, as good, and better were it for them, to repose and seate them where they should haue the least outward wants the while.* This, thus preached, and published each to other, though by such who neuer had bin more onward towards *Virginia*, then (before this Voyage) a Sculler could happily rowe him (and what hath a more adamantine

Mutinous conceptions.

power to draw vnto it the consent and attraction of the idle, vntoward, and wretched number of the many, then liberty, and fulnesse of sensuality?) begat such a murmur, and such a discontent, and disunion of hearts and hands from this labour, and forwarding the meanes of redeeming vs from hence, as each one wrought with his Mate how to diuorse him from the same. And first (and it was the first of September) a conspiracy was discouered, of which six were found principals, who had promised each vnto the other, not to set their hands to any trauaile or endeauour which might expedite or forward this Pinnace: and each of these had seuerally (according to appointment) sought his opportunity to draw the Smith, and one of our Carpenters, *Nicholas Bennit*, who made much profession of Scripture, a mutinous and dissembling Imposter; (the Captaine, and one of the chiefe perswaders of others, who afterwards brake from the society of the Colony, and like outlawes retired into the Woods, to make a settlement and habitation there) on their party, with whom they purposed to leaue our Quarter, and possesse another Iland by themselues: but this happily found out, they were condemned to the same punishment which they would haue chosen (but without Smith or Carpenter) and to an Iland farre by it selfe, they were carried, and there left. Their names were *John Want*, the chiefe of them, an *Essex* man of *Newport* by *Saffronwalden*, both seditious, and a sectary in points of Religion, in his owne prayers much deuout and frequent, but hardly drawne to the publique, insomuch as being suspected by our Minister for a *Brownist*,[1] he was often compelled to the common Liturgie and forme of Prayer. The rest of the confederates were *Christopher Carter*, *Francis Pearepoint*, *William Brian*, *William Martin*, *Richard Knowles*: but soone they missed comfort (who were farre remoued from our store) besides, the society of their acquaintance had wrought in some of them, if not a loathsomeness of their offence, yet a sorrow that their complement was not more full, and therefore a wearinesse of their being thus vntimely proscribed; insomuch, as many humble petitions were sent vnto our Gouernour, fraught full of their seeming sorrow and repentance, and earnest vowes to redeeme the former trespasse, with example of dueties in them all, to the common cause, and generall businesse; vpon which our Gouernour (not easie to admit any accusation, and hard to remit an offence, but at all times sorry in the punishment of him,

Conspiracy.

John Want, Carter, and others exiled and pardoned.

[1] The principles of the Brownists, or followers of the Rev. Robert Browne (1571), were nearly identical with those of the Independents, and about thirty-five years later attained great influence in Bermuda. See 1644 to 1649. The 'minister' of Sir Thomas Gates's expedition, appointed by the Bishop of London, was Rev. —— Bucke, afterwards a minister in Virginia. See Anderson's 'History of the Church in the Colonies.'

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in whom may appeare either shame or contrition) was easily content to reacknowledge them againe.

Another Mutinie.

Yet could not this be any warning to others, who more subtilly began to shake the foundation of our quiet safety, and therein did one *Stephen Hopkins* commence the first act or ouerture: A fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures, and could reason well therein, whom our Minister therefore chose to be his Clarke, to reade the Psalmes, and Chapters vpon Sondayes, at the assembly of the Congregation vnder him: who in January the twenty foure, brake with one *Samuel Sharpe* and *Humfrey Reede* (who presently discouered it to the Gouernour) and alledged substantiall arguments, both ciuill and diuine (the Scripture falsly quoted) that it was no breach of honesty, conscience, nor Religion, to decline from the obedience of the Gouernour, or refuse to goe any further, led by his authority (except it so pleased themselues) since the authority ceased when the wracke was committed, and with it, they were all then freed from the gouernment of any man; and for a matter of Conscience, it was not vnknowne to the meanest, how much we were therein bound each one to prouide for himselfe, and his owne family: for which were two apparant reasons to stay them euen in this place; first, abundance by Gods prouidence of all manner of good foode: next, some hope in reasonable time, when they might grow weary of the place, to build a small Barke, with the skill and helpe of the aforesaid *Nicholas Bennit*, whom they insinuated to them, albeit hee was now absent from his quarter, and working in the maine Iland with Sir *George Summers* vpon his Pinnace, to be of the conspiracy, that so might get cleere from hence at their owne pleasures: when in *Virginia*, the first would be assuredly wanting, and they might well feare to be detained in that Countrie by the authority of the Commander thereof, and their whole life to serue the turnes of the Aduenturers, with their trauailes and labours. This being thus laid, and by such a one, who had gotten an opinion (as I before remembred) of Religion; when it was declared by those two accusers, not knowing what further ground it had or complices, it pleased the Gouernour to let this his factious offence to haue a publique affront, and contestation by these two witnesses before the whole Company, who at the toling of a Bell assemble before a Corps du guard, where the Prisoner was brought forth in manacles, and both accused, and suffered to make at large, to euery particular, his answere; which was onely full of sorrow and teares, pleading simplicity, and deniall. But hee being onely found, at this time, both the Captaine and the follower of this Mutinie, and generally held worthy to satisfie the

Conscience greatest enemy to conscience.

Stephen Hopkins condemned and pardoned.

punishment of his offence, with the sacrifice of his life, our Gouernour passed the sentence of a Martiall Court vpon him, such as belongs to Mutinie and Rebellion. But so penitent hee was, and made so much moane, alleadging the ruine of his Wife and Children in this his trespasse, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better sort of the Company, who therefore with humble intreaties, and earnest supplications, went vnto our Gouernour, whom they besought (as likewise did Captaine *Newport* and my selfe) and neuer left him vntill we had got his pardon.

In these dangers and diuellish disquiets (whilest the almighty God wrought for vs, and sent vs, miraculously deliuered from the calamities of the Sea, all blessings vpon the shoare, to content and binde vs to gratefulnesse) thus inraged amongst our selues, to the destruction each of other, into what a mischiefe and misery had wee bin giuen vp, had wee not had a Gouernour with his authority, to haue suppressed the same? Yet was there a worse practise, faction, and coniuration a foote, deadly and bloudy, in which the life of our Gouernour, with many others were threatned, and could not but miscarry in his fall. But such is euer the will of God (who in the execution of his iudgements, breaketh the firebrands vpon the head of him, who first kindleth them) there were, who conceiued that our Gouernour, indeede neither durst, nor had authority to put in execution, or passe the act of Justice vpon any one, how treacherous or impious so euer; their owne opinions so much deceiuing them for the vnlawfullnesse of any act, which they would execute: daring to iustifie among themselues, that if they should be apprehended, before the performance, they should happily suffer as martyrs. They perseuered therefore not onely to draw vnto them such a number, and associates as they could worke in, to the abandoning of our Gouernour, and to the inhabiting of this Iland. They had now purposed to haue made a surprise of the Store-house, and to haue forced from thence, what was therein either of Meale, Cloath, Cables, Armes, Sailes, Oares, or what else it pleased God that we had recouered from the wracke, and was to serue our generall necessity and vse, either for the reliefe of vs, while wee staied here, or for the carrying of vs from this place againe, when our Pinnace should haue bin furnished.

Third Mutiny.

But as all giddy and lawlesse attempts, haue alwayes something of imperfection, and that as well by the property of the action, which holdeth of disobedience and rebellion (both full of feare) as through the ignorance of the deuisers themselues; so in this (besides those defects) there were some of the association, who not strong inough fortified in their owne con-

Euill, as it hath a deficient, cause, so in and before the effects, defects are found.

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ceits, brake from the plot it selfe, and (before the time was ripe for the execution thereof) discouered the whole order, and euery Agent, and Actor thereof, who neuerthelesse were not suddenly apprehended, by reason the confederates were diuided and seperated in place, some with vs, and the chiefe with Sir *George Summers* in his Iland (and indeede all his whole company) but good watch passed vpon them, euery man from thenceforth commanded to weare his weapon, without which before, we freely walked from quarter to quarter, conuersed among our selues, and euery man aduised to stand vpon his guard, his owne life not being in safety, whilest his next neighbour was not to be trusted. The Centinels, and nightwarders doubled, the passages of both the quarters were carefully obserued, by which meanes nothing was further attempted; vntill a Gentleman amongst them, one *Henry Paine*, the thirteenth of March, full of mischiefe, euery houre preparing something or other, stealing Swords, Adises, Axes, Hatchets, Sawes, Augers, Planes, Mallets, &c. to make good his owne bad end, his watch night comming about, and being called by the Captaine of the same, to be vpon the guard, did not onely giue his said Commander euill language, but strucke at him, doubled his blowes, and when hee was not suffered to close with him, went off the Guard, scoffing at the double diligence and attendance of the Watch, appointed by the Gouernour for much purpose, as hee said: vpon which, the Watch telling him, if the Gouernour should vnderstand of this his insolency, it might turne him to much blame, and happily be as much as his life were worth. The said *Paine* replyed with a setled and bitter violence, and in such vnreuerent tearmes, as I should offend the modest eare too much to expresse it in his owne phrase; but the contents were, how *that the Gouernour had no authoritie of that qualitie, to iustifie vpon any one* (*how meane soeuer in the Colonie*) *an action of that nature, and therefore let the Gouernour* (said hee) *kisse, &c.* Which words, being with the omitted additions, brought the next day vnto euery common and publique discourse, at length they were deliuered ouer to the Gouernour, who examining well the fact (the transgression so much the more exemplary and odious, as being in a dangerous time, in a Confederate, and the successe of the same wishtly listened after, with a doubtfull conceit, what might be the issue of so notorious a boldnesse and impudency) calling the said *Paine* before him, and the whole Company, where (being soone conuinced both by the witnesse, of the Commander, and many which were vpon the watch with him) our Gouernour, who had now the eyes of the whole Colony fixed vpon him, condemned him to be instantly

H. Paine his mutinus behauiour.

hanged; and the ladder being ready, after he had made many confessions, hee earnestly desired, being a Gentleman, that hee might be shot to death, and towards the euening he had his desire, the Sunne and his life setting together.

His execution.

But for the other which were with Sir *George*, vpon the Sunday following (the Barke beeing now in good forwardnesse) and readie to lanch in short time, from that place (as we supposed) to meet ours at a pond of fresh water, where they were both to bee mored, vntill such time as being fully tackled, the wind should serue faire, for our putting to Sea together being the eighteenth of March, hearing of *Paynes* death, and fearing hee had appeached them, and discouered the attempt (who poore Gentleman therein, in so bad a cause, was too secret and constant to his owne faith ingaged vnto them, and as little needed, as vrged thereunto though somewhat was voluntarily deliuered by him) by a mutuall consent forsooke their labour, and Sir *George Summers*, and like Out-lawes beetooke them to the wild Woods: whether meere rage, and greedinesse after some little Pearle (as it was thought) wherewith they conceiued, they should for euer inrich themselues, and saw how to obtaine the same easily in this place, or whether, the desire for euer to inhabite heere, or what other secret else moued them thereunto, true it is, they sent an audacious and formall Petition to our Gouernour, subscribed with all their names and Seales: not only intreating him, that they might stay heere, but (with great art) importuned him, that he would performe other conditions with them, and not waue, nor euade from some of his owne promises, as namely to furnish each of them, with two Sutes of Apparell, and contribute meale rateably for one whole yeere, so much among them, as they had weekly now, which was one pound and an halfe a weeke (for such had beene our proportion for nine moneths). Our Gouernour answered this their Petition, writing to Sir *George Summers* to this effect:

Diuers of Sir *G. Summers* company fled into the woods.

That true it was, at their first arriuall vpon this Iland, when it was feared how our meanes would not extend to the making of a Vessell, capeable and large enough, to transport all our Countrimen at once, indeed out of his Christian consideration (mourning for such his Countrimen, who coming vnder his command, he foresaw that for a while, he was like enough to leaue here behind, compelled by tyrannie of necessitie) his purpose was not yet to forsake them so, as giuen vp like Sauages: but to leaue them all things fitting to defend them from want and wretchednesse, as much at least as lay in his power, to spare from the present vse (and perhaps necessitie of others, whose fortunes should be to be transported with him) for one whole yeere or more

Sir *T. Gates* his letter to Sir *G. Summers*.

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(*if so long by any casualtie, the ships which he would send vnto them might be staied before their arriuall, so many hazards accompanying the Sea*) *but withall intreated Sir* George *to remember vnto his Company* (*if by any meanes he could learne where they were*) *how he had vowed vnto him, that if either his owne meanes, his authoritie in* Virginia, *or loue with his friends in* England, *could dispatch for them sooner, how farre it was from him, to let them remayne abandoned, and neglected without their redemption so long: and then proceeded, requesting Sir* George Summers *againe, to signifie vnto them, since now our owne Pinnasse did arise to that burthen, and that it would sufficiently transport them all, besides the necessitie of any other Barke: and yet, that since his Barke was now readie too, that those consultations, howsoeuer charitable and most passionate in themselues, might determine, as taken away thereby, and therefore, that he should now bee pleased to aduise them well, how vnanswerable this grant or consent of his should be: first, to his Maiestie for so many of his subiects, next to the Aduenturers, and lastly, what an imputation and infamy it might be, to both their owne proper reputations, and honours, hauing each of them authoritie in their places, to compell the aduersant and irregular multitude, at any time, to what should bee obedient and honest, which if they should not execute, the blame would not lye vpon the people* (*at all times wauering and insolent*) *but vpon themselues so weake and vnworthy in their command. And moreouer intreated him by any secret practice to apprehend them, since that the obstinate, and precipitate many, were no more in such a condition and state to bee fauoured, then the murmuring and mutinie of such Rebellious and turbulent Humorists, who had not conscience nor knowledge, to draw in the yoke of goodnesse, and in the businesse for which they were sent out of* England: *for which likewise, at the expence and charge of the Aduenturers, they were to him committed, and that the meanest in the whole Fleet stood the Company in no lesse then twentie pounds, for his owne personall Transportation, and things necessary to accompany him. And therefore louingly coniured Sir* George, *by the worthinesse of his* (*heretofore*) *well mayntayned reputation, and by the powers of his owne iudgement, and by the vertue of that ancient loue and friendship, which had these many yeeres beene setled betweene them, to doe his best, to giue this reuolted Company* (*if he could send vnto them*) *the consideration of these particulars, and so worke with them* (*if he might*) *that by faire meanes* (*the Mutinie reconciled*) *they would at*

length suruey their owne errours, which hee would bee as readie, vpon their rendring and comming in to pardon, as he did now pittie them; assuring them in generall and particular, that whatsoeuer they had sinisterly committed, or practised hitherto against the Lawes of dutie and honestie, should not in any sort be imputed against them.

Waters and *Carter* stand out and are left behind.

In which good office Sir *George Summers* did so nobly worke, and heartily labour, as hee brought most of them in, and indeed all, but *Christopher Carter*, and *Robert Waters*, who, (by no means) would any more come amongst Sir *Georges* men, hearing that Sir *George* had commanded his men indeed (since they would not be intreated by faire meanes) to surprise them, (if they could) by any deuice or force. From which time they grew so cautelous and wary, for their owne ill, as at our comming away, wee were faine to leaue them behind. That *Waters* was a Sayler, who at his first landing vpon the Iland (as after you shall heare) killed another fellow Sayler of his, the bodie of the murthered and murtherer so dwelling, as prescribed now together.

Religious exercises performed by Master *Bucke*.

During our time of abode vpon these Ilands, wee had daily euery Sunday two Sermons preached by our Minister, besides euery Morning and Euening at the ringing of a Bell, we repayred all to publique Prayer, at what time the names of our whole Company were called by Bill, and such as were wanting, were duly punished. The contents (for the most part) of all our Preachers Sermons, were especially of Thankefulnesse and Vnitie, &c.

The most holy ciuill and most naturall possession taken of the *Bermudas* by exercise of Sacraments, Marriage, child-birth, &c. Children named *Bermuda* and *Bermudas*.

It pleased God also to giue vs opportunitie to performe all the other Offices, and Rites of our Christian Profession in this Iland: as Marriage, for the sixe and twentieth of Nouember, we had one of Sir *George Summers* his men, his Cooke, named *Thomas Powell*, who married a Maid Seruant of one Mistris *Horton*, whose name was *Elizabeth Persons:* and vpon Christmasse Eue, as also once before, the first of October; our Minister preached a godly Sermon, which being ended, he celebrated a Communion, at the partaking whereof our Gouernour was, and the greatest part of our Company: and the eleuenth of February, wee had the childe of one *John Rose*, christened a Daughter, to which Captaine *Newport* and my selfe were Witnesses, and the aforesaid Mistris *Horton* and we named it *Bermuda*, as also the fiue and twentieth of March, the wife of one *Edward Eason*, being deliuered the weeke before of a Boy, had him then christened, to which Captaine *Newport* and my selfe, and Master *James Swift* were Godfathers, and we named it *Bermudas*.

Likewise, we buried fiue of our company, *Jeffery Briars*,

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Richard Lewis, *William Hitchman*, and my God-daughter *Bermuda Rolfe*, and one vntimely *Edward Samuell* a Sayler, being villanously killed by the foresaid *Robert Waters*, (a Sayler likewise) with a shouell, who strake him therewith vnder the lift of the Eare, for which he was apprehended, and appointed to be hanged the next day, the fact being done in the twilight, but being bound fast to a Tree all night, with many Ropes, and a Guard of fiue or six to attend him, his fellow Saylers watching the aduantage of the Centinels sleeping in despight and disdaine that Justice should bee shewed vpon a Sayler, and that one of their crue should be an example to others, not taking into consideration the vnmanlinesse of the murther, nor the horror of the sinne, they cut his bands, and conueyed him into the Woods, where they fed him nightly, and closely, who afterward by the mediation of Sir *George Summers*, vpon many conditions, had his tryall respited by our Gouernour.

Saylers misorder.

Wee had brought our Pinnasse so forward by this time, as the eight and twentieth of August we hauing laid her Keele. the sixe and twentieth of February, we now began to calke: old Cables we had preserued vnto vs, which affoorded Ocam enough: and one barrell of Pitch, and another of Tarre, we likewise saued, which serued our vse some little way vpon the Bilg, wee breamed her otherwise with Lime made of Wilke-shels, and an hard white stone which we burned in a Kiln, slaked with fresh water, and tempered with Tortoyses Oyle. The thirtieth of March being Friday, we towed her out in the morning Spring-tyde, from the Wharfe where she was built, boying her with foure Caske in her runne only: which opened into the North West, and into which when the Breeze stood North and by West with any stiffe gale, and vpon the Spring-tydes, the Sea would increase with that violence, especially twice it did so, as at the first time (before our Gouernour had caused a solid Causey of an hundred load of stone to bee brought from the Hils and neighbour Rockes, and round about her ribs from stemme to sterne, where it made a pointed Baulke, and thereby brake the violence of the Flowe and Billowe) it indangered her ouerthrow and ruine, beeing greene as it were vpon the Stockes. With much difficultie, diligence, and labour, we saued her at the first, all her Bases, Shores, and Piles, which vnder-set her, being almost carried from her, which was the second of January, when her knees were not set to, nor one ioynt firme: We launched her unrigged, to carrie her to a little round Iland, lying West North-west, and close aboord to the Backe-side of our Iland, both neerer the Ponds and Wels of some fresh water, as also from thence to

make our way to the Sea the better: the Channell being there sufficient and deepe enough to leade her forth, when her Masts, Sayles, and all her Trimme should bee about her. Shee was fortie foot by the Keele, and nineteene foot broad at the Beame, sixe foote floore, her Rake forward was fourteene foot, her Rake aft from the top of her Post (which was twelue foot long) was three foot, shee was eight foot deepe vnder her Beame, betweene her Deckes she was foure foot and an halfe, with a rising of halfe a foot more vnder her fore castle, of purpose to scowre the Decke with small shot, if at any time wee should bee borded by the Enemie. Shee had a fall of eighteene inches aft, to make her sterage and her great Cabbin the more large; her sterage was fiue foote long, and sixe foote high, with a close Gallerie right aft, with a window on each side, and two right aft. The most part of her timber was Cedar, which we found to be bad for shipping, for that it is wonderous false inward, and besides it is so spault or brickle, that it will make no good plankes, her Beames were all Oke of our ruined ship, and some plankes in her Bow of Oke, and all the rest as is aforesaid. When shee began to swimme (vpon her launching) our Gouernour called her *The Deliuerance*, and shee might be some eighty tunnes of burthen.

Cedar ill for shipping.

Before we quitted our old quarter, and dislodged to the fresh water with our Pinnasse, our Gouernour set vp in Sir *George Summers* Garden a faire *Mnemosynon* in figure of a Crosse, made of some of the timber of our ruined shippe, which was scrued in with strong and great trunnels to a mightie Cedar, which grew in the middest of the said Garden, and whose top and vpper branches he caused to be lopped, that the violence of the winde and weather might haue the lesse power ouer her.

Crosse set vp for a memorial.

In the middest of the Crosse, our Gouernour fastened the Picture of his Maiestie in a piece of Siluer of twelue pence, and on each side of the Crosse, hee set an Inscription grauen in Copper, in the *Latine* and *English* to this purpose. *In memory of our great Deliuerance, both from a mightie storme and leake: wee haue set vp this to the honour of God. It is the spoyle of an* English *ship of three hundred tunne, called the* Sea Venture, *bound with seuen ships more (from which the storme diuided vs) to* Virginia, *or* Noua Britania, *in* America. *In it were two Knights, Sir* Thomas Gates, *Knight, Gouernour of the* English *Forces and Colonie there: and Sir* George Summers *Knight, Admirall of the Seas. Her Captaine was* Christopher Newport, *Passengers and Mariners, shee had beside (which came all safe to Land) one hundred and fiftie. We were forced to runne her ashore (by reason of her leake)*

His Maiesties Picture.

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vnder a Point that bore South-east from the Northerne Point of the Iland, which wee discoured first the eight and twentieth of July 1609.

About the last of Aprill, Sir *George Summers* launched his Pinnasse, and brought her from his building Bay, in the Mayne Iland, into the Channell where ours did ride, and shee was by the Keele nine and twentie foot: at the Beame fifteene foot and an halfe: at the Loofe fourteene, at the Transam nine, and she was eight foot deepe, and drew sixe foote water, and hee called her the *Patience.*

§ III.

Their departure from Bermuda *and arriuall in* Virginia: *miseries there, departure and returne vpon the Lord* La Warres *arriuing.* James *Towne described.*

From this time we only awaited a fauourable Westerly wind to carrie vs forth, which longer than vsuall now kept in the East, and South-east, the way which wee were to goe. The tenth of May early, Sir *George Summers* and Captaine *Newport* went off with their long Boates, and with two Canoaes boyed the Channell, which wee were to leade it out in, and which was no broader, from Shoales on the one side and Rockes on the other, then about three times the length of our Pinnasse. About ten of the clocke, that day being Thursday, we set sayle an easie gale, the wind at South, and by reason no more winde blew, we were faine to towe her with our long Boate, yet neither with the helpe of that, were we able to fit our Bowyes, but euen when we came iust vpon them, we strucke a Rocke on the starboord side, ouer which the Bowye rid, and had it not beene a soft Rocke, by which meanes she bore it before her, and crushed it to pieces, God knowes we might haue beene like enough, to haue returned anew, and dwelt there, after tenne monethes of carefulnesse and great labour a longer time: but God was more mercifull vnto vs. When shee strucke vpon the Rocke, the Cock-swayne one *Walsingham* beeing in the Boate, with a quicke spirit (when wee were all amazed, and our hearts failed) *did give way stoutly*, and so by Gods goodnesse hee led it out at three fadome, and three fadome and an halfe water. The wind serued vs easily all that day and the next (God be euer praysed for it) to the no little ioy of vs all, we got cleere of the Ilands. After which holding a Southerly course, for seuen dayes wee had the winde sometimes faire, and sometimes scarce and contrarie: in which time we lost Sir *George Summers* twice,

albeit we still spared him our mayne top-sayle, and sometimes our fore course too.

Signe of Land.

The seuenteenth of May we saw change of water, and had much Rubbish swimme by our shipside, whereby wee knew wee were not farre from Land. The eighteenth about midnight wee sounded, with the Dipsing Lead, and found thirtie seuen fadome. The nineteenth in the morning we sounded, and had nineteene and an halfe fadome, stonie, and sandie ground. The twentieth about midnight, we had a maruellous sweet smell from the shoare (as from the Coast of *Spaine*, short of the Straits) strong and pleasant, which did not a little glad vs. In the morning, by day breake (as soone as one might well see from the foretop) one of the Saylers descryed Land about an houre after, I went vp and might discouer two Hummockes to the Southward, from which (Northward all alone) lay the Land, which we were to coast to Cape *Henrie*. About seuen of the Clocke we cast forth an Anchor, because the tyde (by reason of the Freshet that set into the Bay) makes a strong Ebbe there, and the winde was but easie, so as not beeing able to stemme the Tyde, we purposed to lye at an Anchor vntill the next flood, but the wind comming South-west a strong gale about eleuen, we set sayle againe, and hauing got ouer the Barre, bore in for the Cape.

Chesipiack Bay.

This is the famous *Chesipiack* Bay, which we haue called (in honour of our young Prince) Cape *Henrie*, ouer against which within the Bay, lyeth another Head-land, which wee called in honour of our Princely Duke of *Yorke* Cape *Charles*; and these lye North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, and they may bee distant each from the other in breadth seuen leagues, betweene which the Sea runnes in as broad as betweene *Queenebyrrough* and *Lee*. Indeed it is a goodly Bay and a fairer, not easily to be found.

We learn the particulars of Sir George Somers' return to Bermuda entirely from Smith. Understanding, he says, what plenty there was of hogs and other good things in the Bermudas, Lord Delawar was desirous to send thither to supply his necessary occasions.

Whereupon Sir George Summers, the best acquainted with the place, whose noble mind euer regarded a generall good more than his own ends, though aboue threescore years of age, and had means in England suitable to his ranke, offered himselfe by Gods helpe to performe the dangerous voyage againe for the Bermudas, which was kindly accepted: so vpon the 19th of June,

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he imbarked in his cedar ship, about the burden of thirty tunnes, and so set saile.

Much foule and crosse weather he had, and was forced to the north parts of Virginia, when refreshing himselfe vpon this vnknowne coast, he could not be diuerted from the search of the Bermudas, where at last with his company he safely arriued: but such was his diligence with his extraordinary care, paines and industry to dispatch his businesse, and the strength of his body not answering the euer memorable courage of his minde, hauing liued so long in such honourable seruices the most part of his well beloued and vertuous life, God and nature here determined, should euer remaine a perpetuall memory of his much bewailed sorrow for his death: finding his time but short, after he had taken the best course he could to settle his estate, like a valiant Captaine he exhorted them with all diligence to be constant to those Plantations, and with all expedition to returne to Virginia. In that very place which we now call Saint Georges towne, this noble Knight died, whereof the place taketh the name. But his men, as men amazed, seeing the death of him who was euen as the life of them all, embalmed his body and set saile for England, being the first that euer went to seeke those Ilands which haue been euer since called *Summers* Iles, in honour of his worthy memory, leauing three men behind there, that voluntarily stayed, whose names were *Christopher Carter*, *Edward Waters*, there formerly left, as is said, and *Edward Chard*. This Cedar ship at last, with his dead body arriued at *Whit-church* in *Dorsetshire*, where by his friends he was honourably buried, with many vollies of shot, and the rites of a Souldier, and vpon his tombe was bestowed this epitaph—

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit Æstas,
Autumnus sequitur sæviet inde et hiems,
At ver perpetuum nascitur et Anglia læta
Decerpit flores Florida terra tuas.

In English thus—

Alas Virginias Summer so soone past,
Autumne succeeds and stormy Winter's blast,
Yet Englands ioyfull Spring with ioyfull showers,
O Florida, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.[1]

The honour of this resolution belongs principally to *Carter*, for through his importunity, not to leaue such a place aban-

[1] Sir George Summers, as his name is spelt in the parish register, was born of respectable parents in or near Lyme Regis, in 1554, and was knighted by James I. in 1604, then styled of Boxholm. He commanded naval expeditions in 1595–1600, and in the two following years. Fuller says of him:—'This Sir George Summers was a lamb on the land, so patient that few could anger him: and (as if entering a

doned, *Chard* and *Waters* were moued to stay with him, and the rest promised with all the speed they could again to reuisit them. But the ship once out of sight, those three Lords, the sole inhabitants of all those Ilands, began to erect their little commonwealth, for a while with brotherly regency, repairing the ground, planting corne, and such seeds and fruits as they had, building a house, &c. Then making priuy search amongst the creuices and corners of those Craggy Rocks, what this maine Ocean since the worlds creation had throwne amongst them, at last they chanced vpon the greatest peece of Amber-greece was euer seene or heard of in one lumpe, being in weight foure-score pound, besides diuers other small peeces.[1]

But now being rich, they grew so proud and ambitious, contempt took such place, they fell out for superiority, though but three forlorne men, more then three thousand miles from their natiue country, and but small hope euer to see it againe. Notwithstanding, they sometimes fell from words to blows about mere trifles, in one of which fights, one of them was bitten by his owne dog, as if the dumbe beaste would reprove them for their folly: at last *Chard* and *Waters* the two greater spirits must try it out in the field, but *Carter* wisely stole away their weapons, affecting rather to liue amongst his enemies, then by being rid of them to liue alone: and thus those miserable men liued full two yeeres so that all their clothes were neere worne cleene from their backes, and their hopes of any forraine releefe as naked as their bodies. At last they began to recouer their wits, yet in a fashion perhaps would haue cost them dearer then when they were mad: for concluding a tripartite peece of their Matachin warre,[2] they resolued to frame as good a boat as they could, and therein to make a desperate attempt for Virginia or Newfoundland: but no sooner were they entered into that resolution, but they discried a saile standing in for the shore: though they neither knew what she was, or what she would,

ship he had assumed a new nature) a lion at sea, so passionate that few could please him.' (Fuller's 'Worthies,' 1662.) A portrait of him and his lady formerly existed in the possession of George Bellamy, M.D., of Plymouth, who was connected with him by marriage, and perhaps still exists. It exhibits the loadstone with which he used to touch his needle before going upon his voyages.

Arms Vert, a fesse dancette ermine.—Roberts' 'History of Lyme Regis and Charmouth.'

In the 'Domestic Correspondence,' Jac. I., vol. lxxix. occurs this entry:

'Dorset.—Ex. Inq. 26 Julij, 1611. 10 Jac. post mortem Geo. Somers Milit. obijt 9 Nov. ulto. Nicholas consanguineus, heres.'

[1] Even this great mass was exceeded by one purchased by the Dutch East India Company from the King of Tydore, in 1687, which weighed 180 lbs. (*See* M. Eugène Rimmel's 'Libre des parfums,' who quotes 'Amboinische Rarikheitkamer, lib. iii., ch. xxxv.

[2] Phrase unintelligible to the Editor.

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they were so ouerioyed, with all possible speed they went to meet, and according to their hearts desire she proued an Englishman, whom they safely conducted into their harbour.[1]

Now you are to vnderstand that Captaine *Matthew Somers* Nephew and heire of Sir *George*, that returned with his dead body, though both he and his company did their vtmost in relating all those passages to their countrymen and aduenturers, their relations were beleeued but as trauellers tales, till it came to be apprehended by some of the *Virginia* company, how beneficiall it might be, and helpfull to the Plantation in *Virginia*, so that some one hundred and twenty of them bought the pretended right of all the company, and had sent this ship to make a triall: but first they had obtained Letters patents of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. Sir *Thomas Smith* was elected Treasurer and Gouernor heere, and master Richard More to be Gouernour of the Iles and Colony there.

With Strachey's narrative we bring to a close the accounts of Bermuda as it presented itself to the first navigators and casual visitors who were wrecked on it prior to any regular settlement. There is perhaps no habitable spot in the Northern Hemisphere, and few anywhere, except some remote islands in the South Atlantic and Pacific (for example, St. Helena), which were left so long to the absolute dominion of nature. It gives much interest to the early accounts that they throw incidental light on the original productions of the group, and enable us to account with certainty for the introduction of many species which are now naturalised, but which might, in the absence of information, have been taken to be native. It is a curious fact that almost everything cultivated in Bermuda is, and apparently always has been, grown from imported seed—seed from England, from America, from Madeira, and the West Indies—necessarily disseminating also weeds and chance species, which naturalise themselves with great facility. 'Prouidences and paines,' says Smith, 'haue offered diuers seeds and plants, which the soile hath greedily imbraced and cherished, so that at this present 1623 there are great abundance of white, red and yellow coloured Potatoes, Tobacco, sugar canes,

[1] All this is the historical foundation for Washington Irving's amusing story of 'The Three Kings of Bermuda' in 'Wolfert's Roost, and other Papers,' New York, 1864. These tales are not in Bohn's edit.

Indicos, Parsnips, exceeding large Radishes, the American bread, the Cassado root, the Indian Pumpian, the water-millon, the musk millon, and the most delicate Pine apples, Plantains, and Papaws, also the English artichoke, Pease &c. briefly whatsoeuer else may be expected for the satisfaction either of curiosity, necessity or delight.' The same providences and pains have in two centuries and a half added so largely to the list that there are perhaps few places of such limited area which offer a greater variety to the intelligent visitor, or so much to gratify a botanical observer.

CHAPTER II.

BERMUDA UNDER THE VIRGINIA COMPANY—GOVERNOR R. MOORE.

A.D. 1612–1615.

CHAP. II. 1612–1615.

1. THE previous chapter has conducted us down to the return of Captain Matthew Somers to England in November 1611, and the purchase by a section of the Virginia Company of the 'pretended right of all the Company' to the Somer Islands. It was only a pretended right, because the Virginia Company's charter of 1609 did not extend to islands more than 100 miles distant from the shores of that plantation—the limit was first made 300 leagues in 1612—but no one had a better; and, in spite of remonstrances from the Spaniards that they only had by Papal Bull the inheritance of the Indies, the merchants of London proceeded to appropriate the forsaken discovery of Juan Bermudez with as little hesitation as they showed in advancing their plantations in Florida and Virginia.

Captain John Smith is the principal and almost only authority for what occurred between 1612 and 1616, and he has also preserved many incidents which are not to be found in the present imperfect records of the colony, for the years between 1616 and 1624; for example, the remarkable plague of rats related at p. 138, to which however there are allusions in these papers. Notwithstanding a tendency to bombast, this writer shows a masculine sense and regard for accuracy, worthy of the valiant gentleman he was; and although his History

of Virginia has been more than once reprinted, I have thought it desirable to repeat here the bulk of that part of his work which he devotes to the Somer Islands.

The originals of some of the following notices are preserved in the Record Office, London :

2. ' There is a lotterie in hand for the furthering of the Virginia viage, and an vnder companie erecting for the trade of the Bermudas, w^ch^ have changed theyre name twise within this moneth, beeing first christned Virginiola as a member of that plantation, but now *lastly resolued to be called Sommer Islands*, as well in respect of the continuall temperat ayre, as in remembrance of S^r^ George Sommers that died there.' [1] 12 Feb., 161½.

3. The Virginia Company lost no time in dispatching Richard Moore, a ship's carpenter by vocation, but an able and resolute man, with a company of fifty settlers. They arrived on July 11, 1612, to learn that the islands, although they had been left by Matthew Somers with a population of only three men, Carter, Chard, and Waters, had been the scene of great disturbance since his departure, as already related, p. 53.

Richard Moore was armed with the subjoined commission from the Virginia Company, which had received a new grant of their territory in 1609. It then consisted of about 800 persons, including every rank and condition of society. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Worcester, about thirty peers or peeresses, nearly all the great City companies, the Trinity House, and innumerable knights, appear among the adventurers. The leaders were however the following, and the modest scale of their pecuniary investments, as compared with the wealth thrown into great undertakings of the present day, deserves a passing remark :

The Lord de la Warr,	adventure,	500*l.*
The Earl of Pembroke,	,,	400*l.*

[1] John Chamberlaine to the Right Hon. Sir Dudley Carlton, Kt., His Maties Ambassador at Venice. ' Domestic Corresp.' Jac. I. vol. lxviii.

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The Earl of Southampton,	adventure,	350*l.*
The Earl of Salisbury,	,,	333*l.*
The Earl of Suffolk,	,,	200*l.*
The Earl of Lincoln,	,,	50*l.*
Sir Thomas Smith, *treasurer*,	,,	145*l.*

The list is printed in full in a Declaration of the state of the Colonie and affaires of Virginia. By his maiesties counseil for Virginia 22 Junij 1620.[1] A share seems to have been 12*l.* 10*s.*; there are a few adventures as small as 6*l.* 5*s.*, but the majority are 12*l.* 10*s.* or 25*l.*

April 27, 1612. A Commission graunted by vs the vndertakers for the Plantacon of Somer Islands vnto our welbeloued frend Mr. Richard Moore and the rest of the men and mareniers imployed vpon the said voyage whome wee beseeche God to preserue

Imprimis. 1. Whereas we whose names are herevnder written togeather wth diuers others have to the glorie of God and good of our Countrye undertaken the Plantacon of Somer Islands (sometimes called Bermudaes) And for that cause thorough the good opinion conceived of your Integritye and wisdome haue made choise of you Mr. Richarde Moore by a comon Consent to goe thither in pson and remaine there as deputie Governor for the said Plantacon duringe the tearme of three yeares next ensewinge vpon such conditions as are expressed in the orders of our Court booke belonginge vnto the said Plantacon, and haue also wth our greate Costs and Charges furnisht forth in very sufficient manner the good shipp called the Plough, Robert Dauiss Captain and Richard Babb Mr, with sundrye necessarye pvisions and 50 psons or thereabouts to be landed in the saide Islands and lefte residinge to be disposed about such necessarye seruice for the said Plantacon as you the said deputie shall direct them unto Therefore we will and Require you the said Richard Moore that havinge put yorselfe and Companie abord the aforesaid shipp you doe (wth your vttermost power and skill) indeauor the most direct Course for the saide Islands, wthout makinge stopp or stay at any other place, duringe the said voyage and to carrye yorselves respectiuelye each to other accordinge to yor places both in obedience to your superiors and mutuall affeccon againe from them to the rest, soe that Loue and Kindness may

[1] Reprinted in Peter Force's most valuable 'Collection of Historical Tracts.' Vol. iii.; Washington, 1844.

be continued on all sides And all applie there vttermost endeavor for the due pformance of this voiage in the best manner they may for the good of the Plantacon and benefitt of the vndertakers.

2. And for that Religious Goverment doth best bynd men to pforme there duties It is principally to be cared for that prayers be saide euery morninge and eueninge, in the whole course of your said voyage, and Continued likewise duringe the tyme of your residence abroade, as the best testimonie of your good Carriage in your dutie to God, and meanes to preserue peace and Concord amongst yorselves for the better pformance whereof there are diuers good books prouided and deliuered vnto you, to be imployed for the said service.

3. Beinge landed your especiall Care must be to looke out some convenient place wherein to sett yourselves fortifyinge in places convenient as yor meanes will aforde, and not to be vnmindfull of yor daylie service to God to blesse and preserue you in yor proceedings, and in the saide place to build a storehouse for the safe Custodye of yor sundrye pruisions and houses for the releife and harbor of the companie, allottinge to everye man such a proporcon of ground as is sett downe by the vndertakers (viz.) to everye house one Roode of grounde for his garden and backside, and for every married Couple two Roodes of grounde.

4. ffor the better sattisfacon and assurance of all such prsons as shall be imployed for us in this plantacon, that we intend not to make vse of there labors for our owne private benefitt to neglect there publique profitt; wee do hereby ordaine that such prsons workmen or laborers as shall at any tyme be imployed by you for our business in the saide Plantacon, you shall give unto them such reasonable day wages as in your discretion you shall esteeme them worthie to haue deserved; soe that exceed not xx*d.* for a workman and 12*d.* for a labourer, for wch purpose by the next supplie there shall be a Coyne sent unto you, wth all convenient opportunitie, togeather wth the rates and value thereof And in the meane time to cause true notes to be kept of whatsoeuer shall growe due to any for there said day labor, as also for all pruisions delivered them out of the Store at such reasonable rats as you shall thinke fitt.

5. ffor that your prvidence ought in Charitie to have good regard to the meanes for your future prseruacon we doe therefore giue an especiall charge to have a dilligent eye and Care to cause the ground to be fitted in due and seasonable tyme for the settinge and sowinge of Corne, and other puisions for the reliefe of yor companie, to free vs from the Care and Charge of Continuall supplies from hence, the neglect whereof hath been a great mayme and scandall to manye other worthie accons here-

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tofore vndertaken in this nature And to prpare such grownds for seuerall seeds as you shall fynde the same in any place quallified for them, and the season of the year answerable thereunto, havinge a Care to fence the same, and prserve them from Cattle or any other occasion of annoyance.

6. Forasmuch as we cannot expect any greate returne of Comodities by this shipp, by reason of her short staye yet wee aduise & pray you to be as pruident as you may, to send us some fruits of your labors to giue encouragemt to the aduenturers, to make the more speedie and better supplie vnto you, especially of Ambergreece wch wee doubt not but you shall finde readye gathered by those three who weare left by the last shipp, or ells by the industrye of suche of yor own companie as you shall imploye to seeke for yt, for whose better encouragement we are contented to allowe for everye once (Troye waight) that you shall receaue from any of them, the some of thirteene shillinges fowre pence, but yf you shall finde any man to goe about to conceale yt and appropriate yt to his owne prticuler use, then you are to seaze upon yt, as you forfeite to the vndertakers, and inflict such other punishment upon the offenders as the qualitie of there offences shall deserue

7. Yf you can prcure any Pearle Ambergreece Tobacco Silke or Oyle arisinge by whale fishinge to be sent by this next shipp, for examples, they will give much encouragemt, wch are Comodoties reserved as royalties to the vndertakers of the Plantacon, and therefore whosoever shall undertake any paynes in prcuring the same, you are to give them such recompence as in your disposition you shall thinke fitt, and they have deserued, exceptinge onlie for Ambergreece wch is agreed vpon as aforesaid

8. ffor all other comodities that are to be raised therebye the Industrie of yor Companie, either by plantinge vynes, Sugar Canes, or any such like, besides those formerlie reserued or whatsoever ells ariseth naturallie out of the Soyle, as marchandize you shall receaue the one halfe thereof to the use of the vndertakers, and leave the other halfe to those that shall imploy there Labor therein

9. Whereas we are given to vnderstand of a yellowe wood growinge in Somer Islands wch is hard and heauie, the vertue and prpertie whereof are yet vnknowne unto vs, wee doe therefore require you to send a Tunn of the biggest sorte thereof by this next returne yf you can conuenently, and the like of any other Coullored wood, that we may make tryall of them to esteeme them accordinglie

10. Wee havinge now deliuered vnto you many netts for fishinge, for the use of the Colonie and havinge had tryall too often heretofore of the greate neglience vsed by others in prserv-

ing such as have beene prvided in the like nature, we doe therefore wish you to be especially Carefull to cause them to be hanged vp for they have bene used and dryed exceedingly well, before they were laid vp for feare of rottinge, wch a little care will easily prvent & amend.

11. Whereas the detayninge of the shipps in other accons have bene very pruidiciall to the aduenturers by drawinge extraordinary Charges upon them, wee doe therefore require and Charge you to be verye Carefull to dispeed this shipp awaye backe againe wthin xxtie dayes And in the said tyme to aduertyze yorselfe of all the said Islands and the Commodityes of them, and signifye the same unto us by the said Shipp That wee may be truly informed therein, to knowe what kinde of men and prvisions to supplie by the next, against wch tyme you are to make ready tobacco, Silke, pearle, Ambergreece, or any other kinde of marchandize wch tyme will not now afford to make returne of

12. For yor better ayde and assistance in the execucon of yor charge and prformance of yor buisines we have thought good to appointe & ioyne as assistants unto you Mr. George Keth preacher of the woord, Mr. Edwin Kendall, Mr. John Adhe, John Collabar, Richard Garrard, and Edward Chard, to advise & determine all matters whatsoever shalbe prsented for the good of the Plantacon, and to be carefull to reteyne yor men in such Civill honest behauior, that there may be noe cause of punishmnt found amongst them But all to applie themselves and best indeavors to the glorie of God and good of the Plantacon and vndertakers in whose service they are imployed

13. fforasmuch as good goverment and care in Pservinge such goods & prvisions as shall from tyme to tyme be sent from hence for yor Releife As also pruided and gathered together on shore of what nature soever, will be an especiall meanes to prserve the life of the accon and give good sattisfaccon to all such as shall be imployed therein we therefore beinge prsuaded of the honeste and sufficiency of the aforesaid John Collaber doe Constitute and appointe him to be clarke of the stores, and to keepe accompts and reckoninge of all such pticulers both prvisions and marchandize as shall be brought in for the use of the Planters and vndertakers, both out of England, or collected in the contrye, that a true and iust accompt may at all tymes be rendered from him both of there expence & disposition for the vses aforesaid

Whereas we have now sent one Ralph Garner and imployed his service for the makinge of Salte in the Summer Islands, If therefore upon yor first cominge into the said

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pts you shall find by tryall that the earth and mould there cannot be made favourable to conteyne the liquor intended for that use, nor any other meanes to be found in the said place fitt to be tempered for the use of salt panns. wee doe then require you to signify the said defect by the first returne of this shipp, that wee may by our next supplie furnish you wth Plaster of Paris, Clay or some other like fitt meanes from hence, wishinge you to be very carefull to make tryall of a mixture made wth oyle of tortoises and powder of shells or such like, wch necessitye compeld our men to finde out for there vse instead of pitch & tarr for trimminge there shipps, and did them excellent service for that purpose

Yf you shall finde in your travells or can conveniently come by any fayre Birds, beasts or any other rare things fitt for us to make prsents of, we pray you to be carefull to provide and send the same wth especiall charge to some carefull man or men to see them safely kept & deliuered to us. And wthall yf you can know any of the marriners or others to have any such, that you cannot prcure from them for reason, then that you send us notice thereof, to the end we may take order therein accordinglie

RICHARD MOORE

Whereas we have delivered to Mr. Richard Moore a Seale Ring wth Sr Thomas Smythes Armes engraven to seale up such thinges of value as he shall have occasion at any tyme to send unto us, wee therefore doe require him to be verye carefull not to neglect the same, but as opportunitie shall be of returninge any speciall matters of worth, to seale them up wth the said seale, which is to remain with the deputie Governor from tyme to tyme for the generall service, yf yt should please God to take the said Richard Moore out of this life or tyme draw him back into England upon any occasion whatsoever In which case of mortalitye for avoidinge confusion in the governmt of our people and for that nothing is soe uncertayne as mans life, Wee doe therefore ordaine that yf God should take you Mr. Richard Moore our deputie Governor out of this life, before the expiracon of the said tearme of three yeares (wch he defend), then we comitt the Goverment of our men and Islands unto him whome we have nominated in a writinge subscribed by us and put by into a boxe No. 1, sealed wth hard waxe and delivered to the said Mr. Richard Moore, to be kept close and not opened soe long as he shall live, and yf upon the openinge of the said boxe the Ptie nominated in the first boxe be depted out of this world before the openinge of the said boxe, or have

succeeded accordinge to our appointment and likewise dead, [*sic*] then we committ the charge and govermt as before unto the care of one nominated by us in a writynge put upon a boxe No. 2, subscribed sealed and delivered as before, not to be opened soe longe as the said Mr. Richard Moore, or the partie menconned in the firste boxe No. 1, shalbe liuinge

Ex. E. Collingwood, Secr.

4. The following is appended to the rare Tract entitled a 'Discouery of the Barmudas' (*ante*, p. 14) and follows the paper No. 6 :—[1]

A Copie of the Articles which Master R. More, Governour Deputie of the Sommer Ilands, propounded to the Companie that were there with him to bee subscribed unto, which both hee and they subscribed the second of August, in his house, Anno 1612, which about the same time he sent into England to the worshipfull Companie of the Aduenturers. Aug. 1612.

We who have here under subscribed our names, being by the great goodnesse of God safely arrived at the Sommer Ilands, with purpose here to inhabit, doe hereby promise and binde our selves to the performance of the severall Articles hereafter following, and that in the presence of the most glorious God, who hath in mercie brought us hither.

First, We doe faithfully promise, and by these presents solemnely binde our selves ever-more to worship that aforesaid only true and ever-living God, who hath made the Heavens, and the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, and that according to those rules that are proscribed in his most holy Word, and ever to continue in that faith into the which we were baptised in the Church of England, and to stand in defence of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretiques and Sectaries whatsoever, dissenting from the said Word and Faith.

Secondly, because the keeping of the Sabboth-day holy is that wherein a principall of Gods worship doth consist, and is as it were the Key of all the other parts thereof, wee doe therefore in the presence aforesaid promise, That we will set apart all our owne labours and imploiments on that day, unlesse it be those that be of meere necessitie, much more vaine and unfruitfull practises, and apply our selves to the hearing of Gods Word, Prayer, and all other exercises of Religion in his word required, to the uttermost of our power.

[1] From Peter Force's 'Tracts,' Vol. iii. No. iii.; Washington, 1844.

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Thirdly, Seeing the true worship of God and a holy Life cannot bee severed, wee doe therefore promise in the presence aforesaid, That to the uttermost of our power we will live together in doing that which is just, both towards God and Man, and in particular we will forbeare to take the most holy name of God in vaine, in ordinarie swearing by it, or any other thing, or by scoffing, or vaine abusing of his most holy Word, or to use cursing or filthy speeches, or any other thing forbidden in Gods most holy Word, as also to live together without stealing one from another, or quarrelling one with another, or slandering one of another: And to avoide all things that stand not with the good estate of a Christian Church and well-governed Commonwealth, and also to embrace the contrarie, as Justice, and Peace, Love, and all other things that stand with the good and comfort of Societie.

Fourthly, Whereas we are here together farre remote from our native soile of England, and yet are indeed the naturall Subjects of our most royall and gratious King James of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. We doe therefore in the presence aforesaid solemnely promise ever more to continue the loyall Subjects of our said Soveraigne King, his Heires and Successors, and never to revolt from him, or them, unto any other whatsoever, but evermore to acknowledge his Supreme Government.

Fifthly, Whereas wee were sent hither by divers Adventurers of the Citie of London, and other parts of the Realme of England, we doe here in the presence aforesaid promise to use all diligence for the good of the Plantation, and not to purloine or imbesell any of the prohibited Cõmodities out of the generall estate, but to use all faithfulnesse as it becommeth Christians to doe, as also to bee obedient to all such Governour or Governours, or their Deputie or Deputies, as are, or shall bee by them sent to governe us; As also to yeeld all reverence towards the Ministerie or Ministers of the Gospell, sent, or to be sent.

Sixthly and lastly, Wee doe here in presence aforesaid promise, the Lord assisting us, that if at any time hereafter any forraine power shall attempt to put us out of this our lawful possession, not cowardly to yeeld up the same, but manfully to fight as true English men, for the defence of the Commonwealth we live in, and Gospell wee professe, and that whiles we have breath we will not yeeld to any, that shall invade us upon any conditions whatsoever.

5. *Henry Earl of Northampton* [probably Aug. 2, 1612] *to the kinges sacred and royall maiesty.*

Most excellent, most gratiouse, most redoubted and deer soueraine

. . Another Companie[1] are in like sorte aduertized of the safe arriuall of their shippes in the Bermudas, vpon w^ch^ Iland the spaniards affrighted and dismaied w^th^ the frequencie of Hurricanes which they euer meete about that place, durst not aduentur but calls it *Demoniorum insulam.* But from this Iland of Deuilles our men haue sent some Amber (*qu.* ambergris?) and some seede perles for an assaie, w^ch^ the Deuilles of the Bermudos loue not better to retaine than the angeles of Castile doo to recouer. The place aboundes in swine in fowle and wishe (fish) which moues our men to growe more confident in the safe possession of a place w^ch^ they haue possessed so peaceably.

Theas prosperouse euents both in those and in all other place whear y^r^ ma^tes^ happie subiects put in thier foote makes me wonder at the cause whie your mtie should not thriue as well aboue them by their thankfulnesse, as they vnder you by y^r^ prouidence: but Jeremie fortold what manie in our daies as it seemes are not verie apte to beleue that *Miluus in cœlo cognovit tempus suum; turtur et hirundo et ciconia custodierunt tempus aduentus sui: populus autem tuus non cognovit indicium aduentus tui etc.*,[2] therefore I make no doute but as your people growes more iudiciouse and gratefull, so y^r^ m^ties^ estate will likewise growe more prosperous and plentifull.'[3]

6. The following appears as 'An addition sent home by the last ships from our Colonie in the Barmudas' (July, 1612), annexed to the narrative of Silvanus Jourdan, which has been given already (p. 12). The writer was one of the companions of Governor Moore.

[1] He had previously reported the return of ships of the Muscovy Company, with seventeen whales. Governor Moore had landed in Bermuda July 11, 1612.

[2] Jer. viii. 7. 'Populus autem meus non cognovit judicium Domini,' in the Vulgate.

[3] 'Domestic Correspondence, Jac. I.' vol. lxx.

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Being bound for the Sommer Ilands, in the shippe called the Plough, wee imbarked the 28 of Aprill 1612. So passing downe to Grauesend, wee anchored at Tilbury-hope vntill the fifth of May. The winde comming faire, wee put foorth and come to the Downes the sixth of May, where we stayed till the ninth. And then setting forward, wee had a faire and comfortable passage, and by God's blessing found so direct a course, that on the eleuenth of July in the morning betwixt nine and ten of the clocke wee discried our hoped and desired Ilands, and in the afternoone of the same day about three a clocke wee arriued in a very safe harbour neare *S. Georges* Iland, there we landed all our men and women, and had been at an anchor aboue an houre before wee could heare of our three men which had been left there. As soone as wee had landed all our company, we went all to prayer, and gaue thankes vnto the Lord for our safe arriuall: and whilest we were at prayer, wee saw our three men come rowinge downe to vs, the sight of whom did much revive vs: so they welcoming vs and we the like to them againe, we sung a Psalme and praised the Lord for our safe meeting, and went to supper.

The next day being the Sabbath day, which wee dedicated to God in the best manner we could, wee abode still in the foresaid Iland with all the rest of our company until Munday morning, being the thirteenth of July: then we went vp with our ship and company higher into the harbour, to the place where three men had planted themselues. And whereas many English men would haue thought that wee should haue found these men either dead, or more like sauage then civill, I assure you al my friends and acquaintance (and so generally to all my country men in England) we found them ciuill, honest, and religious, and making conscience of their waies: you shall not heare an oath proceed out of their mouths: vaine and idle talke they vsed not: and it seemed apparently vnto our eyes that they haue not beene idly giuen. For howeuer to be but three of them left in such a desolate place not inhabited, nor assured of any to come to them: would haue made most men fainted in any thing they should have took in hād: yet it was not so with these mē: nay they showed unto vs a good example who are now come unto them. For they haue planted corne, great store of wheate, Beanes, Tobacco, and mellons, with many other good things for the vse of man: besides they have wrought vpon timber in squaring and sawing of cedar trees, for they intended to build a small pinnace to carry them into Virginia, being almost out of hope and comfort of our comming: because Captaine Dauies his time was to haue beene with them long before we came. And thus they spent their time in labor, imploying themselues in one good action or another.

Now to certifie you the truth of the state of the Country, I am loath to write that which I haue seene, by reason you would condemne my writing (as I feare) and thinke to be but false reports come from vs to draw more company hither, for I perceiue the world is giuen too much to such surmises. But why should I feare to write that which I know to be true, when as all the ships company will or may approue it, but cannot reproue it: As first the Captaine, the Master and his Mate, and all the rest of the Saylers: first I will begin with the fish and Fowle which the countrey doth yeeld.

We were no sooner come within a league of the land, but a company of Fish, as it were met vs, and neuer left us til we were come to an ankor within the harbour: and as soon as we had passed ouer our busines, and all things safe and in order, with a hooke and line wee tooke more then our whole company was able to eate. So that there was enough to feed many more. The next day after the Sabbath wee went with our net and boat, and if we would have loaded two boats we might: and so you may do day by day. Fishes doe so abound, and they be of these sorts, Mullets, Breames, Hogge fish, Rock fish and Lobsters, with more sorts of other Fish which I cannot name.

Turkles thare bee of a mightie bignesse: one Turkle will serue or suffice three or four score at a meale, especially if it be a shee Turkle, for she will haue as many Egges as will suffice fiftie or three-score at a meale;[1] this I can assure you, for they are very good and wholesome meate, none of it bad, no, not so much as the very guts and maw of it, for they are exceeding fat, and make as good tripes as your beastes bellies in England, and for fowle wee went the third day of our arriuall vnto the Bird Ilands (as we call them) and vsing neither sticke nor stone, bowe nor gunne wee tooke them up in our hands so many as we would, that euery one of the company were to haue, some three some foure a peece, three for a childe boy or girl, for a man foure, then reckon what those that serued some fourescore people did amount vnto. But this is for certaine, if wee would haue brought away twice so many more wee might, but our order is not to take Fish or Fowle but for one or two meales, because that by reason of the flies, and heat of the countrey, they will not keepe, especially these two monthes June and July, and some part of August. Some sixe dayes after our comming, we sent

[1] Lieutenant, now Major-General, R. Nelson, R.E., in his paper on the 'Geology of Bermuda,' published in 1837, mentions the remains of one of those gigantic turtles as visible among the sand hills in Paget Parish. They were still visible occasionally, as the wind cleared them of sand, in 1872. The largest hawksbill turtle killed for many years past weighed 150 lbs.; the largest green turtle 145 lbs. in the shell.

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out for Hogges, so the company which went out brought home some. I hould your mutton of England not of so sweet and pleasant a taste.

Fowles there are of diuers sorts, but amongst all there is a bird like vnto yours, which you call in England a Crow, which though they talke in the Barmuda language, yet their tongues shall walke as faste as any English womans: wee cannot goe vp into the woods, but they will follow after vs with such an outcry that it would fret a man to heare them. They are very good meate, fat, and as white flesh as a chicken. We many times make some of them leaue their talking with stones or cudgels, for they will sit and face you hard at your hand.[1]

And whereas it is reported that this Land of the Barmudas, with the Ilands about it (which are many, at the least an hundred) are inchanted and kept with euill and wicked spirits: it is a most idle and false report. God grant that we haue brought no wicked spirits with vs, or that there comes none after vs, for we found none there so ill as ourselues, nor the three men neuer saw any euill or hurtfull thing in the land all the time since their comming: no nor any noysome thing or hurtfull more than a poore flie which tarries not aboue two or three moneths.[2]

For the inclination of the weather, considering in what climate it lies, wee haue had for the space of some fortie dayes no raine, but very coole and fresh gales of winde, yet in the daytime very hotte; but wee agree with it very wel, and not a man that hath lied sicke or diseased, but all likes well, and followes and imployes themselues to one businesse or another.

For the fruits which the land yeelds, they bee the mulberie great store, and Peares which haue in them a red liquor, as the Pomegranat hath, or somewhat redder, but very wholesome: if you eat an hundred at one time, you shall neuer surfit of them: if you eat som proportion of them they will bind, but if you exceed in eating of them, then are they of the contrary operation: yet neuer any that hurt themselues by them, eat they neuer so many. It is certaine that one man eat aboue a Peck of them in ten houres, and was neuer the worse. Wee haue a kind of Berrie vpon the Cedar tree, very pleasant to eat: and for the Palmito tree, the top of it is a great deale sweeter and wholesomer then any cabedge.

[1] This lively account of the Cat-bird, *Orpheus Carolinensis*, is almost equally applicable at the present day, for they are still perhaps the most numerous family of birds in Bermuda, and have the same habit of scolding 'that it would fret a man to heare them.'

[2] If by the 'poore flie' is meant the musquito, the habits of that 'familiar beast and friend to man' have undergone a marked change, and there are now not more than three or four months of the year in which it is not troublesome.

In some of our Ilands there growes Pepper, but not so good as our Indian Pepper: [1] diuers sorts of other good things there is which the seuerall times of the yeare bring forth one after another; but the top of the Palmito tree is in season and good all the yeare.

For the ground: I hold it the richest ground to beare forth fruit (whatsoever one shall lay into it) that is in the world and very easie and light for digging: so that if a man wil labour he may turne vp a great quantitie in a day, for it is a fat sandy ground, and of colour a browne red.

After the time of our landing many of the company digged certaine plats of ground, and sowed diuers sortes of seedes to make triall of the ground, and for certaine they were seen aboue the ground sprung vp the fourth day after thier sowing: and amongst all the rest of the seeds, the Cowcumber and the mellon were forward: wee haue set and sowed fourescore and one sorts of seeds, it was ten dayes before the shippes comming away, and for the most part they are all come vp.

Of necessitie I must needs mention the Palme tree once againe, I haue found it so good: take a hatchet and cut him or an augar and bore him, and it yeelds a very pleasant liquor, much like unto your sweete wine: it bears likewise a berry in bignes of a prune and in taste much like.[2]

Also we haue oliues grow with vs, but no great store:[3] many other good excellent things we haue grow with vs, which this short time will not permit me to write on so largely as I might: but this is of truth that Hogges, Turkles, Fish and Fowle doe abound as dust of the earth. For Ambergreece and Pearle wee haue not had leasure in so few dayes since our arriuall to goe looke out for the one, or to fish for the other, but the three men which were left there haue found of them both. Also they haue made a great deale of Tobacco, and if some would come that haue skill in making it, it would bee very commodious both to the merchant and to the maker of

[1] The phrases 'your mutton of England,' 'our Indian pepper,' would lead to the conclusion that the writer was one of the early settlers in Virginia who had left that colony and returned to England prior to April 1612.

[2] We have here beyond a doubt the secret of an intoxicating liquor called Bibey, which is often referred to in subsequent laws.

[3] The occurrence of the fig, *Ficus carica*, which is not a native either of the continent of America or of the West Indies, and of the European olive, in Bermuda at this time, may be probably attributed to the fact of the crew of 'La Garza,' or of some shipwrecked vessel from the South of Europe, such as the Frenchman alluded to by Sir William Monson (p. 5), having landed on these islands in the previous century. The fig spread itself abundantly, and is still to be met with wild. The olive must have been, as indeed is here implied, more uncommon, as its cultivation was made the subject of many orders by the governors and the Bermuda Company at various times from 1630 to 1660.

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it. And for the silke worme, if any were brought ouer, and some of skill to use them, there would be very much good done with them, for the verie spider in these our Ilands doth weaue perfect fine silke, both yellow and white.

The timber of the countrey consisteth of three sorts, the one is the Cedar; verie fine Timber to worke vpon, of color redde and verie sweete, the other sorts wee haue no name for, for there is none in the Company hath seen the like in other countries before we came: some did thinke it to be *Lignum vitæ*; but it is not so, it is a verie fine wood, of colour yellow, and it bears a leaf like vnto a walnut tree, and the rine or barke is much like a walnut tree, and the barke if one taste of it will bite ones tongue, as if it were Ginney Pepper, that wood also is very sweet.[1] The other is much like unto the second, but onely it is white; the Palme tree is no timber but it grows up of a great height,and no tree grows like vnto it; for other trees as they grow vp in length, so they grow in bignesse, but the Palme-tree the higher it growes, so the smaller it growes:[2] there is another kinde of wood, which some also thinke is *Lignum vitæ*, and some of it is come ouer for example.

Other kinde of trees there be, but no timber trees they are: but amongst all the rest there growes a kinde of tree called mangrowes, they grow very strangely & would make a man wonder to see the manner of their growing, whereof you shall heare more at leasure.

Also amongst al the sorts of Fish, there is one very strange Fish and bewtifull to behold, wee call it an angell-fish (as well it may be) for as you see the picture of an Angell made, so is this, and it showes of many colours both in the water swimming, and out of the water, and as daintie a fish of meate as a salmon, or rather better.[3]

The plentifull time of our fruits is in your Winter, from October till it be May, or about the latter end of May is the plentifullest time of our fruits, but some we haue al the yeare of one fruit or other.

The climate I hold to be verie good, and agreeable with our constitutions of England, and for the victuall very wholesome and good: for the three men which were left there are very fat

[1] This description corresponds closely with the West Indian yellow wood, *Xanthoxylum aromaticum* (?) which is still to be found in one locality; but the yellow wood of later notices, to which the description does not at all apply, is a different tree—a species of Erythina, probably *E. indica*, locally called Locust. The white-wooded tree may be *Tecoma pentaphylla*, now called white cedar.

[2] A very accurate account. There is a Palmetto fifty-three feet high in Pembroke Marsh, of which forty-seven feet is clear stem.

[3] Still so called. The most beautiful and delicate of the many beautiful and highly coloured fish of the Bermudas.

and faire, not tanned or burned in the Sun so much as we which came last, & they say thēselues they neuer were sicke all the time of their being there, and one of them hath beene there three yeares and vpwards (one *Christopher Carter* by name, a Buckingham-shire man, borne in Wickham or thereabouts).

And for such extraordinarie weather, for thunder and lightning, as it is reported of these Ilands, I can see no such matter, but more temperate and better weather than you haue in England: wee haue gone a hunting, and lien out night by night for Hogges: and if wee had beene wett by weather or by wading, wee may lay vs downe so wett to sleepe with a Palme-tree leafe or two under vs, and one aboue vs, and we sleepe soundly without any taking cold or being disturbed with anything else: your aires in England are far more subiect to diseases then these Ilands are.

Whales there are in great store at that time of the yeare, when they come in, which time of their comming is in Febuarie and tarry till June.[1] Likewise there commeth in two other Fishes with them, but such as the whale had rather bee without their companie: one is called a Sword fish, the other a Threasher: the sword-fish swimmes vnder the whale, and pricketh him vpward: the Threasher keepeth aboue him, and with a mightie great thing like vnto a flaile hee so bangeth the whale, that hee will roare as though it thundered, and doth giue him such blowes, with his weapon, that you would thinke it to be a cracke of great shot.

Hastie occasione of business doth make mee write somewhat hastilie, and leaue out many things which were fitte to be spoken of, wherefore against my will I am forced to leaue my worke, which I haue begunne, before I come into the middest of it, but I hope it will suffice you that are my friends to passe it ouer in the best manner you can, for there is much broken English of it, and badly penned: regard I pray you the matter, not the manner, the truth of the storie, not the stile.

But this I say to them that haue aduentured in Virginia, especially to such as thinke they shall lose by that worthy action: let them do the like to vs, and I make no doubt but wee shall in short time giue them satisfaction.

For our Inchanted Ilands, which is kept, as some say, with spirits, will wrong no friend or foe, but yeeld all men their expectations.

[1] These are Sperm whales, which, according to Maury's charts, frequent the equatorial waters of the globe between Lat. 44° N. and Lat. 44° S. in the Atlantic or thereabouts. The right whale does not cross the Equator, or reach so low a latitude as Bermuda, in the West Atlantic, although it does on the side of Madeira.

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If we can praise God for so great a blessing and labour to make benefit of it to his glory, the honour of our Religion, the strength of our Country and good of our selues. And if you in England will do what is fit for you, as we will, by Gods helpe what is fit for us, we hope shortly to see the day that men shal say Blessed bee God that suffered Sir Thomas Gates *and Sir* George Sommers *to be cast away vpon these Ilands.*

7. General narrative of 'The first beginning of a Colonie in the Somer Iles, vnder the command of Master Richard More, extracted out of a plot of Master Richard Norwood Surueior, and the relation of diuers others' (from Smith's 'Virginia,' p. 125):—

Master More thus finding those three men [see p. 53] not onely well and lusty, but well stored with diuers sorts of prouisions, as an Acre of Corne ready to be gathered, numbers of Pumpions and Indian Beanes, many Tortoises ready taken, good store of hogs flesh salted, and made in flitches of Bacon, were very good, and so presently landed his goods and sixty persons towards the beginning of July, 1612, vpon the South side of Smiths Ile.

Not long after his arriuall, More hauing some priuate intelligence of this Amber-greece, took first Chard in examination, he being one of the three the most masterful spirits, what Amber-greece, Pearle, Treasure, or other Commodities they had found. Chard no lesse witty then resolute, directly answered; Not anything at all but the fruits of the Ile, what his fellowes had done he knew not, but if they had, he doubted not but to finde it out, and then he should know it certainly. This he spake onely to win time to sweare his Consorts to secrecy, and he would finde the meanes how they should all returne in that ship with it all for England, otherwise they should be deceiued of all. Till this was effected they thought euery houre an age; now for the better conuenience of it aboord, they acquainted it to Captaine Dauis, master of the ship, and one Master Edwin Kendall, that for their secrecy and transportation should participate with them: Without further ceremony the match was accepted, and absolutely concluded, the plot laid, time and place set downe to haue it aboord. But Carter, were it for feare the Gouernor at last should know of it, to whom so oft they had denied it; or that the rest should deceiue him, is vncertaine; but most certaine it is, he reuealed all the plot to Master More: To get so much wealth he knew would please them in England, though it did displease all his Company, and to lose such a

prize he would not for hazarding a mutiny. So first he reuealed himselfe to Kendal in faire termes, reprouing his dishonesty, but not being answered according to his expectation, he committed both Chard and him to person [prison].

The next Sabboath day Dauis coming on shore, More also taxed with very hard language and many threats, to lay him fast also if he mended not his manners; Dauis for the present replied little, but went with him to the place of praier; but in the midst of diuine seruice he goeth away, commanding all his seamen to follow him presently aboord, where he encourageth them to stand to him like men, and hee would free the Prisoners, haue all the Amber-greece for themselues and so be gone.

The Gouernor hearing of this resolution, prepares with his company to repulse force with force, so that a generall expectance of a ciuill vnciuill warre possessed euery man; but this threatning gust passed ouer more calmlier then was expected; for Dauis hauing better aduised with himselfe, repented his rashnesse, and desired a reconcilement with the Gouernor. Peace thus concluded, Kendal was set at libertie but Chard was condemned, and vpon the ladder to be hanged for his obstinacy; yet vpon better consideration More reprieued him, but kept him a prisoner all the time he staied in the Country, which was generally thought a very bad reward for his great desert, and that there was more of this Amber-greece imbeziled, then would haue contented all the finders, that neuer had any consideration at all. The greatest part though More thus recouered, yet Dauis and Kendal had so much, either by the ignorance or coniuiency of the Gouernors, that arriuing in England they prepared themselues for a new voiage; at last they two falling out, the Company hauing notice thereof, so tormented them both, they gaue ouer their voiage, and durst not be seene a long time after.

The Gouernor thus rid of the ship and those discontents, remoued his seat from Smiths Ile to Saint Georges, after he had fitted vp some small Cabbens of Palmatta leaues for his wife and family, in that valley where now stands their prime towne called S. Georges, hee began to apply himselfe to fortify the countrey, and training his men to the exercise of armes. For although he was but a Carpenter, he was an excellent Artist, a good Gunner, very witty and industrious: he built and laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the Kings Castle, Charles Fort, Pembrookes Fort, Smiths Fort, Pagits Fort, Gates Fort, Warwicks Castle, Saint Katherines Fort, &c. mounting in them all the Ordnance he had, preparing the ground to build Houses, plant Corne, and such fruits as they had.

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Being thus busied, and as the necessitie of the time required, keeping his men somewhat hard at work; Master Keath his Minister, were it by the secret prouocation of some drones, that grew weary of their tasks, or his affection to popularity is not certaine; But he begins to tax the Gouernor in the Pulpit, hee did grind the faces of the poor, oppressing his Christian brethren with Pharaohs taxes. More finding this in short time, might breed ill-blood, called the Company together and also the Minister, vrging them plainly, to tell him wherein he had deserued those hard accusations: whereupon, with an vniversall cry they affirmed the contrary, so that Keath downe of his knees to ask him forgiueness. But Master More kindly took him vp, willing him to kneele to God, and hereafter be more modest and charitable in his speeches; notwithstanding two other discontents so vpraided More with that doctrine, and stood to maintaine it, he impaneled a Jury, with a great deale of seeming much adoe he would hang them being condemned, one of them with the very feare, fell into a dead Palsie; so that the other was set at libertie, and proued after a very good labourer.

Many conclusions he tried about the Sea-venture, the wracke of Sir George Somers, but he got onely for his paines but two peece of Ordnance. Hauing framed a Church of timber, it was blowne downe by a tempest, so that he built another in a more closer place with Palmeta leaues.

Before this yeere was expired, the aduenturers sent them an aduiso with thirtie Passengers and good prouissions, to prepare with all expedition for their defence against the Spaniard, whom they understood ere long would visit them. This occasioned him to keep all his men together in that Isle so hard at work, that wanting libertie to goe abroad for food, living onely on that they had, and expected daily to receiue from England, they were so ouer-toiled, many fell sick, but none died. Very earnest this ship was to haue all the Amber-greece, which Mr. More perceiuing was the chiefest cause of their coming, and that it was the only loadstone to draw from England still more supplies; for all the expresse command sent from the Company, he returned this ship but with the one third part, so from thence she went to Virginia, and not long after arriued safely in England.

But before her returne the Company sent the Martha with sixtie Passengers more; they arriued in June with one Master Bartlet to survey the Island, and the estate of the Colonie, with expresse command for all the Amber-greece: but More perceiuing him not as he would haue him, and that the Company began to mistrust him, would send no more but another

third part, wherewith they returned leauing a French-man to make triall of the Mulberies for Silke, but he did not bring anything to perfection; excusing himself, they were not the right Mulberies he expected. About this time they were in hope of a small crop of Tobacco, but it was most spoiled for want of knowledge to vse it. Now in England Master More became amongst the Merchants marvelous distastfull, for the detaining so long the Amber-greece; which delaies they so much abhorred, they forthwith dispatched the Elizabeth the second time and forty Passengers, much rebuking More for so long detaining the Amber-greece; for the which hauing now no more colourable excuses, he deliuered it, wherewith the Ship went to Virginia, and thence home. In this ship was brought the first Potato roots, which flourished exceedingly for a time, till by negligence they were almost lost (all but two cast away roots) that have so wonderfully increased, they are a maine releefe to all the Inhabitants. This ship was not long gone but there came two Spanish ships, sounding with their boat, which attempted to come in; but from the Kings Castle Master More made but two shot, which caused them presently depart. Marke here the handy-work of the diuine prouidence, for they had but three quarters of a barrell of powder, and but one shot more, and the powder by carelesnesse was tumbled downe vnder the mussels of the two peeces, were discharged, yet not touched with fire when they were discharged.

This feare thus past, appeares another much worse, which was the extremity of famine; in this extremity God sent Captaine Daniel Elfrid with a caruell of meale which a little releued them, but brought with all so many Rats, that within two yeeres after neere ruined all; now though Elfrid had deceiued his friend Fisher of this caruel in the West Indies, they reuenged Fishers iniury, for Elfrid had his passage for England, and they made vse of all he had. Some two moneths after, came in the Blessing with an hundred Passengers; and two daies after the Starre with a hundred and fourscore more, amongst which were many Gentlemen, as Master Lower for Marshall, Master Barret, Master Felgate, and diuers others; but very vnproper for what they vndertooke. Within foureteene daies after came in the Margaret and two Frygats, and in them one hundred and threescore Passengers; also Master Bartlet came now expressly to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. But Master More finding no mention made of any part for himselfe nor all them with him, as he was promised in England, by no meanes would admit of any diuision, nor suffer his men from finishing their fortifications, which was so necessary, it was his maine ambition to see

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that accomplished; but such vnkindness grew betwixt this Master Bartlet and the Gouernor, that the rude multitude with all the disdaine they could deuise caused Bartlet returne for England as he came. About this time William Millington was drawne into the sea by a fish, but neuer after euer seene.

The neglect of this diuision was very hardly conceited in England, so that Master More grew more and more in dislike with the company: notwithstanding he followed the building of these Forts so earnestly, neglecting planting of Corne, till their store was neere all consumed, whereby they became so feeble and weake, some would not, others could not goe abroad to seeke releefe, but starued in their houses; and many that were abroad, through weaknesse were subject to be suddenly surprized with a disease called the Feauges, which was neither paine nor sicknesse, but as it were the highest degree of weaknesse, depriuing them of power and ability from the execution of any bodily exercises, whether it were working, walking, or what else; being thus taken, if any presently gave them food, many times they straight recouered, yet some after a little rest would be able to walke, but if they found not present succour, died.

About this time or immediately before, came in a company of Rauens, which continued amongst them all the time of this mortality and then departed, which for any thing knowne, neither before nor since were euer seene or heard of: this with diuers other reasons caused Master More to goe out to Sea, to see if he could discouer any other Islands, but he went not farre ere ill weather forced him backe; and it were a noble aduenture of him would vndertake to make more perfect all the dangers are about the Summer Iles.

Thus famine and misery caused Gouernor More leaue all his workes, and send them abroad to get what they could; one hundred and fifty of the most weake and sicke he sent to Coupers Isle, where were such infinite numbers of the Birds called Cahowes, which were so fearlesse they might take so many as they would, and that admired abundance of fish, that the extremity of their hunger, and their gluttony was such, those heavenly blessings they so much consumed and wasted by carelessnesse and surfeiting, many of them died vpon those silly Birds that offered themselues to the slaughter, which the Gouernor vnderstanding, caused them for change of aire to be removed to Port-royall, and a company of Fishers with a Boat to relieue them with fish, but the Gange grew so lazie the poor weaklings still died; but they that remained killed the Cattle they found in the Isle, faining the heat caused them to

runne into the sea and so were drowned; so that the Gouernor sent again for them home, but some obtained leaue still to liue abroad; one amongst the rest hid himself in the woods, and lived onely on Wilkes, and land Crabs, fat and lusty many moneths, but most of them being at Saint Georges, ordinarily was taken one hundred and fifty or two hundred great fishes daily for their food; for want of hookes and lines, the smith made hookes of old swords, and lines of old rope, but finding all those poore Engines also decay, they sent one of the two Frigats last left with them for England, to tell them of this misery. All which was now attributed to Master Mores peruersenesse, who at first when he got the Amber-greece had not such a general applause, but now all the worst could possibly be suggested was too good for him; yet not knowing for the present how to send a letter, they let him continue still though his time was neere expired, and with all speed sent the Welcome fraught with prouision, where she well arriued, and proued herselfe as welcome in deed as in name; for all those extremities, Master Lewis Hues writeth, not one of all those threescore that first beganne this Plantation was dead, which showes it was not impossible, but industry might haue preuented a great part of the others sluggish carelesnesse. This ship much refreshed this miserable Colony, but Master More seeing they sent not for him, his time being now expired, vnderstanding how badly they reputed him in England, and that his employment now was more for their own ends than any good for himselfe, resolued directly to returne with his ship. Hauing setled all things in the best order he could, left the gouernment to the charge of the counsell of Six to succeed each other monethly, till they had further directions from England; whose names were Captaine Miles Kendall, Captain John Mansfield, Thomas Knight, Charles Caldycot, Edward Waters, and Christopher Carter, with twelue others for their assistances. More thus taking leaue of those Ilands, arriued in England: much wrangling they had, but at last they confirmed him according to promise eight Shares of Land, and so he was dismissed of his charge, with shew of fauour and much friendship.

8. There is good reason to suppose that the Spaniards, referred to at p. 75, came with no hostile intentions and were not aware that the islands were settled by the English. Traditions of buried treasure are rife along the tracks of the Spanish galleons, as well as in the haunts of the Buccaneers, and Bermuda is not without one, which became the subject of an official investigation

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in 1693. Among the depositions taken on that occasion, which have been printed by Williams, occurs the following :—

> The deposition of Mr. Thomas Walker, who been sworne sayth . . . that about the 29th day of September 1691 this depon^t. went to the house of Mr. Richard Leycroft on the west side of Bermuda, when and where the said Leycroft discoursed about wrecks of treasure in the sea and of treasure upon the land, more particularly informed this depon^t that hee the said Leycroft was acquainted with an ancient woman who had been in England many yeares agoe, who gave him this following relation concerning treasure buried upon Ireland in Bermuda, viz. she the said woman told the said Leycroft that she happened to fall into the company of an ancient Spaniard in London who asked her where she lived. She told him in Bermuda when at home. Bermuda, said the spaniard. That is divills Island! and the said Spaniard further related to the said woman that he happened to be lost upon the rocks on the north side when bound home from New Spaine to Old Spaine in a very wealthy shipp, and after the shipp stuck fast upon the rocks they had the opportunity of saueing their liues, and a great deale of wealth or treasure, which the spaniard declared he helped to bring ashore upon a key or island, and there helped to digg a hole and bury it and putt their ships hatches upon it, and sett upp sundry crosses to find it againe. And the said spaniard told the said woman that they were comeing in a shipp to fetch the said welth, which shipp comeing into the harbour supposing the devill shott through the rocks at them when entering the harbour, at which the spaniards were so scared or affrighted that they came not into the harbour, but returned home againe. This was the said Leycrofts relation to this depon^t as this depon^t remembers.
>
> (Signed) THOMAS WALKER.

Another witness, John Keeling, deposed that he had often 'heard his ffather say that there was a Spanish ship came to ffetch the money left on these Islands, but on their approach to y^e^ Castle harbour mett with a shott from thence discharged by the then Gouernor, which soe astonished them ffnding the Island to be inhabited, that they dispared of pursueing what they came for.' These stories certainly refer to the visit recorded by Smith.

9. *John Chamberlain to the Rt. Hon. Sir Dudley Carleton Kt. Lord Ambassador for his Ma^tie at Venice*, August 1, 1613.

'There is a ship come from Virginia w^th newes of theyre well doing w^ch puts some life into that action that before was almost at the last cast . . . but this ship brought no commodities from thence, but only these fayre tayles and hopes, marrie touching at the Bermudars she hath brought thence some quantitie of perle and between 20 and 30 pound waight of Ambergreece, worth £900 at least: and by the next that is to come thence they are promised to haue a return of foure times as much.' [1]

10. *John Chamberlaine to Sir Dudley Carleton*, October 27, 1613.

'. . . from the Bermudas or Sommer-ylands there hath come great store of ambergreece this yeare, w^ch is the only commoditie they haue thence as yet, but they hope for more hereafter of many kindes, though nothing so rich, and begin to nestle and plant there very handsomely, whereat the Spaniard is nothing pleased but threatens the next yeare to remoue them, which aduertisement they haue by goode meanes and many wayes, but they seeme nothing dismayed therewith, trusting rather to the difficultie of accesse, then to any other strength of theyre owne: the greatest peece of amber [ambergris?] in one lump that hath bin heard of was found there this yeare [1613], beeing as bigge as the body of a giant, and aunswerable or resembling almost in all points sauing for the want of the heade and one arme: but they handled the matter so foolishly that they brake yt in peeces, and the biggest they brought home was not aboue 168 ownces w^ch sells better by twelue or fifteen shillings in an ownce than that w^ch is smaller.' [2]

[1] 'Domestic Correspondence, Jac. I.' vol. lxxiv. No. 89.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. lxxiv.

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11. The rule of the Six Gouernors, after the departure of Gouernor Moore, 1615 [from Smith's 'Virginia'].

The first thing they did was the casting of lots, who should rule first, which lot lighted vpon Master Caldicot. This last supply somewhat abated the extremitie of their miseries, and the better in that their fortifications being finished, they had the more leisure to goe abroad with that meanes was brought to that purpose to fish. Chard as you haue heard, whom all this while More had kept Prisoner, they set at libertie: now by reason of their former miseries, little or nothing could be done; yet this Gouernor hauing this concluded his moneth, and prepared a Frigot and two and thirtie men, hee imbarked himself with two other of his fellow counsellers; namely, Knight and Waters for the West-Indies, to get Fruits and Plants, Goats, young Cattle and such like. But this poore vessell, whether through ill weather, or want of Mariners, or both, instead of the Indies fell with the Canaries, where taking a poor Portugall, the which they manned with ten of their own people, as soon after separated from her in a storme, and the next day was taken by a French Pickaronne, so that the Frigot out of hope of her prise, makes a second time for the West-Indies, where she no sooner arriued, but foundered in the sea; but the men in their Boat recouered a desolate Ile, where after some few moneths stay, an English Pyrat tooke them in, and some of them at last got for England, and some few yeares after returned to the Somer Iles.

Captaine John Mansfield, his month.

12. The Frigot thus gone, Captaine Mansfield succeeded.—Then was contriued a petition, as from the generalitie, unto the triumuirat Gouernors; wherein they supplicated, that by no meanes they should resigne the gouernment to any should come from England, vpon what tearmes soeuer vntil six moneths after the returne of their ship sent to the West Indies; about this vnwarrantable action, Master Lewis Hues their Preacher was so violent in suppressing it, that such discontents grew betwixt the Gouernors and him, and diuisions among the Company, he was arraigned, condemned, and imprisoned, but not long detained before released. Then the matter fell so hotly againe to be disputed betwixt him and one Master Keath a Scotch-man, that professed Schollership, that made all the people in a great combustion; much adoe there was, till at last as they sate in the Church and ready to proceed to a iudiciary course against Master Hues, suddenly such an extreme gust of wind and weather so ruffled in the trees and Church;

some cried out a Miracle, others, it was but an accident common in those Iles, but the noise was so terrible it dissolued the assembly; notwithstanding, Master Hues was againe imprisoned, and as suddenly discharged; but those factions were so confused, and their relations so variable, that such vnnecessary circumstances were better omitted then any more disputed.

This mans moneth thus ended, begins Master Carter, which was altogether spent in quietnesse, and then Captain Miles Kendall had the rule, whose moneth was also as quietly spent as his Predecessors. Then Captain Mansfield begins his second moneth, when the ship called the Edwin arriued with good supplies. About this time diuers Boats going to sea were lost, and some men drowned; and many of the Company repaired to Master Hues, that there might bee a Councell according to Master Mores order of six Gouernors, and twelue Assistants, where upon grew as many more such silly brawles as before, which at last concluded with as simple a reconciliation. In the interim happened to a certain number of priuate persons as miserable and lamentable an accident as euer was read or heard of, and thus it was:—In the month of March, a time most subiect of all others to such tempests; on a Friday there went seuen in a boat of two or three tunnes to fish. The morning being faire, so eagar they were of their iourney, some went fasting; neither carried they either meat or drinke with them, but a few Palmeta berries: but being at their fishing place some foure leagues from the shore, such a tempest arose, they were quickly driuen from the sight of land in an ouergrowne Sea, despairing of all hope, onely committing themselues to Gods mercy, let the boat drive which way shee would. On Sunday the Storme being somewhat abated, they hoysted saile as they thought towards the Island. In the euening it grew starke calme; so that being too weake to vse their oares, they lay a drift that night. The next morning Andrew Hilliard, for now all his companions were past strength either to help him or themselues, before a small gale of wind spread his saile againe. On Tuesday one died, whom they threw ouerboard. On Wednesday three. And on Thursday at night the sixt. All these but the last were buried by Hilliard in the Sea, for so weake hee was growne hee could not turne him ouer as the rest, where upon hee stripped him, ripping his belly with his knife, throwing his bowels into the water, hee spread his body abroad tilted open with a sticke, and so lets it lie as a cisterne to receiue some lucky raine water, and this God sent him presently after, so that in one small shoure hee recouered about foure spoonefuls of raine water to his vnspeakable refreshment; he also preserued neere halfe a pint of blood in a

The wonderfull deliuerance of Andrew Hilliard.

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shoe, which he did sparingly drinke of to moist his mouth; two seueral daies he fed on his flesh, to the quantity of a pound, on the eleuenth day from his losing the sight of land, two flying fishes fals in his boat, whose warme iuicie blood hee sucked to his great comfort. But within an houre after to his greater comfort you will not doubt, he once againe descried the land, and within foure hours after was cast upon a rock neere to Port-royall, where his boat was presently split in pieces, but himselfe, though extremely weake, made shift to clamber vp so steepe and high a rock, as would haue troubled the ablest man in the Ile to haue dune that by day hee did by night.

Being thus astride on a rocke, the tumbling sea had gotten such possession in his braines, that a good while it was before his giddy head would suffer him to venture vpon the forsaking it; towards the morning he craules a shore, and then to his accomplished ioy discernes where hee is, and trauels halfe a day without any refreshment then water, whereof wisely and temperately he stinted himselfe, otherwise certainely hee had drunke his last. In which case hee attains a friends house: where at the firste they took him for a ghost, but at last acknowledged and receiued him with ioy, his story after some houres of recouery of strength to tell it, heard out with admiration; he was not long after conueyed to the towne, where he receiued his former health, and was liuing in the yeere 1622.

Treasure found in the Summer Iles.

The next newes that happened in this time of ease, was, that a merry fellow hauing found some few Dollars against the Flemish wracke, the bruit went currant the treasure was found, and they all made men. Much adoe there was to preuent the purloining of it, before they had it: where after they had tyred themselues with searching, that they found, amounted not to aboue twenty pounds starling, which is not vnlike but to be the remainder of some greater store, washed from some wracke not farre from the shore.

The company by the Edwin receiuing newes of the reuels were kept in Sommer Iles, resolued to make choice of a new Gouernor; called Master Daniel Tuckar, that a long time had bin a planter in Virginia in the gouernment of Captain Smith. All things being furnished for his voyage; hee set saile in the George, consorted with the Edwin, with many passengers, which being discouered by them in those Iles, they supposed them the Frigot sent to the West Indies; but when they vnderstood what they were, much preparation they made to resist the new Gouernour. Many great ostentations appeared on both sides, but when the quandam Gouernour did see his men for most part forsake him; all was very well

and quietly compounded, and with much kindnesse receiued and welcomed a shore, where his commission was no sooner read, then they accepted and acknowledged him for their Gouernour.

The following copy of the Charter of James I., dated June 29, 1615, agrees verbatim with the original, formerly in the State Paper Office, of which a copy was, not without difficulty, obtained for the use of the then Attorney-General of Bermuda, Mr. John Harvey Darrell, in reference to some question of title to lands, in 1845; and it was made when the original was more perfect than it is at present, as it contains the date and signature now wanting. It agrees also—allowing for a few typographical errors—with that copy as printed by the late Mr. Frith Williams in 1848; but it is not itself as old as the first settlement, being considerably modernised in spelling. The terminal *e* so generally added to words has been dropped, and words like collonie, companie, daie, manie, are here spelt with *y*—colony, company, day, many. These and other peculiarities seem to make it probable that it was procured on the occasion of some of the numerous disputes which in process of time occurred between the original grantees of the Crown and their tenants. There is nothing to show to what book the MS., which is in nine detached leaves, had formerly belonged.

Decima nona pars PATEN *de anno Regni Regis* JACOBI *Tertio decimo.*

D'Con Gubuator & Societat de Civitate London P Plantacoē de le Somer Islands.

JAMES by the Grace of God Kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To all unto whome these presents shall come Greeting WHEREAS at the humble suite of diverse and sundry our loving subjects as well Adventurers as Planters of the first collony in Virginia and for the Ppogacon of Christian Religion and reclayming of People barbarous to Ciuility and Humanity Wee have by our Lres Patents bearing date at Westminster the three and twentieth day of May in the seventh year of our raigne of Englande France and Irelande and the 42nd of Scotland given and granted unto them that they and all such and soe many of our loving Subjects as shoulde from tyme to tyme for euer after bee joyned

May 23, 1609.

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wth them as Planters or Aduenturers in the said Plantacon and their Successors for euer should bee one Bodie politique incorporated by the Name of the Treasurer and Company of Aduenturers and Planters of the Citie of London for the first colony in Virginia And Whereas also for the greater good and benefit of the said Company and for the greater furtherance strengthning and establishing of the saide Plantacon wee did further giue grant and confirme by our saide Lres Patents unto the said Treasurer and Company and their Successors for euer All those Landes Countries and Territories scituate lying and being in that parte of America called Virginia from the poynt of Lande called Cape or Poynte Comfort all along the Seacoaste to the Northwarde two hundred Miles and from the saide poynt of Cape Comfort all alonge the Seacoaste to the Southward two hundred Miles And all that space and circuit of land lyinge from the Seacoast of the precinct aforesaid up or into the Land throughout from Sea to Sea West and Northwest And also all the Islands lying within 100 Miles along the coast of both the Seas of the precincts aforesaid with diuers other grants liberties franchises preheminences priviledges profits benefits and comodities granted in and by our saide Lres Pattents to the said Treasurer Company and theire Successors for euer And Whereas also for further incouragement to the said Treasurer and Company and at their humble suite and request wee haue by our other Lres Pattents bearing date at Westminster the 12 day of March in the 9 yeare of our raigne of Englande ffrance and Ireland and of Scotland the 45th giuen granted and confirmed unto the said Treasurer and Company of Aduenturers and Planters of the Cittie of London for the first colony in Virginia and to their Heires and Successors for ever All and singular those Islands whatsoever scituate and being in any parte of the Ocean Seas bordering vpon the coast of our said firste Collony in Virginia and being wthin 300 leagues of any the parts heretofore graunted to the saide Treasurer and campany in our said former Lres Pattents as aforesaid and beinge wthin or betweene the one and forty and Thirtie degrees of Northerlie latitude togeather with diuers other graunts libties franchises pheminences priueledges pfitts benefitts and Comodities granted in and by our saide last recited Lres Patents to the said Treasurer and Company of Aduenturers and their Successors for euer And Whereas the saide Treasorer and Companie of Adventurers and Planters of the Citty of London for the first Colony in Virginia have by their indenture bearing date the 25th day of Nouember in the tenth yeare of our raigne of England ffrance and Ireland and of Scotland the 46th for and in consideracon of the Some of 2000 lbs of lawfull English Money to them in hand before the

First limits of Virginia.

Islands included.

Limits of islands extended.

Sale by the first Virginia Company to Sir W. Wade, &c.

Sealing and Delivery of the said Indenture well and truly satisfied contented and paid granted bargained sould enfeoffed and confirmed unto Sir William Wade Knight &c.[1] their Heires and Assignes All those Islands pcell of and conteyned within our last recited guift and graunt formerly called by the name of Bermudas or the Bermuda Islands and now called the Somer Islands scituate lying and being in those parts of the Ocean Seas bordering vpon the coast of the said first Colony in Virginia wch lye within the Thirty one and Thirtie fiue degrees of Northerly latitude Together with all and singuler Soiles, lands, grounds, havens, ports, riuers, waters, beinge ptt or parcell of the said Islands And all fishings mynes and mineralls as well royall mines of gould and silver as other mines and minerals, pearls, precious stones, quarries, and all and singuler other comodities, Jurisdiccons, royalties priuileges franchises and prheminences whatsoeuer both by Sea and lande to the said Islands adjoining, appteyning or in any wise belonging in as large and ample manner to all intents and purposes as they the saide Treasurer and Company might or could enioy the same by vertue of our gratious Lres Patentts last aforesaid, as in and by the said Indenture inrolled in our high Court of Chauncerie doth and may appeare And Whereas the said Sir William Wade &c. by their Indenture bearing date the 23rd day of November in the 12th year of our raigne of England France and Ireland and of Scotland the 48th as well for themselues as also by and with the full consent and agreement of William Lord Candishe Sir John Harrington Sir Walter Cope Sir Thomas Smith Sir Robte Mansell Sir Edwyn Sandys Knights and divse other persons therein intessed for divse and sundrie good important and waighty causes and consideracons them and every of them thereunto especially moving have given granted and surrendred unto us our Heires and successors all those the said Islandes with all and singular soils, lands, grounds, hauens, ports, rivers, waters, formerly called Bermudas and now Somer Islands, being part or parcell of or conteyned within our saide gracious guift and graunt And all fishings mines and mineralls as well royall mines of gould and silver as other mines and mineralls, pearles & precious stones, quarries and all and singuler other comodities, Jurisdiccons, royalties priviledges franchesies and prheminences whatsoever, both by sea and land to the said Islands adjoyning apperteyning or in anywise belonging in as large and

The Bermudas resigned to the Crown, 1614.

[1] *Sic* in the Bermuda copy throughout. The other names in the original are—Sir Dudley Diggs, Knight, Sir Baptist Hicks, Knight, Richarde Martin, of the Middle Temple, London, Esquier, John Wolstenholme, Esquier, Richarde Chamberlaine, Robte Offeley, Robte Johnson, Jerome Heydon, George Scott, and George Barkeley, of London, Merchants—which are recited on each recurrence.

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ample manner to all intents and purposes as they the said Sir William Wade, &c. might or could enioy the same by vertue of the said Indenture of bargaine and sale from the said Treasurer and Company soe thereof vnto them made as aforesaid, together with the saide Indenture of bargaine and sale, and all theire righte title intereste and demand whatsoeuer of and in the same To HAUE AND TO HOULD possesse and enioy all and singuler the saide Islands formerly called the *Bermudas* and now *Somer Islands* with all and singuler the saide soiles landes and grounds and other the premisses whatsoeuer before by the saide recited Indenture of bargaine and sale granted or thereby menconed or intended to bee granted, unto us our Heires and Successors for euer To the sole and proper vse and behoofe of vs our Heires and Successors for euermore Of which said graunte and surrender, for the like important and weighty causes and consideracons wee haue bene gratiously pleased to accepte Now forasmuch as wee

Re-grant by the Crown to the Bermuda Company, 1615.

are giuen to understand that by the great expences and industry of our trustie and welbeloved Subiects Henry Earle of Southampton &c.[1] and sundry other our lovinge Subiects hereunder in these Psents particulerly to bee named aduenturers for the Plantacon of the saide Islands formerly called the *Bermudas* or the *Bermuda Islands* and now called the Somer Islands being not at that tyme actually possessed or inhabited by anie Prince or estate whatsoeuer but remayning altogether desolate and void of Inhabitants: the said *Bermudas* or *Somer Islands* haue not only been made knowne and discouered but are at this Psent also begonne to bee peopled occupied cultivated and fortified by sundry our loving subjects there now intending to remain and continue and transported thither and there in great part maineteyned by and at the charges of the Adventurers aforesaid, intending by the assistance of God to make perfect the populating and planting of those said Islands Wee therefore tendring the good and happy successe of the Plantacon of the saide Islands, both in regard of the genall Weale of human Society as in respect of the good of our owne estate Kingdomes and people And being willinge to giue furtherance unto all good meanes that may advance the benefit of the said adventurers and which may secure the safety of our loving subiects planted or to bee planted in the said Islandes under the favour and proteccon of God Almighty and of our royall power and authoritie Haue of our especiall Grace certaine Knowledge and meere Motion giuen granted and con-

[1] Here also the recital of names is omitted. In the original they run Henry Earle of Southampton, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Pagett, John late Lorde Harrington, deceased, William Lorde Cavendishe, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Robte Mansell, Sir Edwyn Sandys, Knights.

firmed and for vs our Heires and Successors doe giue grant and confirme unto our said trusty and welbeloued subiects Henry Earle of Southton, &c.[1] That they their heires and assignes which at any tyme hereafter shall-bee lawfull owners of the said Somers Islands or anie parte thereof from tyme to tyme for euer shall bee one Bodie or Cominalty perpetuall and shall have ppetuall succession and one comon seale to serue for the saide body or Cominalty And that they and theire Successors shall be knowne called and incorporated by the name of the Governour and Company of the City of London for the Plantacon of the *Somer Islands*, and that they and their Successors shall-bee from henceforth for euer enabled to take acquire and purchase by the Name aforesaid, licence for the same from us our Heires and Successors first had and obteyned any manner of lands tenements hereditaments goods and chattells within our realme of England and dominion of Wales And that they and theire Successors shall be likewise enabled by the name aforesaid to plead and to bee impleaded before any of our Judges or Justices in any of our Courtes and in any accons or suites whatsoever And for the better prosecuting of the plantacon of the said Islandes to effect and to the happy Successe desired, and the better Government from tyme to tyme of our loving Subjects which shall bee there residing and inhabiting, as likewise for the more convenient orderinge of all affaires and busines there or here to the said company or Inhabitants or either of them belonginge, or which hereafter may belong Wee are gratiously pleased for further Incouragement of the saide Company and Corporacon in accomplishing and maynteyning of a Worke so worthy and comendable, and at their humble Suite, to give and grant and accordingly by these our gracious Lres pattents of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere motion for us our Heires and Successors doe give grant and confirme to the saide Company and Corporation and to theire Successors and Assignes for euer vnder the reservacons limitacons and declaracons hereafter expressed All those the said Islands formerly called the *Bermudas* or *Bermuda Islands* and now called *Somer Islands* with all and singular soyles lands grounds hauens ports riuers waters being part or parcell of the said Islands, and all fishings Mines and mineralls as well royall mines of goulde and silver as other mines and mineralls, pearles, precious Stones and all and singular other comodities, Jurisdiccons, royalties. priviledges, ffranchises and prehem-inences whatsoever, within the Territories or precincts of the

Incorporation of the Bermuda Company, 1615.

[1] The Bermuda copy omits the recital of the names; but they are given in another document, in the form of a memorandum, which will be found in the next entry.

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said Islands being, or thereunto or thereabouts either by sea or lande adjoyning apptuyning or in any wise belonging, in as large and ample manner to all intents and purposes as the foresaid Treasurer and Company of aduenturers and planters of the City of London for the firste collony in Virginia, by vertue of either or of both our gracious Letters Pattents aforesaid as at any tyme heretofore might or could enioye the same, and in as large and ample manner as wee by our Letters Pattents may or can grant, and in as ample manner and sorte as wee or anie our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any Companie Body Politique or corporate or to any Adventurer or Adventurers, undertaker or undertakers of any discoueries, plantacons or Traffique of in or into anie forreine pts whatsoever, and in as large and ample manner as if the same were herein perticulerly menconed and expressed To *haue*, *hould*, possesse and enioy all and singular the saide Islands soyles lands groundes hauens portes rivers waters, with all and singuler other the premisses heretofore by these Pnts granted or menconed to bee granted to them the saide Governor and Companie theire successors and assignes for ever. To the sole and proper use of them their successors and assignes for ever. To bee houlden of us our heires and Successors as of our Mannor of East Greenwich in free and Comon Soccage, and not in Capite. *Yielding* and *paying* therefore to us our Heires and Successors the fift part onely of all Oare of Goulde and Siluer that from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter shall bee there gotten had and obteyned for all manner of services[1] And forasmuch as the good and prosperous successe of the said Plantacon cannot but cheifelie depende next under the Blessinge of Almightie God and the supporte of our Royall Authority uppon the good goverment and discreet managinge of those Affaires and businesses which from tyme to tyme shall happen and arise concerning the said Plantacon or the saide Islandes or the Inhabitants thereof, or the said Governor and Companie and that it is not convenient for all the said Company to be soe often drawne to meete and assemble as shall bee requisite to have meetings and conference about their affaires. Therefore our will and pleasure is And wee hereby ordaine and establishe, that there shall bee chosen out of the said Companie

Terms of tenure.

Royalties reserved.

[1] Until the year 1867 the Governors of Bermuda received a separate commission, as Vice-Admiral, under which they were to take cognizance of and proceed in all causes civil and maritime, and 'of fishes royal, namely, sturgeons, whales, porpusses, dolphins, riggs, and grampuses, and generally of all other fishes whatsoever which are of great or very large bulk or fatness, anciently by right or custom or any way appertaining to us.' Sir Harry Ord was the last Governor who enjoyed these singular privileges.

Organisation of Company.

one Governour and his deputy with foure and Twenty Assistants for managinge the generall business and affaires for and concerninge the said Somer Ilands And the said Sir Thomas Smith Knight, wee ordeyne to be Governour of the said Companie for this yeare next ensuing which Governour or his deputie in the saide Governours absence or sicknes shall have authority to give order for the warning of the said Assistants and Companie, And the said Governor, deputie and assistants or any of them shall bee from henceforth nominated continued, displaced, changed altered and supplied, as death or other severall occasions shall require out of the said Company of the Somer Islands by the voice of the greater parte of the said Assistants and Company in a generall Court assembled And Wee doe hereby ordeyne and grant by these psents that the said Governour, Assistants, and Company, shall and may once euery moneth or oftner at their pleasures hould and keepe a Courte or assembly for the better ordering and direccon of the said affaires in the said Plantacon and such thinges as shall concerne the same, and that any seauen persons of the saide Assistants (whereof the Governor or his Deputy to bee one) assembled together in such Courte or Assembly, shalbee said taken held and reputed to bee and shalbee a full and sufficient Court of the saide Company for the handling ordering and dispatching of all such casuall and perticuler occurrents as shall from tyme to tyme happen touching and concerninge the said Plantacon and Companie And that nevertheles for the handling ordering and disposing of matters and affaires of greater weighte and importance and such as shall or may in sort concerne the weale publique or generall good of the saide Company and Plantacon, as namely the manner of Goverment from tyme to tyme to bee vsed, the ordering and dividing of the lands and possessions of the saide Adventurers and theire Assignes, the electon of officers and the setling and establishing of a Trade there or suche like, there shall bee held and kept every yeare upon the last Wednesday of Hillary, Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas Termes for euer, one great generall and solempne Assembly which foure severall Assemblies shall bee stiled and called the foure great and generall Courts of the Governor Assistants and Company of the Somer Islands In all and every of which said great and generall Courts soe assembled, Our Will and Pleasure is and wee doe for us our Heires and Successors for euer, give and graunte to the saide Governor and Company and their Successors by these Pnts, that they the saide Gouernour or his Deputy and Company or the greater number of them so as-

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sembled shall and may haue full power and authority from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter to elect and chuse foure and Twenty discreete Persons to bee Assistants, and also to nominate and appoynt such officers as they shall thinke fit and requisite for the gouernment managing ordering and dispatching of the affaires of the said Company And shall likewise have

Power to make lawes allowed.

full power and authoritie to make such Lawes and Ordinances for the good and welfare of the saide Plantacon as to them from tyme to tyme shalbee thoughte requisite and meete, so alwaies as the same bee not contrary to the Lawes and Statutes of this our Realme of Englande And our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe establishe and ordeyne that once euerie yeare namely the last Wednesday in Easter Terme the place of Gouernor, Deputy and Assistants of the said Company and all other officers of the said Company here residinge shalbee void and shalbee then in the generall Court to bee holden for that day newly chosen for the yeare ensuinge by the greater pte of the voices of the said Company then present & except for death sickness or absence or any other importante occasion the said Companie shalbee drawne to nominate and elect the said Governour or deputy or other officers at any other tyme In which cases it shalbee lawfull for them to proceede to a new eleccon according to their discretons And our will and pleasure is and wee doe for us our Heires and Successors ordeyne and establish that with all convenient speede after the date of these Pnts, a just and equall diuision of the said Islands and of the landes and other Comodities profitts and hereditaments therein conteyned shall bee made by the said Governor and Company in some great and genall Quarter courte as-

A fourth part of the Islands allotted for the maintainance and defraying public charges.

sembled, whereof one parte not exceedinge a fourth part of the saide Islands shalbee allotted and reserued to the said Gouernour and Company in comon for the maintenance and defraying of generall and publique charges from tyme to tyme And the remaine and the profitts of the saide Landes and other Hereditaments, soe to bee allotted in comon, after the said publique charges defrayed shalbee yearely devided amongst the severall members of the said company according

Eight Tribes.

to the proporcon of each Mans severall shares or parts; and that the residue of the saide Islands shalbee devided into eighte severall parts or Tribes, and that every tribe shall conteine fifty sevall shares amountinge to the nomber of 400 in the whole, accordinge to the nomber of the severall Sumes or

Not to be alienated or applied to any other vse than as aforesaid.

Shares aduentured And further our will and pleasure is that the said Publique Landes and profits thereof so as aforesaide to bee allotted and set apart for generall and publique charges shall not any tyme hereafter bee alienated or applied to any

other vse or vses whatsoever then as aforesaid, except it shall appeare fit to the said Company, and more behoofefull as well for the saide Company as for the better occupying of the said land that a devision of some part of the said comon Lande bee made amongst the seuerall Members of the saide Company accordinge to the proporcon of their shares or parts and that to bee done by a great generall Quarter Court and confirmed also at the next followinge great generall Quarter court And that noe Man either then or at anie time hereafter shall be owner of above the number of Ten of the said shares or portions except it shalbee otherwise thought fit or allowed by a great generall quarter Court, [and the same to bee alsoe confirmed by the nexte genall Quarter Court] and that then no Man whosoever shall in anie case bee admitted to have or enioy above the number off fifteene of the said Shares by any pretence or coullour whatsoeuer and for the preventinge of any wrong which in tyme to come by any sinister or vndue practise may be done to the saide Company It is our expresse will and pleasure and hereby wee grant unto the saide Gouernor and Company and ordeyne and establish for us our heires and successors for euer, that no Person or Persons shall at any tyme hereafter bee admitted to haue a voice as one of the said Company or Corporation in any of theire said Courts, other then such as shall bee lawfull owner of one entire share at the least, and that all suche lawfull owners upon theire sevall requests to the said Governor and Companie shall in theire next generall Court bee freely admitted into the same And further of our especiall grace ctaine knowledge and meere motion for us our heires and successors Wee doe by these Psentes giue and grant full power and authority to the said Gouernor and Company here residing and the greater number of them, which in one of their said generall quarter Courts shalbee assembled as well at this Psent time as hereafter from time to time to nominate make constitute ordeyne and confirme by such name or names style or styles as to them shall seem good, and likewise to revoke discharge change and alter as well all and singular Gouernor officers and ministers which already haue bene made, as also which hereafter shalbee by them thought fitt and needfull to bee made or used for the Govermente or other use of the said Islands or the Plantation And also to make ordeyne and establish all manner of orders lawes direccons instruccons formes and ceremonies of gouernmente and magistracy fit and necessary for and concerning the Gouernment or other use of the saide Plantacon: and the same at all tymes hereafter to revoke abrogate or change not only within the Precincts of the said Islands and Plantacon,

Estates limited.

None to have a voice in the Court but he that is the owner of one entire share at the least.

Power to make Lawes as likewise to revoke and abrogate the same.

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but also vpon the Seas in going and coming to and from the saide Somer Islands, as they in theire discretions shall thinke to bee fittest for the good of the saide Companie and their Successors, as also of the Inhabitants there, so as the same alterations bee not contrarying or repugnant to the lawes of this our Realme of England. Neuertheles it is our direct will and pleasure that no Comission be granted to anie Man to hould the place of Cheife Governor of the saide Ilands for any longer tyme than the space of three yeares from the date of the said Comission; and yet that it shalbee lawfull to renieue the said Comission to the saide person from tyme to tyme for three yeares more or for shorter tyme, if it shall seeme to bee behoofull for the saide Companie and the saide Inhabitants: The saide Comission to comence and take effecte imediatly after the delivery thereof to the said new elected Gouernor, either heere in England or in the said Somer Islands And wee doe further of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere motion, for us our heires and successors giue and grante by these Pnts unto the saide Gouernor and Company and their Successors for ever, that it shalbee free and lawfull for them and their Assignes at all and euerie tyme and tymes hereafter, out of our realmes of England and out of all other our dominions to take, lead, carry, and transport in the Voyages, and towards the Plantacon, inhabitinge or other Service in the saide Somer Islands, and either to abide and inhabite there or to returne hither againe, all such and so many of our loving Subiectes or any other strangers that will become our louinge Subiects and live under our allegiance, as shall willingly accompany them in the saide Voyage, Plantation or other imployment in the saide Islands with sufficient shipping, armour weapons, Ordinance, munition, powder, shott, victualls, and all manner of merchandize and wares and all manner of clothinge implementes furniture beastes cattell, horses and Mares, and all other things necessarie for the said Voyages, Plantacon and Inhabitants of the said Somer Islands, and for theire use and defence in passage and returninge to and fro, and for trading with our people, or with the Sauages in Virginia, and to retourne and bringe hither all manner of Comodities whatsoever growing or arising in or about the said Somer Islandes, without yeilding or paying anie Subsidy, Custome or imposicon either inward or outward either at their going from hence or at their coming hither or retourning, or any other Tax or Duty to us our Heires or Successors for the space of Seauen yeares next from the date of these Pnts Provided that none of the said Persons to bee transported thither bee suche as shalbee

Governors commissioned for three years only.

The presenting of a Stranger in the Bermotha.

Freedom from taxes for seven years.

hereafter by speciall name restrayned by us our heires or successors And for theire further incouragement of our especiall grace and favour, certaine knowledge and meere motion, wee doe by these Pnts for us our Heires and Successors give and graunt unto the saide Governor and Companie and theire Successors and every of them, their ffactors and assignes, That they and every of them shalbee free and discharged of and from all payment of Subsidies and Customes in the saide Somer Ilandes for the space of One and twenty yeares, and from all other Taxes and Impositions as well duringe the saide seauen yeares and the saide 21 yeares as also forever after, vpon any Goods or merchandizes at any tyme or tymes hereafter, either vpon any importacon into the said Islandes, or Exportation from thence, or vpon any Importation of the Goods or Merchandizes of the said Islandes into this our realme of Englande or any other our Dominions, or Exportation of any goods and merchandizes from our saide Realme and other our dominions into the said Islandes by the said Governor and Company and theire Successors or anie of them, their deputies ffactors or Assignes or any of them, any of our former Lres Pattents grants or priviledges to any Person or persons in aniewise notwthstandinge, excepte onely the five Pounds pr Cent due for Custome after the saide seaven yeares expired vpon the said Goods and Merchandizes exported and imported out of and into this our Realme of England and after the saide one and twenty years for goods and merchandizes exported and imported out of or into the said Islands accordinge to the Bookes of Rates & accordinge to the ancient trade of Merchaunts, wch five poundes pr Centum onely beinge paid or tendered, it shall bee thenceforth lawfull and free for the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors or any of them their deputies ffactors or assignes or anie of them, the said goods and merchandizes to export and carry out of our Dominions into forreine parts without any custome taxe or other duty to bee paid to us our Heires or Successors, or to any other our Officers or deputies. Prouided that the said goods and merchandizes bee shipped out within thirteene moneths after their first landing within any part of our Dominions And Wee doe also confirme and graunt to the saide Governor and Company and their Successors, as also to all and euery suche Gouernor or other officers or ministers as shall bee appointed by them to have power and authoritie of Gouerment and Comaund in or ouer the said Somer Islandes or in the way going thither or returning that they and euery of them shall and lawfully may from tyme to tyme and at all tymes for euer hereafter for their seuerall defence and safety encounter, repulse, expell, and resist and subdue retaine and possesse by force and armes as well by Sea as by Lande, and by all waies and meanes

Freedom from customs for twenty-one years.

Excepting five per cent. duty.

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whatsoever, all and euerie such person and persons whatsoever as without the speciall licence of the said Governor and Company and their Successors shall attempt to inhabite wthin the saide seuerall precinctes and limits of the said Somer Islands and also all and euery such pson and persons whatsoever as shall enterprize or attempt at any tyme hereafter distruccon invasion hurte detriment or annoyance to the said Plantacon or our people within the said Islandes inhabiting or to any the shippinge mariners passengers marchandizes or other goodes whatsoever of the saide Governor and Company of the Inhitantes of the said Islands either going thither or returning or elsewhere peaceably and lawfully tradinge or traffiquing And for that the safety and welfare of the said Plantacon and of the Inhitants of the said Islands must necessarily depend uppon the prouident care of the said Governor and Company to supply them from tyme to tyme with such kinds of things necessary both for Munition and other wise as in the said Islands cannot be otherwise had, and wthout which the Plantacon of the saide Islandes cannot proceed, bee continued vpholden and prosper: And for that also by reason of the remotenes of the said Islands from these our dominions if the Shipps thither imployed or intended for that service should at any tymes by coullor of Authority from us be staied here or diuerted to some other imploymente or service, or if any prouision should bee taken out of the said Shipps it mighte redound to the great distrsseing of the Inhabitants of the said Islands, as also vpon some extraordinary causes of want there and necessity to the utter ouerthrowe and distruction of the said Plantacon: Wee doe therefore of our further grace certaine knowledge and meere motion for us our heires and successors grant to the said Governor and Company and their Successors for ever That no stay or other imployment either within any of the ports of our Dominions or at sea, shall at any tyme bee made of any of their marriners shipps or shipping prouided or intended for the said Islands, or any of the prouisions goods merchandizes or munition in any of their said Shipps bee taken or detayned from them by any Coullor or pretence of authority diriued or to bee diriued from us our heires or successors vpon any occasion whatsoever And wee doe for vs our heires and successors declare by these Pnts, That all and euery persons being our subjects which shall goe and inhabite wthin the said Somer Ilandes and every of their children and posterity which shall happen to bee borne within the limits thereof shall haue and enjoy all libertyes franchesies and immunities of free denizens and naturall subjectes within any of our dominions to all intents and purposes, as if they had beene abiding and borne wthin this our Kingdome of England or in any other of our Dominions And forasmuch as it shalbee

That Bermodans are free denizens.

necessary for all such our loving Subjectes as shall inhabite wthin the said precincts of the Somer Ilandes aforesaide to determine to live together in the feare and true worship of Almighty God, christian peace and ciuill quietnes each with other, whereby euery one may with more safety pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall attaine wth great paine and perill: Wee for us our heires and successors are likewise pleased and contented and by these pnts doe giue and grant unto the said Governor and Company and their successors and to such Governors officers and ministers as shalbee by the saide Governor and Company or the greatest part of them assembled, constituted and appointed according to the natures and limits of their offices and places respectiuely That they shall and maie from tyme to tyme foreuer hereafter within the said precincts of the Somer Islands or in the way by the sea thither and from thence have full and absolute power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, governe and rule all such the subjects of us our heires and successors as shall from tyme to tyme adventure themselves in any voyage thither, or that shall at any tyme hereafter inhabite wthin the precinct of the said Somer Islands according to suche orders, ordinances, constitucons, direccons and instruccons as by the said Governor and Companie shalbee established, and in defect thereof in case of necessity accordinge to the good discretion of the saide Governor and Officers respectiuely as well in cases criminall as civill both marityme and others Soe alwaies that the saide Statutes ordinances and proceedings (as neere as convenientlie may bee) bee agreeable to the lawes statutes goverment and pollicy of this our realme of Englande And Wee doe further of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meer motion grant declare and ordeyne that such principall Comaunder as from tyme to tyme shallbee duly and lawfully authorized and appointed in manner and forme in these Pnts heretofore expressed, shall have full Power and Authoritie to use and exercise martiall law in Cases of Rebellion or mutiny, in as large and ample manner as our Lieftenants of our Counties wthin our Realme of Englande have or ought to have, by force of their Comissions of Lieftenancy, by a Jury of twelve Men And to the intent that the saide Company theire successors and assignes shall and may enjoy the full and sole benefitt and profit of this our grant according to the true intent and meaninge of the same, our will and pleasure is, and by these Pnts for us our heires and successors, of our more especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere motion and of our supreame and absolute authority (which wee forbidd to bee argued disputed or brought in question) wee doe straightlie charge and commaund all and every person and persons whatsoever of what degree or condi-

English laws to be followed.

To use martiall Law.

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tion soever hee or they or any of them bee, That none of them (other than the saide Company theire successors, assignes, deputies, servants, factors or their assignes or some of them) doe at any tyme hereafter attempt presume or goe about any manner of waie directly or indirectly to transport any moneys goods or merchandizes out of any our Kingdomes into the limits or bounds of the said Somer Islands, or import out of the saide Ilandes or any parte thereof into anie Forraigne pts or into any our kingdomes vpon paine of forfeiture of all suche money goodes and merchandises which shalbee so imported or exported contrary to the true meaning of these pnts and of the shipps or vessells wherein the same shalbee so transported or imported to the use of the saide Companie theire Successors and assignes, and vpon such further paines penalties and imprisonments as by the lawes and statutes of this oure realme of England or by our Prerogative royall may any way bee inflicted or adjudged for theire contempt in that behalfe. And furthermore if anie person or persons Adventurers or Planters of the aforesaid Somer Islands or any other at any tyme or tymes hereafter shall transport anie moneys, goods or merchandizes out of any our kingdoms wth a pretence or purpose to land set or otherwise wthin the limits and bounds of the said Somer Islands, and yet nevertheless being at sea after hee hath landed within anie porte of the saide Somer Ilandes shall privily or disorderly carry the same into any forreine countrey wth a purpose there to sell and dispose thereof. That then all suche goodes and chattells of the said pson or psons so offendinge and transported shalbee forfeited to us our heires and successors. And forasmuch as our will and pleasure is that no person addicted to the Superstition of the Church of Rome bee at any tyme permitted to pass vnto the said Islandes, Wee do further for us our heires and successors giue and grant to the saide Gouernor and Company and their successors forever by these pnts That the said Governor of the said Companie or his deputy for the tyme being as also any Two of the said Assistants by appoyntment of the said Gouernor or Company in any of their Courts assembled shall and maie at all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme haue full power and authority to minister and giue the oath and oathes of supremacy and allegiance or either of them to all and every person or persons which shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter goe or passe to the said Somer Ilandes And it is our will and pleasure that the said Governor for the tyme being or his Deputie or any Two Assistants shall tender and exhibit the said oathes to all such persons as shalbee sent and imployed in the said Voyage And wee doe further for us our heires and successors give and grant to the said Governor and Company

No money to be transported out of the Island.

Confiscated for the company if embarked.

Oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

and their Successors forever by these pnts that it shalbee likewise lawfull for the said Governor or his Deputy for the tyme being or for any Three of the said Assistants for the tyme being appointed by the greater part of the said Company in one of their Courts assembled, from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter to minister such a formall oath as by theire discretion shall be reasonably deuised, as well unto the saide Governour, Deputy Assistants, and all other Officers of the said Company as alsoe unto any pson or psons employed or to bee employed in for or touching the said Plantacon as well for the true and faithfull execucon and performance of their said seuerall offices and imployments as also for the rendring of a iuste true and perfect accompt in writinge of all such goods and moneys as by reason of the said offices or imploymentes shall have come to his or their hands belonging unto the said Company or any member thereof, unto the said Governor and Company in one of their Courts assembled within one moneth next after the expiracon of the saide seuerall offices or imploymentes And also to all Governors, deputies, officers and other Ministers of what nature soever or by what title soever they shalbee called, which shalbee lawfully sent or placed in the saide Islandes as well for the Government of the said Islandes or of any part thereof; or of the Inhabitants there or any of them, as also for the governing ordering safe keeping and true accompting of and for all such landes goodes profitts and comodities whatsoever as shall be comitted to their Goverment, charge, care, or custody: and for the honeste faithfull and just discharge of their offices places and services according as they shall from tyme to tyme bee placed in the said offices, and the said services bee intrusted or comitted vnto them for the good and benefitt of the said Company and Plantation or of the members thereof. And also vnto such person or persons as the said Governor or Deputy with three other of the said Assistantes shall think meete for the examination or cleering of the truth in any cause whatsoever concerning the saide Company, Islandes and Plantacon or any busines from thence proceeding or thereunto belonging And wee do further for us our heires and successors give and grant unto the said Governor and Company and their successors for ever, That the cheife Comaunder residant in the said Islands by what name or title soever hee bee called, shall have the like power to minister a formall oathe to all other officers in the said Islands and inferior ministers whatsoever for the just true and faithfull discharge of their seuerall places duties and services, as also unto any person whatsoever for the examinacon testifying and clearing of the truth in any cause whatsoever as well concerning the said Plantacon as any other particuler busines there

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arising for the maintayninge of peace and Justice amongst the said Inhabitants. And wee doe further for us our heires and successors give and grant to the said Governor and Company and theire successors that they shall and lawfully may establish and cause to bee made a Coyne to pass currant in the said Somer Islandes betweene the Inhitantes there for the more ease of comerce and bargaining betweene them of such mettall and in such manner and forme as the said Governor and Company in any of the said generall Courts shall limitt and appoynt. And our further will and pleasure is, and wee doe by these Pntes for us our heires and successors grant unto the said Governor and Company of the Citty of London for the Plantacon of the Somer Islandes their Successors and Assignes That these our Lres Pattents and all and singuler Grants and Clauses herein conteyned under the condicons and limitacons therein mentioned and expressed, shalbee and continue firme, strong, sufficient and effectuall in the lawe, and shalbee construed, reputed, and taken, as well to the meaning and intent as to the words of the same most graciously favorably and to the benefit of the said Company their successors and assignes: any law, statute, act, prouiso, order, ordinance, or restraint or any omission or defect herein, or any other cause matter or thing to the contrary thereof in anie wise notwthstanding. Although expresse mencon of the true yearly value or certainty of the premisses or of any of them, or of any other guifts or grants by vs or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors to the said Gouernor and Company before these tymes made, in theis pnts is not made. Or any statute, act, ordinance, prouision, proclamation or restraint before this tyme had, made, set forth, ordeyned and prouided: Or any other thing, matter or cause whatsoeuer. In witnes whereof wee haue caused these our letters to bee made Pattents. Witnes ourselfe at Westm the Nine and Twentith day of June in the thirteenth yeare of our Raigne of England ffrance and Ireland, and of Scotland the eight and ffortieth.

CARTWRIGHT.

p. Breue de priuato Sigillo

This agreeth with the Kings Ma^ts^ Ltres patents, and was examined by vs whose names are vnder written the 22nd day of ffebr. $161\frac{5}{6}$.

Nath. Riche	Robt. Johnson
Wm. Palmer	Richard Moorer
Elias Robarts	Edward Ditchfield

The names of the Originall Aduenturers for the plantacon of the Somers Islands taken out of the Letters Patents of King James of blessed memorie. In the Twelfth yeare of his Reigne ouer England &c. and of Scotland the eight and ffortieth. [1615]

[The names are arranged alphabetically, but in the original not quite rigidly so; they commence with Henrie Earle of Southampton. The knights follow the peers, and the esquires, with one or two exceptions, follow the knights. Generally the order is the same as here followed.]

Bedford, Lucie, Countess of
Cauendish, William, Lord
Pagett, William, Lord
Pembroke, William, Earle of
Southampton, Henrie, Earle of
Auger (Aucher) Sir Anthoine
Cranfield, Sir Lionard (qu. Lionell ?)
Diggs, Sir Dudlie
Grobham, Sir Richard
Hide, Sir Lawrence
Hogan, Sir Thomas
Howard, Sir John
Mansell, Sir Richard
Mericke, Sir John
Rich, Sir Robert
Sandys, Sir Edwin
Sandys, Sir Samuel
Smith, Sir Richard
Smith, Sir Thomas
Watts, Sir John
Winwood, Sir Ralphe
Caraway, William, Esq.
Chamberlaine, Richard, Esq.
Heydon, Jeremie, Esq.
Hide, Nicholas, Esq.
Martin, Richard, Esq.
Thorpe, George, Esq.
Walter, John, Esq.
Westenholm, John, Esq.
Wrath, John, Esq.
Abbot, Maurice, *Merchant*
Abby, Anthony
Adderlie, William
Anthonie, Charles, *Goldsmith*
Banks, John, *Mercer*
Barnard, John
Barkeley, George, *Merchant*
Baron, Christopher
Benson, Nicholas
Bretton, John
Bishop, Edward
Brainfield, Arthur
Campage, William, *Merchant*
Cartwright, Abraham
Casewell, Richard
Chamberlaine, Abraham
Chamberlaine, George, *Merchant*
Church, Thomas
Clitherow, Christopher
Cotton, Allen
Conell, Thomas
Dawes, Abraham
De Laurie, Gideon
Delbridge, John
Dike, John
Ditchfield, Edward, *Salter*
Edwards, Richard
Etheridge, George
Exton, Nicholas
Farrer, Nicholas, *Merchant*
Ffellgate, William
Fletcher, John

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Fletcher, Edward
Gearing, John
Giles, Ffrancis
Gore, Robert, *Merchant Taylor*
Greenwell, Wm., *Merchant Taylor*
Haleman, George
Hamer, Ralphe, *Merchant Taylor*
Harwood, Leonard
Herne, John
Heyward, John, *Clarke*
Hinton, Anthonie, *Doctor of Physicke*
Hodges, John
Jacobson, Phillip
Jadwin, Thomas
John, Thomas
Johnson, Robert, *Grocer*
Kerell, John
Kinge, Ralphe
Leuis, Thomas
Lukin, Edward
Maplesdon, Richard
Martin, Edward
Mercer, Richard
Nicholls, William
Norcott, Thomas
Offley, Robert, *Merchant*
Osborn, John
Palmer, William
Payne, William, *Esquire*
Phipps, Robert
Poulson, Richard
Prason, Hildebrand
Quick, William
Rich, George
Roberts, Elias, *Merchant Taylor*
Rogers, Richard
Scott, Edmon
Scott, George
Shepheard, Matthew
Smith, Cleophas
Smith, George, *Grocer*
Smith, Robert
Smith, Waren
Speckhardie, Abraham
Swinow, George
Tomlins, Richard
Tymberdale, Henry
Wale, Thomas
Webb, Rice, *Haberdasher*
Webb, Thomas
Webster, William
Weld, John
Welby, William, *Stationer*
West, John, *Grocer*
Wheatley, Thomas
Woddall, John

One hundred and seventeen names in all, very nearly all of whom were, as Smith correctly states, previously Adventurers in the Virginia Company and appear in its list.

The 'coyne' to pass current in the Somer Islands, which the Company had license to establish and cause to be made, can never have been issued to any extent, or it would not now be so exceedingly scarce. Only one specimen is known to English collectors,[1] and I have not seen more than eight or nine in Bermuda. Whether it was identical with the coin promised by the Virginia Company to Governor Moore (see *ante*, p. 59) does not appear,

[1] Mr. Henry Christmas, in the 'Numismatic Chronicle,' N.S., vol. ii., 1861–2, p. 210; and the present writer, *id.*, 1876.

but seems probable. *Obv.* Sommer Islands; a wild boar with the Roman numerals XII. or VI. over it; *Rev.* a ship under sail with the Cross of St. George at every mast-head. There are at least two denominations having the

numerals XII. and VI. upon them, but all the impressions are very imperfect.

The device of a ship under sail was perpetuated in the copper coinage struck for circulation in Bermuda so late as 1793; and in New Brunswick a ship at anchor as late as 1843.

The unappeased appetite of minds in England for news from the remote Bermudas is very well evidenced by the next account, which, although it contains little not given elsewhere, may be reproduced for the sake of its allusion to the daring escape of three men in a small boat in 1616, in terms which show that the marginal notes were added in that year. The text may probably have been written while Richard Moore was governor:—

HAVING thus wearied you with this long stay in *Hispaniola* (by which yee may guesse of the neighbouring Ilands) we will haste homeward, and not touching in any Iland by the way (for we could but touch and away) we may aduenture, notwithstanding the wonted danger, vpon Bermuda. Danger hath made it

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now not so dangerous: *nocuments* haue beene *documents*. For while some haue beene wracked there, they haue made vertue of Necessitie, and so well obserued the Coast, that skill hath almost secured that, which Nature had seemed to set there in defiance both of Habitation and Nauigation, to both which it is now subiected by our Nation. It was called Bermuda, as [d]*Ouiedo* sayth, of *John Bermudez* which first discouered it, and *Garza* of the ships name wherein hee then sayled: *Ouiedo* writeth that hee was iust by it, and had thought to haue sent some Hogs on shore there to haue multiplyed, but by force of tempest was driuen thence: and others eyther of like purpose, or by force of shipwracke haue since done it. It [e]is also called the *Iland of Deuils*, which they suppose inhabit there; and the *Inchanted Iland*; but these are inchanted conceits. *Job*[f] *Hortop* relateth, That in the height of Bermuda they had sight of a Sea-monster, which three times shewed himselfe from the middle vpwards, in shape like a man of the complexion of a Mulato or tawny Indian. But this name was giuen it not of such Monsters, but of the monstrous tempests which here they haue often sustayned. Sir *G. Sommers* hath deserued that it should beare his name, by his indeuours thereabouts testified in life and death. Hee with Sir *Thomas Gates*, as before is said, were wracked on the Iland, which losse turned to some gaine, as if God would giue them this into the Virginia-bargaine. Before *Anno* 1593, *Henry*[g] *May*, an Englishman, in a French ship was wracked thereon, and hath giuen vs some Discourse thereof; more fully hath *Siluester*[h] *Jourdan*, one of that Virginian Company, one of the company of those worthy Knights, in a Treatise of that shipwracke, and the Discouerie of Bermuda. The Commodities whereof, he reckoneth, varietie of fishes, plentie of Hogges (which it seemeth haue escaped out of some wrackes) diuers Fruits, Mulberries, Silke-wormes, Palmitos, Cedars, Pearles, Ambergrise: But the most strange thing seemes the varietie of Fowle, of which they tooke a thousand of one sort in two or three houres, being as bigge as a Pidgeon, and laying speckled Egges, as bigge as Hens Egges, on the sand, where they come and lay them daily, although men sit downe amongst them. When Sir *Thomas Gates* his men haue taken a thousand of them, Sir *George Sommers* men haue stayed a while by them, and brought away as many more. Another Fowle there is, that liueth in holes, like Cony-holes; their Egges like in quantity and qualitie to Hen-egges. Other Birds were so gentle, that whistling to them, they would come and gaze on you, while with your sticke you might kill them. Other Egges they had of Tortoyses, a bushell in the belly of one very sweet: they tooke forty of them in a day: and one would

[d] *Ouido lib 2 del Hist Ind.*

[e] *Botero.*

[f] *Job Hortop Hak.*

[g] *Henry May Hak. tom. 3.*

[h] *Syl Jourdan.*

serue fiftie men at a meale. Two were there borne, and other two married, to make the most naturall possession thereof for our Nation; which now in hope of good successe hath there planted an habitation. That wracked Company built there a Ship and a Pinnasse, and set saile for Virginia.

W.Strachie

William Strachie in a large Discourse, with his fluent and copious pen hath described that tempest which brought them to this Iland, affirming that there was not an houre in foure dayes, in which they freed not out of their almost captiued Ship, twelue hundred Barricoes of water, each contayning sixe gallons, and some eight: besides three Pumps continually going; euery foure houres they bestowed an hundred tuns of water on the cruel Sea, which seemed the more hungry after their bodies, or thirstie for their bloud from Tuesday noone till Friday noone, they bayled and pumped two thousand tunnes, and were ten foot deepe; nor could haue holden out one day longer, when they first had sight of the *Bermudas*. These (he sayth) are an *Archipelagus* of broken Ilands, not fewer then fiue hundred, if all may be so called which lye by themselues: the greatest (which lyeth like an halfe moone) is in 32. degrees 20. minutes. At their first landing they killed with Bats seuen hundred Fowles, like to Guls, at one time. The Ilands seeme rent with tempests of Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, which threaten in time to deuoure them all: the stormes in the full and change keepe their vnchangeable round Winter and Summer, rather thundring then blowing from euery corner, sometimes 48 houres[1] together; especially when the *Halo* (or circle about the Moone) appeareth, which is often, and there foure times as large as with vs. The North and Northwest winds cause Winter in *December*, *January*, and *February*; yet not such, but then young Birds to be seene. Without knowledge a Boat of ten tuns cannot be brought in, and yet within is safe harbour for the greatest Ships. They found there for their sustenance wild Palmitos, the tops of which trees rosted did eate like fried Melons, sodden, like Cabbages: with the leaues they couered their Cabins: Berries blacke and round, as bigge as a Damson, ripe in *December* and very luscious: in the Winter they shed their leaues. No Iland in the World had more or better Fish. Of Fowles was great varietie. They killed a wild Swan. Some there are which breed in high Ilands in holes, to secure them from the Swine. They haue their seasons, one kind succeeding another. Besides this reliefe of Fowles, they had plenty of Tortoise Egges, which they lay as bigge as Goose Egges, and commit to the Sun and Sands hatching nurserie. They had sometimes fiue hundred in one of them.

[1] My friend Master *Barkley* a merchant reports better of the *Bermudas* seasonablenesse, &c. and the Plantation itselfe testifieth the health and wealth thereof.

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Euen heere (lest the Iland should lose that former name of *Deuils*) some entered into Deuillish conspiracie three seuerall time. Some were banished, and after reconciled. *Henry Paine* was shot to death. Some fled to the Woods, but all reduced, except *Christopher Carter* [k] and *Robert Waters*. But these Ilands haue now beene possessed diuers yeeres by an English Colonie; and my friend Master *Barkley* (which hath beene there, and is now[1] onwards on a second Voyage thither) seemeth rauished with the naturall endowments, both for health and wealth, of these Ilands: which now are to be shared amongst the Aduenturers, and fortified against all inuasions; Nature it selfe being herein readie to further their securitie against the greatest forren force, mustering winds (which some say are violent further off, but calmer neere the Ilands) and Rockes many leagues into the Sea, for their defence: which now yet they are gone to strengthen, both with men and munition. The Colonie that is there, haue not onely sent verball, but reall commendations of the place: as may appeare by a Treatise[m] thereof lately set forth by one, which in the Shippe called the Plough, sayled thither *Anno* 1612, wherein is declared the Commodities there found, as Mullets, Breames, Lobstars, and Angel-fish, Hog-fish, Rock-fish, &c. as before is said. The Ayre is very healthfull, as their experience (the best argument) hath found, and agreeing well with English bodies: the ground as fertile as any (they say) in the World: Ambergreece, Pearle, Cedars and other vnknowne Timbers: store of Whales and other Commodities, which would bee tedious to rehearse: which I hope and pray, may further prosper, to the profit of this and the *Virginia* Plantations. From hence and thence, I am now passing in an English Ship for *England*, where to passe away tediousnesse of the Voyage, I will entertayne my Reader with a Discourse of the more then tedious and fastidious Spanish cruelties.[2]

[k] He continued there till the Colonie was planted.

[1] *Anno* 1614.

[m] Newes from *Bermudas* or *Sommer Ilands*. There is report of some *English* this Winter come home[1] which came from *Bermuda* to *Ireland* in a little Boat &c. which I write not, for want of certaine intelligence, neither (for that cause) of the present state of the Colonie, which (some say) are neere 700 English, &c.

[1] They arrived in the autumn of 1616.—Ed.

[2] Purchas, vol. v., book ix., ch. xiii. London, 1626.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNORS DANIEL TUCKER AND MILES KENDALL.

A.D. 1616–1619.

DANIEL TUCKER, the first governor of the Somers Islands under the Bermuda Company, was an early settler in Virginia, and probably a man somewhat advanced in years at his appointment, as his death is recorded in 1625. He found the division of the islands into eight tribes already carried out by Richard Norwood, but the division into shares still to be effected. This was the work of three or four years; and the exact boundaries of the tribes can scarcely have been defined until it was done. They were all to contain exactly fifty shares of twenty-five acres each. The particulars of this division will be found below (p. 141); no abbreviation of his instructions would do justice to their scope and forethought, and they are subjoined in full.[1]

1. *Captaine Danille Tucker's Commission*, 15 Feb. $161\frac{5}{6}$

To all to whome these psents shall come to be seene reade or hard The Gouvernor and Companie of Cittie of London for the Plantacon of the Somer Islands send Greetinge WHEREAS our Soueraigne Lord the Kinges Matie by his Ltres Pattents bearinge date the 29th day of June in the 13th year of his Mats raigne of England and Ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the 48th hath granted to vs the said Gouernor & Companie full power and authoritie at one of our greate generall quarter courts, from tyme to tyme to nominate Constitute and Choose by such name

[1] Mr. W. Frith Williams's copy, printed in 1848, has been made use of for convenience, as have a few others of his documents, after first correcting them by the originals.

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and tytle as we shall think good, all and singular such officers and ministers for the goumt and other vse of the said Islands and Plantacon And hath also giuen vs further power for the better effectinge thereof and for the orderlie gouernment of the people there, and in all yor voyages upon the Sea to the said Islands, to dispose of the said Gouernor and ministers by such Constitucons and instructions as in our discretions we shall thinke best and fittest to be done

Now knowe yee that we the said Gouernor and Companie intendinge by the assistinge of almightie God this psent month of Ffebruarye to furnish and sett out two shipps wth men and sundry puisions to the said Plantacon, out of the good opinion wch we have conceived of Daniell Tucker gent Have chosen and Confirmed (in a greate generall Court) the said Daniell Tucker to be our Deputie Gouernor ouer the said Plantacon for these next three years ensewinge and to goe in his owne pson in this our nowe entended voyage to the said Islands in the good shipp called the George to Gouerne over all psons aswell in the said voyage as after his landinge and arrivall there, willinge all psons members of the said Plantacon to accept and obey him as there lawful Cheife Gounor and minister of Justice there as they will answer the Contrarye at their pill, and accordinge to the power to vs given by his maties said ltres Pattents, we doe hereby give Charge and authoritye to him the said Daniell Tucker, and to such as after the death and removall of him shall succeede in that place to doe pforme and execute everye-thinge wch to the office and place of a Captaine and Commander apptayneth, according to the direccons and Commandmts wch the said Daniell Tucker hath receaued or shall receaue of us the said Gouernor and Companie in writinge touchinge the said voyage, and the buisnes of the said Plantacon the said Daniell Tucker obeyinge and observinge all suche orders and Constitutions as we the said Gouenor and Companie have made and sett downe in writinge and herewth delivered to the said Daniell Tucker, who for the breache and transgression thereof shall give accompt to the Gouernor and Companie resident in London at his returne for England, wch we shall freelie graunt to himselfe and to his servents at the expiracon of his gouermt and not otherwise In witness whereof we the said Gouernor and Companie have hereunto put our seale this Psent 15th day of Ffebry Ao. Dm. $161\frac{5}{6}$.

These are the Constitucons and instructions to you Mr. Daniell Tucker now chosen Deputie Gounor for the Somer Islands given by the Gouenor and Companie of the Cittye of London for the said Plantacon, and men-

tioned in their Comission wch they require you to obserue in every pointe wth your beste indeavor.

The service of God.

1. And first because noe accon or familie can psper where the will of God is not obeyed, nor the people well gouerned, we enioyne you principallie and before all thinges that you see the service of God pformed, first in yourselfe as a choise example, and secondlie in every other pticuler pson under yor gouerment, by causinge all vice and wickednesse to be eschewed, and prayers to be said every morninge and eveninge, as well in your owne as in every other familie, or resortinge to divine service and hearinge of the word of God preached at appointed tymes & due observinge of the Saboth, and that you cause the people to behave themselves wth a reverent Respect to theire ministers and superiors and to live in peace and amitie amongst themselues as Christians ought to doe.

With consent of the council to punishe.

2. For such as shalbe irregular or disordered psons, accordinge to the power of his Mats Ltres Pattents granted to vs, we giue you authoritie wth such & soe manie of the Councell as we shall hereafter appointe to punishe and correct there misdemeanors accordinge to the forme & manner of the lawes of England as neare as may be, and in cases of rebellion to vse martiall lawe.

To reade his Comission.

3. At youre first arrivall in the Ilands you shall cause an assemblie of all the people there, to whome you shalle reade and manifest yor Comission, whereby they may take and acknowledge you for there Gouenor: that done

4. You shall take the two Preachers Mr. Lewes[1] and Mr. Keth to be of yor councell, and by there assistance you shall nominate and choose out fortye honeste and sufficient men among the generalitie, to be electors, by wch 40 men or the most voyces of them, shall be eight men amonge the generalitie, not excluding any of the said 40, to be chosen, that is for every tribe a man to be placed and called Baylife of the Tribe, and those 8 to be also of your Councell at large, to appeare at theire owne pleasures, or when urgent occasion is upon Summons from you, and to sitt with you alwayes at yor severall dayes of generall sessions, to assist you there in cases of iustice and in other matters of weight, notwithstanding our pleasure is that noe man be removed from his owne, or his Mtts or Landlords possessions, in any one tribe wherein he is now imployed, to be removed unto any other tribe, upon any prtence whatsoeuer, except the said pson his Mr or Landlord haue possession in diuers tribes

5. You shall then choose and appointe with consent of the

[1] Rev. Lewis Hues or Hughs, Rev. George Keth or Keith. The latter was preacher under Governor Moore.

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said two preachers, and the said 8 bayliffs an honest sufficient man out of the generalitie to be keeper or Clarke of the stores, and accordinge to the invoyce of all the pruisions in those two shipps wch wee haue delivered vnto you, you shall cause them to be safelie landed, and whatsoever is directed to the particular diuidents or to any private pson you shall cause the same to be safelie delivered to whome they are directed, taking their receipts to whome these puisions are delivered, the same to be returned by the shipps, that the owners of those seueral families and friends of those private psons may vnderstand that they are not defrauded

The Clarke of the Store for to take charge.

6. ffor those goods and puisions now sent for the generall imployment, being landed you shall cause them to be put into the storehouse, committing them to the clarke of the store, the same goods and puisions to be yssued out to those of the generall imployment accordinge to each man's necessitie by the saide clarke at yor discretion and yor warrant directed vnto him, and not otherwise, he keepinge a true Register of what and to whome they are delivered, each man to be charged in pticuler wth such pvisions as he shall from tyme to tyme receave, at the severall rats specifyed in the Invoyce delivered vnto you, whereof you shall deliver a coppie vnto him, whereby he may knowe how to rate them accordinge to the Invoyce as aforesaid

To divide the land according to the mapps.

7. Fforasmuch as the Tribes are alreadie devided and it now resteth to devide the land in pticular to every aduenturer accordinge to the number of his shares, you are to take order at your firste cominge thither wth the assistance of the said Bayliffs that the said diuidents may be made soe neare as you can according as is expressed in the mapps and in the noats of dividents wch we have herewith deliuered vnto you and cause bounds and limitts to be made vpon the said several dividents

To allott unto every share a man.

8. To the end that euery aduenturer that hath now sent puisions to supplie his shares, may haue his number of men allotted to his diuident for wch he hath long since paid the Companie for there fraight and passage, you shall wth the assent of your Councell at large, the foresaid eight bayliffs or the greatest number of those wch you shall there finde, allott vnto every share a man, we meane vnto euerye share wch hath now supplyed, and whereof we have given you a note in writinge, the same men to be furnished and disposed, into the seuerall tribes and families, accordinge to the direccons and instruccons now sent from hence by the mrs and owners of the said families, and not otherwise.

Shares manured to the generall use.

9. And for those shares to wch we haue given you note to deuide to any men it is because the owners thereof have not supplied there shares, nor sent puision nor dirreccons for any

such men to be allotted unto them, whereby these shares must either be manured to the generall use, yf neede require, or ells remaine barren till further order from hence shalbe taken in that case.

10. Ffor the better sattisfyinge of the aduenturers in this pointe of there pticuler divident of lands and men to be allotted them, we pray you to send backe a certificate under yor, and the hands of your foresaid councell, of the names of those psons that you shall have allotted to euerye share, and of euery Bayliffs name, that euery aduenturer may knowe his substituts and his chiefest man, as also the name of the bayliff of the tribe, to whome he may give his direccons hereafter. Prouided yf any adventurer doth make yt appeare unto you that he hath heretofore or now sent a speciall man or men to be of his familie, he shall not be abridged of that choyce nor his men be disposed of to any other purpose.

A noate sent of men on each mans share.

11. Ffor that aduenturers here would rest assured of the seruice of those men allotted to there shares, that when they have receaued and spent there puisions they shall not be fleetinge, nor betake themselves to other courses, at there own pleasure, wee pray you to take this order and lett yt there be sett downe in yor Registry Book, that the chief man allotted to each familie, as also all the rest under him, being once settled, or acceptinge the puision sent for that familie, may be held as bound in an assumpsit of Covenant thereby, to be constant in the imployment of that familie for the tearme of ffive years accordinge to the conditions ppounded from hence, and accepted by them, from wch yf they or any one of them or whome we shall hereafter send to augment there numbers, shall at any time swarve or neglect their duties we shall alwayes appeale unto you. And doe will you not to fale vs in that case to see us righted therein. And that the pson or psons soe faylinge or offendinge in there imploymt may be forced by punishment or otherwise to reforme themselves, Prouided yf any difference or controversie shall arise in any tribe or familie, the same shall be ended yf yt may be, by the bayliffe of the same tribe, wthout troublinge the Gouvernor and Councell for every trifle, or themselues in travellinge too far for justice And it is further pvided that yf any man there shall vpon iust cause desyre to returne for England, the Companie here nor the owners of the families, will not be difficult in that case, havinge alwayes power in there owne hands to licence home or recall any of theire servents accordinge to an order of Court here in that case puided.

The supplie sent to any man shall be an assumpsitt to binde.

Tennants faylinge their dutie to appeale to the Gouvernor.

12. The divident of shares beinge made and men allotted to the tribes and families, out of the number of the rest remayn-

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ing (beinge as yet vnknowne vnto vs but as we esteeme they may be about 200 psons) we doe ordaine that you reserue them for the generall imployment as about the whale fishinge soe manie of them as may be thought fitt to assist that worke for the tyme, also some about pearle fishinge, and others about clearinge and fencing the ground, findinge of Ambergreece and such other buisines of that nature as you shall think fitt, and see cause to imploy them.

After the shares imployed ye residue of men to be sett on the generalitie.

13. You shall cause the foresaid 40 electors to choose out by theire most voyces sixe of the discreetest and fittest men of the generalitie remayning to be also of your sett councell, and soe your counsell consistinge of 26 psons by there aduice or the most voyces of them assembled, vpon publique warninge, given, you shall passe and determine all matters of moment that shall daylie or weeklie happen as alsoe to sitt in cases of iustice at your generall sessions amongst wch number of yor councellors we doe allow you Mr. Deputie Gouernor in decidinge all causes to have 2 voyces. And alsoe we giue you this priuilege that yf in decydinge any difference yt shall soe fall out that the voyces on either pte to be equall that then your owne shall be accompted the swayinge voyce, to determine the matter on yor side. Prouided that the Counsell assembled be at all tymes fowre at the least beside yourselfe. And at yor generall sessions not under 10. And this course to be held from tyme to tyme by yourselfe and any of the two preachers adjoyninge, to choose the 40 Electors and they to choose as aforesaid the bayliffs of yor and the other sett counsell

The 40 electors to choose 6 more of the Councell the Deputie Gouernor 2 voyces—20 of the Councell at all Sessions.

John Headland Harpeneere.

14. As touchinge the whale fishinge we would have you to observe that we have sent John Headland our cheife harpeneere, Henry Hughes his mate, and others of his ginge [gang] to whose assistance we ioyne Mr. Willmott, as skilfull in that buisnes, wth such others to helpe as you shall appointe thereto. And that you omitt noe tyme at yor firste comminge thither to sett upon that worke, consideringe that the whale fishinge wilbe soe neare spent before you shall come thither.

The Trompe Whale.

15. Theise kind of whales we understand by theire discription wch have seen them are called Trompe Whales, at whose places of resort there is euer found greate store of Ambergreece, the oyle will be as hard as tallowe, when yt is made, but yet very good for many vses, lett yt be carefully casked up by ytselfe, without any other whale oyle of other kinds to be mixed with yt. Also that kind of whale yeildeth great store of Spermacety wch lyeth in the head, lett that also be carefully reserved by ytselfe, and put into caske marked for Spermaceti whither yt be thin or thicke, we will trye yt and refine yt, when yt shall come hither and doe well obserue that puttinge up the

oyle the coopers may make the caske very tight, for leakedge by puttinge Bullrushes into the ioynts, for wch vse we have sent hence store by theise shipps

16. Those Trompe Whales are observed to have noe finns in there throats as some other small whales have, but they have in some of theire inwarde pts greate store of Ambergreece congealed, wch they have not as yet cast out, we pray you have a care that when any whale is opened you would yourselfe attend or cause some other to see yt searched thoroughly, that neither by negligence nor fraud we may be deprived of that hope

The Whale with Ambergreece.

17. As touchinge pearle fishinge yt is said that yf you distroy theire oyster bedds by dragges or such disturbances they will forsake the coaste the best approved course is dyvinge and drawinge them up in basketts, yf you may possible have the meanes to doe yt

Concerninge Pearle fishinge.

18. As touchinge the findinge of Ambergreece upon shore wch is driven up by every storme where the wind bloweth, we would have you remember that by such as you appointe to that buisnes, as also in Pearle fishinge and in such like matters of charge, you may be deceaved of the best and fayrest, except you be very carefull in your choice of honest men, wherein though we doubt not of your care, yet for the further bond of there truth we give you authoritie by vertue of his Mats Lres Pattents to vs in that case that as yourselfe are here sworne to us for the discharge of your dutie, so you would also give an othe, the forme whereof we have sett downe in the end of these Instruccons as well as to yor Counsell, as to the clarke of the store, and to all others to whom you shall thinke yt fitt, but especially to them that shall be imployed in Amber pearle or any like buisnes wherein they may privilie doe vs wronge.

Ambergreece and Pearle fishinge.

19. The ground wch we menconed before for general imployment is all that pcell of land left undivided without the tribes neare the Garnard's head, upon this land we would have you sett your number of 200 men, or soe many of them as may be spared from other generall vses and imploymts, to cleare the ground from incombrances of trees and bryers to fence and make yt fitt for corne pease roots and such like thinges to serve for food, that wee be never driven to supplie from home any meale pease or any like thinges, and what men you shall want of 200 for the generall imploymt or a greater number yf you can pfittablie imploy them when you shall signifie soe much vnto vs we intend (godwillinge) to furnishe the same

Yor 200 men to be neare Garnard's head.

20. This generall imployment as you knowe is only at the charge of such voluntary aduenturers as have now furnished and sett out this supplie of 2 or 3 shipps, to whome only the benefitt of the said imployment is to redownd for 7 yeres to

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come, and because we would have noe man rest upon a certayne Salarye, leaste he should be carlesse and neglect his labor we have pporconed the gaines of the said generall imployment as well to satisfye the disbursements of vs the adventurers as the labor of you the Governor, and of all the rest of the said 200 men (or more) of that imployment, in which manner, ffirst vnto yourselfe besides the three shares of land wch we have pmised at the charge of the Companie, freelie to bestowe vpon you, and your heires for ever, at the expiraccon of yor govermt or at the end of three yeares at the Companies choyce, we haue agreed to bestow upon you the Twentyeth pte of all the cleare gaines (we meane the charge to be first taken away) of all the pearles and whalefishing and the 20th pte of all the Tobacco and other fruits of the ground, wch shall be hither sent and sold as marchandize raised and reaped by the labor and paines of the said generall imployment, together with 3s. 4d. upon every ounce of Ambergreece that shall be found by any man in the Islands, and 16s. 8d. upon euery ounce that yorselfe shall find the residue of all the aforesaid cleare pffitts shall be equallie devided amongst the adventurers here and the 200 labourers (be they more or lesse) of the said generall imployment Prouided that before we make any devissions of Pfitts the charges shall be first taken of and repaid to the adventurers we meane the charge of whale fishinge, and of all such thinges as have necessarilie yssued out of the store, or otherwise to the vse of the generall imployment to the raysinge & furtherance of the said pfitts and not otherwise

The generall imployment to be divided here.

21. To the end that adventurers here and yorselfe wth the planters of the said generall imploymt may noe way be defrauded, we doe ordayne and pray you strictlye to observe that noe goods or marchandizes may be divided there nor conveyed in private but that all thinges whatsoever found & raised in the generall by yor industryes and labour, may be delivered as yt is found, or brought into the Storehouse, to be readye against any of our shipps shall come thither that the same may be safelie & entirely shipped hither without any concealinge or division there to be made An Invoyce thereof to be sent wthall to the Governor and Companie here by yorselfe and the Clarke of the Store of the iust waighte contents & number of every pcell

22. Least any man should doubt and not be sattisfyed for his labours to take his contentmt by this course of Pffits wee doe thus further explain our meaninge, in that pointe That at the end of every yeare it shall be lawfull and free for you the Governor wth consent of most voyces of the generall imploymt to choose one or two more at your charge to be sent over hither some one of our shipps to make an accompt

wth us for all goods and marchandizes wch you have sent us over to that day bringing wth them the due charge upon vs, as also under the hand of the Clarke of the Store what we are to charge upon you or them for puisions out there, wch wth such other necessarie charges yssued out here being deducted, the residue remayninge of the sale of all such goods wth soe much of the goods as shall be found vnsould shall be divided to you the Governor first whatsoever is your pte, the residue in equal fullnes to be given, to the Aduenturers, the one moyetie And the other to the vse of the generall planters there as is aforesaid

To deliver the planters Pte to the men sent.

23. It is not intended that the said divident shall be rendered by vs to everye Pticuler man his iust share thereof, for that will be impossible for us to doe, not knowinge how many or how longe they haue wrought, nor how any man hath deserued more or lesse, only we pmise this much for our pts to deliver the whole moyete and devision of gaines belonging unto the generalitie, as also the Governors pte unto such hands as they and you shall choose yearlie, to send hither to make an accompt wth vs, payinge the same to them in one entrye some, to be imployed as you and the said generalitie shall haue giuen to your said agents comission, and to be distributed by you the Gouvernor and such other as the said generalitie shall choose amonge themselves to ioyne wth you to pportion the same to euerye man his due.

All as well as the 6 of the Councell to be paid out of the labour.

24. We doe accompt that all men that shall be imployed in the generall are to be capable of this contentment by pffitts raised out of there labours, as well those sixe of your sett counsell, the Clarke of the Store, those that attend upon your pson and all the rest, except the Preacher and such as we have agreed wthall for pencons, whereof we have given you a note in writinge And therefore we will you to take order that noe man live idle there vnder ptence of his place and office, but that everye man may helpe in one kinde or other, and that you may observe to whome you may pporcon out the diuident more or lesse as each man for his paines and service shall deserve

He that refuseth to be paid out of the profitts to be paid in base coyne.

25. But yf any refuse and will not accept this contentment out of the pffits in that case we have appointed a base coyne wch we send rated wth our puisions, whereby you may give to such men there weekly wages when they worke, and as you shall find them to deserue, with wch coyne yt shalbe lawfull and free for them to buy any puisions out of the Store or any ffishe corne tooles or any other thinge in the Islands where they can gett the same And to that end you shall pclaime the said coyne to be currant to passe freelye from man to man only throughout the Islands and not otherwise

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Content by profitts.

26. And yf by this meanes yt shall soe fall out that many men of the said generall imployment shall rather accepte to take there contentment by such weekly wages in base coyne, whereby the number of those that rest contented wth the contract of pffitts being the fewer the lesse pporcon of pffitts must yssue from us to give them content, yet for theire better incouragemt we pmise of our own voluntarye, that the one half of whatsoever shall be found that we have gained by the contentinge soe many wth base coyne, shall be freely imparted by vs to those that have willinglie yielded to take their salarye out of the pffitts to make there dividents the better

Leave there labors to the blessinge of God.

27. As for any assurance of pffitts to arise to ourselves or to yorselfe, or them we can noe way make yt more pffitable than by furnishinge puisions as we have done, by placing you there upon the land, and by settinge downe our best aduise and purpose, and soe leave yt to the blessinge of God and to your orderly care of goverment and to there industrious and dilligent labors to assert all these pcedent orders and those that hereafter follow for the vse of those plants and seeds, wch we now send you wth order and dirreccon how to vse them

Yf shorte of whale fishinge then load with cedar.

28. Yf you shall come short thither of the whale fishinge, soe that you shall want meanes to fraight the shipps then wee will you to sett soe manie men as can be spared to cutt downe the best and straigtest sound cedar trees in Davids Island to make up both the shipps fraight when they shall come from thence, but lett the trees be squared before you shipp them and what tobacco and other thinges there are ready, lett them be sent wthall

Dispatch away their shippinge.

29. Let all our shipps now and hereafter be dispatched to come away wth all expedition, because the longer you keepe them there the more fraight & wages grows upon vs to be paid, and the more to be taken out of yor gaines

To entertayne no man of the Shipps Companie.

30. Retaine noe man of the Shipps Companie wch goeth from hence upon wages, except he will stay wthout wages upon the same condicons as others doe, and take noe puisions of any shipps or others whatsoever, whereby to charge us with bills of Exchange, or to pay for the same, nor settle any new wages with any man except we have first given you comission in those cases, all wch courses by others we have found heretofore to be verye prejudiciall vnto vs, and therefore we doe utterly forbidd them

To observe the Proclamacon.

31. We pray you observe that proclamacon and searche be made at everye shipps cominge away, that noe man psume to robb the Plantacon nor wronge the aduenturers by bringinge away theire household stuff, appell, beddinge, or any kind of marchandizes from the generall to private vses, as Amber Pearle

tobacco or any like thinges, and to inflict some exemplarie punishment upon the offendor in that case

32. Yt shall be lawfull for any of the tribes and families to shipp in any of yor shipps goods and marchandizes as they have raised by there owne labor to be first by them given in a note to the Clarke of the Store, to be sent to the Governor and Companie here to be deliuered to the vse of the proprietors, whereof the said Clarke shall make a distinccon in his invoyce from the generall goods, whereby the Companie here may knowe what fraight to aske and receave for the same

Lawful for any of the tribes to shipp in any of the shipps.

33. Yf at your cominge thither you shall find any defective gunpowder, or broken pieces that cannott there be made fitt for seruice, lett the same be returned by theise shipps to be here mended and shalbe returned you again by the next

Returne defective Gunpowder.

34. Take dilligent care that your gunpowder may be safely kept and Pserved from fyre and wettinge, and that neither powder nor shott be spent as heretofore in vaine and needlesse vses as in shootinge of healthes, welcomes or farewells, and that your Armor and weapons wth all warlike puisions may be kept in good repayre and in readiness against tyme of vse

To preserve their Gunpowder.

35. Give charge that your netts and lynes after they have been wett may be carefully hunge up to be dryed in the shade and not in the sunne, nor be suffered to lye on heaps to rott, and when they are any whitt broken sett some to mend them, that you be not destitute

Dryinge theire netts.

36. Yf you shall find the fortificacons soe lefte by Mr. Moore that they stand yet in further vse of repayringe, it shall be free for you to take such men out of the generalitie as also out of the tribes and families as shall be needfull both in case as also to watch and warde some at one tyme and some at another by turnes, in wch cases everye man shall be readye to lend his helpe freely, as in yr discretion by aduise of your counsell you shall have cause to vse them

Mainteyninge Fortificacons.

37. Yf at any tyme you shall have a man or more skilfull in any necessarye facultye, as gunners shippwrights gardiners or such like, lett care be always taken that some other of the yonger sorte may be sett to learne the same, that by decaye of such men you be not lefte destitute of others to supplie there roomes

A care to traine up men skilfull as Gunners.

38. Wee hold yt fitt and have given order that Mr. Wilmott having holpen to end the whale fishinge, that he goe wth the Pinnace to the Sauadge Islands wth such puisions as we have put abord him, to trucke there for such thinges as are fitt, for England, as also for sundrye thinges wch is hoped he shall there gett for the Plantacon, as Cattle Cassadoe Sugar Canes, negroes

Wilmott to goe to the Savage Islands.

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to dive for pearles, and what other plants are there to be had, wch we cannott write in pticulers

Minnerralls.

39. Wee would have you to use all your best meanes and helpe you can gett in the Islands, to discover what likelyehood there is of mynneralls to be found that wee be not driven to enter upon a greate charge from hence to sett upon that buisnes wthout some good encouragement

Yellow Ratsbane.

40. We have sent you yellowe ratsbane in fyne powder to kill the ratts, to be mixed with oatemeale, and laid in shells on the ground where they haunt, wch lett not be neglected nor any other meanes to traps snares and whatsoever ells to destroye them vtterlye yf yt be possible, least they multiplie upon you and devour all yor fruits and plants

Skilfull curer of tobacco.

41. Wee have sent you Mr. Tickner a skilfull planter & curer of tobacco, lett him be assisted with wtsoever men or meanes that may conveniently be spared for that worke, we haue greate hope that he will affect that comoditie to the benefitt of vs the adventurers and you the planters, yf any of the tribes and families shall pceave his way to be good and pbable, they may learne of him both to plant and to cure yt, for he hath covenanted with vs to teach his skill unto all, and must receaue of vs accordingly, wee pray you respect him for his dyett wth you Mr. Governor, whiles he is wth you in generall, and lett the families doe the like when he is wth any of them to teach them his arte

Chirurgeon

42. Wee have sent a Chirurgeon Mr. Walter and have furnished him at our charge, he goeth as other men on aduenture, or to take his contentmt out of the generall pffitts, and therefore his skill and medicines must be vsed freely vpon any that shall stand in neede thereof without takinge any consideracon of them in that case.

For yr findinge Ambergreece.

43. We confirme our order still to any man that shall finde Ambergreece, to give him 13s. 4d. sterlg for everye ounce, soe that he bring it forth to the Governor to the vse of the Companie, but if he shalbe found concealinge yt or convayinge yt away, then his punishmt is to be inflicted at yor discretion, and to lose his Amber and all the benefitt of 13s. 4d. for finding yt. And least there should be any man there that in this interim since Mr. Moores cominge thence, or before that hath found Amber and conceals yt hidd away, you by our Proclamacon to signifye and charge all such men to bringe in their Amber, and to receaue there salarye of 13s. 4d. an ounce or to be subjected to the pill thereof, yf yt be otherwise found out

Vynes to sett.

44. Wee have sent you vynes and vyne cuttinges, to be put into the grounds, lett them be fenced from cattle and conies and kept cleane from weeds and multiplye them by puttinge all yor

vyne cuttinges euerye yeare into the ground, that you may haue many acres in severall places planted wth them, 8 or 10 foote asunder, you may lead them alonge or vpright vpon poles or lett them runne from tree to tree at your pleasure

Annyseeds.

45. Also new Annyseeds [1] wch lett be carefully sowne and the ground well weeded till they growe vp, when the seeds are ripe wch wilbe in 4 monthes, lett them be carefully gathered, clensed, and laid abroade to dry. Send us some of the first you can for an encouragement but keepe the greatest store for seeds to sowe againe the next yeare, you can neuer plant too much of that kind and there is noe better marchandize to be sent for England

Fennell seeds and Cominseeds

46. Also sweete fennell seeds commyne seeds, Mariorum, Bazill & Onion seeds, all which must be presently sowne at your comyne thither, and used wth care and dilligence, as your Annyseeds and all those seeds are verye good marchandize to be sent hither, reserving still for encreasse yor roots of Mariorum Bazill and sweete fennell will hold and live yeare by yeare the topps beinge taken only for seeds, and the rest decayinge must be euerye yeare renewed by sowinge

Wateringe potts.

47. Yf your season after sowinge be too drye for want of raigne you must water wth fresh water, for wch purpose wee have sent you two watering pots, wch wee pray you lett be vsed, as well for yor vynes and seeds and other plants

Sugar canes

48. When Mr. Wilmott shall bringe Sugar canes or such plants from the Indyes, let them be sett weeded watered and multiplied with those of offsets wch shall growe out of them, we have sent you orange seeds lemmon and citron seeds, they will come thick beinge sowen, but they must be the nexte yeare supplanted and sett thinner to beare fruite

Mulberrie Trees.

49. Wee have sent you Mulberrye seeds wch will also come vp thicke the firste yeare, but must be replanted, and sett to growe thinner the second yere, theise also will require greate store of grownd, and to be sett 10 foote asunder, for in tyme they will growe to be great trees, in the second or third year you may beginn to gather the leaues for Silke wormes

Freshwater free to all.

50. Whereas in sundrye of the tribes there are pooles of freshwaters wch in the divident will fall by lott to some mens shares, whereby others in the same tribes will fall out to have none. It is agreed by order of a Greate Generall Court wch we pray you observe, that yt may bee allwaies put in execucon, that all the families of the same tribe, or of any other tribe wantinge the benefitt of freshwater, may have free recourse by some commodious waies (wthout doing any damage through any mans land) wthout interrupcon for the vse of the said ffreshwaters as there occasions shall from tyme

[1] Pimpinella anisum.

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to tyme require, till such time as they may find freshwaters in theire owne land.

Townes builded with the advice of the Deputie Governor.

51. Yf the members of any tribe shall determine to build a towne or two wthin any of theire tribes, for theire more commodious dwelling together, the same shall be sealed by the advice of you the deputie Governor and your councell in the most convenient places, allotting unto euerye one that will build his house in the said town halfe an acre of ground or more yf he will have more shares, soe that he exceed not half an acre for everye share, to adioyne to his house for an orchard or garden, and in leiwe thereof abridge him of halfe an acre out of his shares where they doe buy in the said tribes.

The Bayley to be chosen everie two yeares.

52. Wee doe ordayne that the bayliffe of euerie tribe shall be chosen once euerye two yeares upon the feast day of the Annunciacon of the blessed virgin, commonlye called our Ladye day (accordinge to the computacon of the Church of Englande) or the day followinge yf the said Ladye day fall out to be the Saboth, or the same Bayliffe still to be then confirmed for other two yeares by those who have power of elleccon and approvinge of a newe. And in case of the death or disposall of any the said Bayliffs, wthin 10 dayes after the said death or disposall ffor that yt shalbe lawfull for you the said Governor and yor whole counsell or the greatest pte of you upon just reasons in open quarter Cessions to dispose any from his Bayliwicke, and in the mean tyme to suspend him from the execucon of his office, wch said new elleccon of any the said baylife shalbe in manner and forme followinge (vizt)

The office of Bayliffs.

You the said Governor togeather wth yor Councell or the most pte of them shall cause to be assembled 20 honest discreete and of the most industrious men, inhabitinge wthin the said tribe, who shall psent unto you and your said Councell the names of one or two of yor said Inhabitantes whom they shall esteeme most worthie of the said place, him or one of them to be elected into the said office of Bayliffe for the tearme of 2 yeares aforesaid, by the pluralitie of voyces of the said 20 electors, so as he be a man approved and allowed of by you the said Governor or yor Councell, or the greatest pte thereof. And yf yt shall not seeme meete to you or yovr councell aforesaid to allowe of the said pson elected as of a fitt member to be ioyned to you in Councell then the said electors to pceede to a new eleccon in manner aforesaid except and alwayes reserved vnto the owners and freeholders of every tribe or the maior pte of them free power and authoritie by speciall commission vnder theire hands to constitute and appointe any person to whome they themselues shall think fitt to be bayliffe of theire tribe, any aforesaid eleccon or nomination to the contrary notwith-

standinge, wch said Bayliffe soe elected constituted or appointed shall have the charge of ouerseeing all the labor and manners of all the severall psons inhabitinge wthin his said tribe, causing them to liue in a religious and decent fashion, and wth dilligence to followe their severall labors, and to administer or pcure iustice equitye and right to be done unto every person wthin his said tribe or charge, and yet as many as may be to omitt his care and imployment in his owne pticuler family And for his better encouragemt in the pformance of his said duty and place It is ordered that he the said Bayliff shall have one thirtyeth pte of all the pffitts wch come in dividents betweene the owners and occupyers of the said severall shares wthin his tribe. And therefore that he the said Bayliffe vse his best endeauours upon everye shippinge of commodities from his tribe, to cause a true and just invoyce to be made and sent hither of all the said comodityes that shalbe sent from thence, whereby both himselfe may receave his said 30th pte and the owners and occupyers make a iust diuident of all the rest

In case of offence and defence.

53. And notwithstandynge any of theise aforesaid orders you may at all tymes and yt shall be lawfull for you, to comand and call from the tribes and generall imploymt all and euerie pson in case of defence, or offence against the enemie, or any other publique service against fyre or such like occasion, wherein necessitye shall require theire vse and psent service

The article to be read 4 times a yeare.

54. We require you ffower times in the yeare at yor greatest assemblies, as at the generall Cessions or such like, to reade or cause to be read all theise Articles contayned in theise xij precedent pages in the audience of all the people assembled, that they may the better understand our meaninge towards them, and theire duties to be pformed to yourselfe and so to vs

Ex. E. Collingwood, *Secr.*

2. Coppie of the Generall letter sent by the 'Seaflower.' [Apparently addressed to Captain D. Tucker, in 1616. It is without date. The 'Seaflower' frequently visited Bermuda, and was finally lost there in March 162$\frac{2}{3}$.]

After our very hartie comendacons. Wee hope that by Gods blessinge you are longe ere this arrived safe in the Somer Islands and doe shortlie hope by a good accompt from you of those thinges the psent execution whereof we recomended, to receave a proofe and testimoniall of your virtue and worth In the confidence whereof wee have cometted unto yo^{r} care and

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charge the Custodye and Government of that most important and invaluable Plantacon Concerninge w^ch^ havinge by our Instructions and Commissions (the due pformance whereof wee pray you alwayes to sett before y^r^ eyes) largelie declared our mynds wee will not at psent enter into any other pticulars But that w^ch^ the present occasion inviteth us unto That is the raysing and setting up the publique Stocke w^ch^ being the verye foundacon of the psperitie and good successe of the accon, wee Cannott but most effectuallie againe and againe recomend unto you and require therein the vttermost of yo^r^ endeavo^rs^, assuringe yourselues that iff yt now fayle yt will be impossible for us euer to restore yt. Wherefore wee praye you that those . . .[1] youthes now sent togeather w^th^ all the puisions as are formerlie made may be carefully and faythfully imployed accordinge as in the Instructions wee have largelie aduised, what puisions of apparell and other thinges are now sent you shall pceave by the Invoyce w^ch^ is here inclosed And because wee conceave that M^r^ Bonneiles Booke lately sett forth, recommended unto us by his Ma^tie^ wilbe of speciall use for the instructing of the people in the raisinge of those rich and staple comodities w^ch^ wee most earnestly desyre and in some pte hope may be raised, wee thought good at psent to send . . .[1] of them w^ch^ wee pray you cause to be dispersed amongst the seu^r^all families in the Islands to euerye one one at least, and to cause them to pay therefore halfe a pownd of Tobacco towards the reimbursem^te^ of the Companies charges in that behalfe

Wee pray you to showe what fauo^r^ you may vnto M^r^ Gardener the M^r^ of thise shippe the 'Sea-flower' in despatchinge him away for Virginia w^th^ all expedition as well for the benefitt of those that are there to plant as otherwise for the furtherance and aduantage of his other p^r^tended voyages, and since the tyme and occasion soe fittlie serveth wee verye earnestlie desyre you to send such store as you are possiblie able to spare of all plants and fruits wherein you abound and Virginia wanteth and especially of y^r^ white vine Cuttinges

Wee thinke fitt also to lett you knowe that the bargaine beinge nowe pfected w^th^ his Ma^tie^ wee hope you will be carefull tymely to observe those instructions you formerly received touchinge that point whereby to raise unto us the better effect of our hopes therein And soe we com̄end you w^th^ yo^r^ whole charge to the mercye and grace of the Almightie and rest

Yo^r^ verye louinge ffrends

Will Cauendish — Gabriell Barbor
Edwyne Sandys — George Smith

[1] Blanks in the original.

John ffarrar, deputie
George Scott
Nicholas ffarrar
Roberte Smith
Thomas Whietley
Thomas Gibbs
Richard Caswell
Thomas Mellinge
Edward Ditchfield

3. Transcript of a tattered leaf, evidently part of a proclamation by Captain D. Tucker (probably in 1616) against buying or selling Ambergris; pilfering; backbiting and slandering; cutting down timber wastefully; the license of boys and youths; stealing growing crops.

No Marryner Savler or any else of what quality or grade so eue^{r} belonging to any shippe or shipps nowe here resident or who hereafter shall arrive, may bargayne buy trucke or trade with any member of this Plantacon, man woman or childe for Ambergreece of what quantity so eue^{r}, nor for any Ambergreece shall exchange any their provisions whether Butter Cheese Bisket Meale Aquavitæ Oyle any kind of frute or spice or any other prouisions of what qualitie so eue^{r} at any tyme or soe long as they shall here remayne from the date of theis presents upon payne to lose the Ambergreece soe bought or trucked for, and losse of their wages in England with corporall punishm^{te} here to be inflicted upon them, and what so eu^{r} pson or psons belonging unto any such shipp or shipps receeve or take any the said Ambergreece of or from any pson or psons members of this plantacon privately take the same unto England upon the same p.ill Nor shall any pson or psons whatsoeu^{r} of what degree or qualitie soeu^{r} of theis Islands dare to sell any Ambergreece or the same to trucke Exchange or give awaye vnto any such for money or such aforesaide prouisions or otherwise to be . . .[1] as aforesaide upon p.ill to lye in Irons 48 hours wth addicon of such other severe punishm^{te} as shalbe inflicted upon them And what soeu^{r} pson or psons that shall at any tyme fynde any Ambergreece and not within the space of tenne dayes bringe or sende the same to the Gouerno^{r} or give notice thereof vnto him where he or they shall receive content after the rate of the moitie of the halfe the Ambergreece eu^{r}y ounce shall not only lose the profit for finding thereof But also undergoe the aforesaid punishment with severity of Justice w^{ch} in that case shall surely be executed

Whereas diuers Lewde and euill disposed people in theis

[1] Word undecipherable.

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Islands being formerly giuen to that vile and ungodlie course of pilferinge and theft, and thereby haue not only made a breache of the Lawes and commandm^{ts} of God but also the Inh.itants here remayneing haue suffered greate damage by losse of their goodes and prouisions To avoide the like courses to be nowe put in practice there shall no pson or persons of what degree or quality soeu^{r} dare to imbesell purloyne or steale from any member of this plantacon any goods or provisions of whatsoeu^{r} quality or what quantity soeu^{r} upon paine to undergoe the strictness of punishm^{te} accordinge to the Lawes of England in that case prouided w^{ch} euery such offender shalbe sure to have severely inflicted upon him

Whosoever shall use any arte or meanes tending to the disgrace of any member of this plantacon or give any backbiting slanderous disgracefull wordes of any of the Inh.itants here concerneing any act or deede done or comitted in England upon grudge quarrel or malice nowe paste or that shall arrise wthout iust^{te} proof thereof shall for the first tyme soe offending aske public forgevenes vpon their knees in the Church And for contynuance in these vnnaturall courses to be whipt and aske the like public forgevenes wth addition of such further punishment as shalbe inflicted vpon them

Whereas in theis Islands many boyes and youthes are placed upon shares and are not of discretion to governe themselves and their affaires It is likewise thought fitting that the saide Boyes and youthes shall liue in familyes together be ordered and ymployed according to the discretion of the cheef of eu^{r}y family And if they shalbe found obstinate and negligent in their ymployment and labor Then the Bayly of that Tribe shall inforce them and inflict suche punishmente vpon them as he in his discretion shall thinke fitting And if anyone do contynue in his obstinacye, then the Baily of that Tribe shall send him to S^{t} Georges there to be punished according as the Gou^{r}no^{r} shall thinke fitting

And whereas there hath bin greate spoile and waste made of Timber in cutting downe of Tymber spoiling of fences to the great hurte and damage of the owners of the Lande Theis are to will and commande that none shall fell any Timber or cutt downe any fences except they firste acquainte the Baily there-wth where by such enormityes may be avoided.

Whereas heretofore diuse lewde psons have pilfered and stolen potatoes corne frute and plants groweing upon the grounde to the hurte and damage of the people of this Plantacon: That the like vngodlie course maye hereafter be avoided

Theise are to comande that no pson or psons whatsoeuer dare to robbe any Vinyards or garden publique or private or gather the grapes, figgs, plants [1] or any other groweing comoditye whatsoeuer belonging to any one member of this Plantacon or steale any Potatoes or eares of corne groweing vpon the grounde whether in the Tribe wherein any such pson dwelleth, or in any other place publique or private vpon payne of felony and whosoeu[r] shall conceale any theft soe comytted 24 houres shall have like punishm[te] as the principall offender.

A Record of all cases recorded to haue been tried at the Generall Assizes in the tyme of Captain Daniel Tucker and following Govern[rs]

[This heading, which is with difficulty decipherable, after the application of a developing fluid to the paper, shows the document from which the succeeding extracts are taken to have been written up by some secretary, after the time. There is every probability that they were so written up in 1622, when the Bermuda Company regulated what books were to be kept by that officer, and probably for the first time supplied the blank volumes for his use.]

4. A generall Assize held at St. Georges begune the 15th day of June 1616 and ended the 18th daye of the same month

(1) The Indictment of John Wood [2]

John Wood. Thou by the name of John Wood of the Somers Island Joyner art indicted for that thou didst upon the first day of this instant month of June in the tyme of Devyne seruice before the face of the whole congregation openly raile upon and contemne the authoritie of the lawfull Governo[r] wth minutnous and Rebellious noise thretned to be his death contrarye to the peace of this g.erall Estate and Plantacon and agaynst our Soveraigne Lord the Kings Mat[ie] his crowne and dignitye To wch indictment he pleaded not guiltie and for Tryall put himselfe upon God and the contrey being a jurye of twelve sworne men found him guiltie Soe the said Wood receaved judgement to be hanged by the necke untill he were dead and on the twentyeth day of the same month of June he

[1] Plantains. [2] See Smith's 'Virginia,' under date 1616, at p. 134.

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was executed upon the little Island over agaynst St. Georges called Storehouse Island.[1]

The names of the Jury June 1616

Stephen Painter forman	Stephen Parker
Josias Ezard	John Havers
Andrew Hilliard	Thomas Harriott
Thomas Chadwicke	Robert Swan
John Southwood	Henrye Wethersbye
William Moore	George Stavers

(2) It is ordered in court that George Steuens shall pay unto Robert Holman within Two months next after the date here of Tenn shillings in money in lieue of a fowlinge peece and also that the said Robert Holman shall take his Caliver wth him at his Return to England

(3) It is ordered in court that Thomas Palmer shall pay unto William Goodwin wthin xiiij dayes next after the date here of 13s. 4d. in money and within vi monthes then next following 13s. 4d. more in lieue of a Boate built by the said Goodwin for one Arthur Sessions and sould to the said Palmer

(4) It is ordered in court that Roger Lewellin shall pay unto John Keth minister wthin viiij months next after the date here of forty ffive shillinges in money due to the said Keth by a will dated 22 January $161\frac{5}{6}$

5. A Generall Assize held at St. Georges begun the first day of October 1616 and continued until the 5th day of the same month

(1) The indictment of ffrancis Powell

Ffrances Powell. Thou by the name of Ffrances Powell of the Trybe of Sir Edwyn Sandys in Somers Islands labourer art indicted that on the xiiijth daye of Julye last past in the aforesaid Somers Islands thou didst steale six score Eares of corne of the goods of William Elie of the same Tribe ycom to the value of three shillings and carryed it away felloniouslie contrarye to the peece of Sovereigne Lord the Kinge

The said William Elye refusing to take his oath against the said ffrances Powell The said Powell was acquitted by Proclamacon

(2) The indictment of Martin Wetherall

Martin Wetherall. Thou by the name of Martin Wetherall of the Tribe of Sir Edwin Sandys in Somer Islands yeoman art

[1] This is probably Ordnance Island, which in its present form is for the most part artificial.

indicted that on the 20th daye of Julie last past thou hast assaulted one Williams thy mayde servant of the age of 15 years she being then in the peece of God and the Kinge. . . . . To wch the said Wetherall pleaded not guiltie and for triall put himselfe upon God and the Contry wch contry being a Jury of twelve sworne men gave thier verdict as followeth

The opinion of the Jury according to our oathes concerning Martin Wetherall is that he is very foule in the acton laid to his charge and we are perswayded he did yt, but with her consent The reasons are because she did not reveale yt presently but kept yt secret and was according to her accustomed manner merie and pleasant . . . . Soe we fynd yt adulterye in him and fornication in her.

This verdict being given by the Jury sentance passed that the man should have threescore lashes with a whippe upon the naked backe at a Post upon two severall dayes in veiwe of the congregation and the woman forty lashes in the same manner and upon the same dayes, which was executed upon them both

(3) The Indictment of Raph Gardiner

Raph Gardiner thou by the name of R. G. of the Somers Islands labourer art indicted that on the 14th day of Julye 1616 at Baylis Baye *in the Countees of Beddf. tribe* thou hast stolen a fisgigg or Instrument of Iron to strike fishe of the goods of John Southwood of the same baye Cordweyner to the value of three shillings and carried yt awaye felloneouslie and contrarye to the peece of our Sovereigne lord the kinge to which the said Gardiner pleaded not Guiltie and for tryal put hymself upon God and the Countrie w^{ch} being &c. did find him guilty &c. Sentence: 30 lashes with a whippe upon the naked backe

(4) There follow two indictments on a similar charge against—

William Nash & William Guye who were also found guilty but being yt was there first offence, and Hugh Gardiner the principall in stealeinge the said ffisgig the Governor did mitigate there punishment, and the whipp only laid upon the naked shoulders.

(5) The indictment of Hugh Trehearne

Hugh Trehearne. Thou by the name of Hugh Trehearne of Baylies Baye in the Countesse of Bedfords Tribe, labourer art indicted that on the 6th day of August 1616 At St Davids Island thou hast stolen a fisgigg or Instrument of Iron to strike fish of the generall goods of this Plantacon And carried it

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away felloneously and contrarye to the peace of our Soveraigne Lord the Kinge To which he pleaded not Guiltie, and for his tryall put himselfe upon God and the Countrye, which being a Jury of xii sworne men gave their verdict not Guiltie. Soe that said Trehearne was acquitted

The names of the Jury for this Assize Oct. 1616

Stephen Painter foreman	John Bradwell
Robert ffaucett	Thos Harriott
Josias Ezard	Arnon Lynnton
Stephen Parker	Bartholomew Payne
John Hauers	Marmaduke Dandoe
Thomas Chadwicke	Arthur Sessions

6. *George Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, October* 1616.[1]

Allso in this monethe five men w^{ch} were planted in Bermuda, fearinge (as they say) to dye wth famine, buillt a boate little bigger then a double wherry not above two Tonnes and puttinge into itt such provision of victualls as they could gett, cõmitted themselves to the mercy of the vast ocean, and itt pleased God to preserve them, and they are safely arrived in England : whatt willbe the successe of that plantation is muche to be feared, for my particular I am hopelesse of any proffitt from thence.

Savoy this 18th of Januarye 161$\frac{6}{7}$.

Your L: most affectionatt trew frend
G. Carew.

(Indorsed) From my L. Carew
18 Jan: 1616.

This is the incident recorded on the map prefixed to this volume, and as an exploit of daring and piece of good fortune has scarcely been exceeded by the most reckless of adventurers since (see also p. 104).

7. Assizes held at St. Georges . . . of May and ended the 15th of the same month 1617

(1) The indictment of Richard Stephens

Richard Stephens. Thou by the name of Richard Stephens of Bedford Tribe Labourer art indicted vpon suspicion that thou hast vpon the 8th day of Aprill last past at noone daye committed Burglarye breakinge into the house of John Southwood of the tribe aforesaide Cordweyner and of his goods beinge biskett at the

[1] 'State Papers, Domestic, James I.' vol. xc., No. 24.

same tyme thou hast stolne to the value of vj^{d} and carried it away felloneously and contrarye to the peece of our Soueraigne Lord the kinge to which the said Stephens pleaded not guilty and for tryall putt himselfe to God and the Countreye w^{ch} countrye beinge a Jurey of 12 swarne men found him not guiltie, soe he was quitt by proclamacon.

The names of the Jury May 1617

James Penniston forman	Stephen Parker
John Hauers	Willm Grimston
Arnon Hunton	Dyamond Knowles
Henrye Wethersbye	Tho. Palmer
Willm Longston	Geo. Stavers
John Beadle	John Ditch

Then follow the entry of twelve actions for recovery of small debts.

8. The commencement of the next assize is wanting, and several succeeding pages of the book are defective. The trial of Nicholas Gabriell, labourer, of Pembroke tribe, is partly legible. 'He was sentanced to be hanged,' as Smith says, 'for concealing some speeches Mr. Pollard and Mr. Rich should use, tending to the disreputation of the Gouernour and his iniustice and cruelties, and it appears that when he was brought vnto the place of *execution*, *the hangman not having yet done* his worke, The Governor in mercy granted *a reprieve and did sentance him to be* a slave vnto the colony vntil by his *good behaviour he should* deserve a free pardon from him.' [1]

It would appear from succeeding entries that at this period penal slavery was common. Thus Symon the negro, for an assault upon a child, at the same assize, was by the court condemned to be a slave to the colony during the Governor's pleasure.

The names of the jury for this assize, October 1617

Edward Atwood, Forman	Robert ——
Stephen Parker	Damon Knowles
John Hauers	Henerye ——
Thomas Chadwicke	Ambrose ——

[1] The words in italics are supplied to complete the sense, the MS. being imperfect.

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Willm Clarke — Bartholomew ——
Jarvaise Inglesbye — Richard Towell

9. Then follow four actions for debt, which are followed by seven articles of accusation preferred by the Governor against Mr. Pollard and Mr. Rich, which are partly legible.

Secondly. You demanded of me when the men should come from the mayne to worke at the Fforts. I replyed when I thought it a convenient tyme for their best ease You demaunded how many should come from a tribe I tould you j or ij at a tyme according to the number of the people inhabitinge vpon the Tribes, because the Ratts doe so much hurt. I was loath to take too many at once. You then made me answer that yf they would be ruled by you, you would all come off together and repayre the forts, and make the marchants in England pay for yt

Thirdly. You called me to question what the people did at St. Georges and tould me that they were to repayre the forts wthout the Tribes, and that the Tribes did maynteyne the generality

Ffourthly. You have publiquely reported in the mayne at seueral tymes that you knowe not nor euer haue, that the people vpon the tribes were to doe any service about the forts, but that the generality should doe yt.

Fifthly. You tould me I would not do you Justice concerning Robert Walker

Sixthly. Myselfe being in some conference with you at your owne house concerning Mr. Powell I tould you I thought I should be sent for to England about him, you then answered that if I were sent for you would stay me

Seventhly. I comaunded you to see yo^{r} people burne one of the Brother Islands for I had burned the other and found it full of ratts but you neglected my comaund herein A month after I came into the mayne againe, and findinge yt not done I demaunded the reason, you answered you had somewhat els to doe wth yo^{r} men then to burn Islands

To these Articles the said Mr. Rich accordinge to the custom of all offendors spared not his tonge to vse denyall thinkinge thereby to smoother his offence, but seeing sufficient proofe could be made of his errors and his further disgrace like to followe He then in most submissive wise made acknowledgem^{t} confessing all that is here menconed to be true, and much more which was alleaged against him but is not specified, so before the whole assemblye he humblie craued

p.don and desyred fauor, vowing euer after to sett a watch before his lipps and refraine his tonge from euell. * * *

Upon this submission Rich was pardoned and upon a like confession Pollard was not only pardoned but restored to his place of Bayliewicke again in as free a manner as formerly he held it.

10. Assizes at St. Georges ending 1 March $161\frac{7}{8}$.

(1) Paule Deane of Sir John Smiths Tribe indicted for fellony for stealing from the house of Robert ffludd one Holland cheese to the value of . . . whereof he was found guiltie soe sentance passed vpon him to be hanged by the necke vntill he were dead and on the . . . daye of March $161\frac{7}{8}$ he was executed at the common place.

(2) Robert Hall was indicted in the art of cousanage for deteyneinge 4 payrs of shoes of the goods of Thomas Burrowe 'lefte in thy hands to keepe and demaunded of thee, thou hast in couseninge manner defrauded him of the said goods' the Jury returned We find him lyable to pay for the shoes, but not guiltye of Indictment of cousenage, but as in ignorance a mistakement.

He was again indicted of insolent perjurye 'for that thou has taken thie corporal othe falsely econtrarye to the lawes of Almightye God' of which he was found guiltie 'Soe sentance passed vpon him to haue both his eares cutt of close by his head, but the Gouernor in hope of his amendment of life did mitigate his punishment soe the third of March $161\frac{7}{8}$ his lefte eare was cutt of.

(3) The Indictment of Samuell Jones a boy.

He was indicted for taking away the life of Myles Docker with a foulinge peece, beeinge charged with powder and shott. The verdict returned was Chance Medley and he was acquitted by proclamation.

The names of the Jury for this Assize Feb. $161\frac{7}{8}$.

James Peniston, Forman	John Taylor
Willm Seymor	John Southwood
Jaruaise Englesbye	Richard Carter
Stephen Parker	John Beadle
Nathan Loe	Willm Moore
Wm Rodwell	George Stauers

[Then follow five actions of debt.]

(4) 'It is ordered by the Court that all such writinges belonging to any man that went forth in the ffriggate called 1618

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the Reliefe now in the hands of xpofer (Christopher) Carter, shall still remayne in his witnesse and not be allowed of in the court, neither to receave nor pay, by the said xpofer Carter.'

[Christopher Carter was one of the six persons left by Governor Moore to administer the government by turns, each for one month at a time, when he returned to England in 1615.]

11. Assizes of July 1618.

(1) John Yates, Edw ffayresbrook, Edw Wolsey, Roger Walworth (Carpenter) William Coxon (Dromer) are severally indicted in the same terms Thou by the name of A. B. art indicted for that thou hast conspyred a rebellious plott ag^{t} the quiett estate of this p.sent plantacon, and contrary to the peace of our souveraigne Lord the Kinge.

To these Indictments all pleaded guiltye yet the Gouern^{r} shewing more mercye than they themselues desyred put themselues upon there tryall by a Jurey of xii sworne men w^{ch} Jurey found them guiltye of there Indictment Soe sentance passed upon them all to be hanged by the necke untill they were dead and John Yates beinge found the principall acto^{r} of the plott was executed the 24th day of this instant month of Julye at the comon place of execution and in hope of amendment of life in *the rest* the Gouern^{r} in mercye graunted there Reprieve.

There plott was to runne awaye *with the* —— *from St.* Georges and to goe to the West Indies *in this* ffriggate, they intended to *wait until they could* furnishe themselues wth *provisions and such* clothes as were in the Gouernors *House and to provide* water caske from any *place where* they could gett them, and they *agreed that once they* were once entered into the Boate *and cleare off they* would dye rather than be taken, they *denyed not* this there wicked intent, but some of them *declared that the* Divell moued them therevnto.

One Stephen Stephenson was at the first *one of the* confederats but he bearing a more honest *mind* revealed yt vnto the Gouernor.

[The incident is alluded to by Smith (see p. 145), but he does not give any details.]

The names of this Jury July 1618.

Edward Atwood, Forman	Anthonie Cooke
John Hauers	Ambrose Cann
Willm Clarke	Thomas Pullen

Thomas Chadwicke	John Harper
Damon Knowles	John Dauies
George Wells	John Newman

12. Third Assizes 1618.

John Warde and John Ditch are severally indicted that on the 26th day of September last past or thereabouts thou hast stolne one Barrowe hogg of the goods of George Webb of these Islands carpenter to the value of 10s. and carried yt awaye :[1] the finding is not entered. Also Richard Towell for stealing one potato, waighinge 2 or 3 lbs. or thereabouts value 3d. and carried yt away felloniously, contrarye to the peace of our Soueraigne Lord the King and thereby thou hast made a Breach of an article in that case p.uided for the quiet estate of this our plantacon Verdict not guilty. Soe he was quitt by p.clamacon.

[Then follow three actions of debt, and an order in court relating to some appointment of materials for making 'puddinge'—8 lbs. per man—but it is not intelligible.]

The names of the Jury for this Assize Oct. 1618.

William Seymo[r] forman	Stephen Paynter
Ffrancis Cuckones	Jarvaise Englesbye
John Taylor	Josias Izard
Martin Wright	Robert Williams
Willm Grimston	Robert Swan
Anthonie Harford	Henerye Wethersbye

13. Presentment of the Grand Jury 1618.

(1) Wee p[r]sent Grace Guy late wife to Witley Guy upon suspition of incontinence. 1618.

(2) We present Thomas Fosbrooke gouldsmith of Smiths Tribe for that he doth not forbear to melt the Kings Ma[te] Coyne of Gould and Silver into Bodkins Eare wyres and such like unprofitable and unnecessarie comodities contrary to his Ma[t] Lawes and the evill and unprofitable consequence of these Islands

(3) We doe further p[r]sent Will[m] Pollard gent for that he doth not forbeare to use himselfe unreverently in the Church according to the Church warden's presentment to be made

(4) Wee doe present the said William Pollard gent for that he hath contrary to religion and the discipline of the Church of England refused or neglected to receive the holy communion

[1] 'Barrow' is said to mean 'castrate.'

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ever since he came into the land last which is about two yeares since

(5) We doe present Judith Bayley, wife to Roger Bayley for that she, nevertheles having admonition hath not forborne to disturb the congregation in tyme of Divine service by raylings miscallings and all other uncivill speeches in Pembroke tribe church

(6) Wee doe present the late Churchwardens of Smiths Tribe for that they did not provide comunion wine the last year, for the year following

(7) Wee doe pray that this our order underwritten may bee acceptably received, namely that Captain Stokes be bound to cleare the path leading from Tuckers towne to the King's Castle upon the same conditions which the grand Inquest did order the last sum̄er assizes [that] is 300^{lb} of Tobaco for the present and 100^{lb} the ensuing tyme to come, and that it bee made 12 foot wide and planted with fig trees and pomegranats.

(8) Wee doe present Thomas Py and Ellen his wife for that they doe not forbeare to keepe com̄on Tipling as well on the Sabbath as other dayes in their house by suffering Bibey[1] too inordinately drunk, Soe that there is continually drunkenness and swearing and such like abuses, to the great dishonor of god and disquiet of this plantacon.

(9) Wee present Peeter Lunne and Margery his wife for that they contrary to the Honora^{ble} Compa. orders and the wholesome lawes of the Governour and Counsell doe altogether refuse to live together (being man and wife) according to the ordinance of god.

(10) Wee doe present Alexander Smyth barber and Roger Dobbe for that they contrary to the honorable Compa. orders and the wholesome lawes provided by the Governor and Counsell here, doe not forbeare to use playing at unlawfull games as dice Cards nine pins and such like

(11) Wee doe p.sent John Edmunds of Devonshire Tribe for that he contrary to all wholesome lawes provided against Idle and drunken persons by the Kings Ma^{tie}. The Honnor^{ble} Compa and the Gov. here doth not endeavour himselfe to any fitte honest and laborious course of life neither doth forbeare to resort com̄only to tipling houses but there daily using drunkennesse, and cause others soe to doe, and doth obstinately and unchristianly still psist therein contrary to good order aforesaid and evill example of many others.

(Signed) Thomas Chadocke
Anthony Jenour and 13 more.

[1] 'Bibey,' an intoxicating liquor prepared from the palmetto.

14. Sir Edward Hext, Justice of the Peace for Somersetshire, writes to the Privy Council, October 19, 1618, upon complaint that Owen Evans, messenger of the Chamber, had pretended a commission to press maidens to be sent to the Bermudas and Virginia and raised money thereby; he had issued a warrant for his apprehension. Evans's undue proceedings breed such terror to the poor maidens, that forty have fled from one parish to obscure places, and their parents do not know what has become of them (C. P. p. 19). Elsewhere it appears that one Francis Prewe, of Ottery, constable of Whitleigh, was Evans's instrument; different parishes were to furnish specified numbers—*e.g.* the village of Weston four. How far it was a pure pretence used for the purposes of extortion, and how far any real crimping was carried on, does not appear.

15. By the Gou^{r}no^{r} and principall comander here resident. A Proclamation 24 Nov. 1618.

Whereas Edward Wolsey of Southampt. Tribe gent, was the 22 of July 1618 by the Lawe convicted of Rebellion, and for the same received judgm^{t} to be hanged by the neck vntill he were dead, but his repreeve was graunted from me vpon his further good behaviour, and by the authority vnto me giuen by virtue of the Kings Mat^{s} ltres Pattents I doe hereby reverse the sentance of death passed vpon him freely pdoning his offence and doe give him his life, wishing him to liue vprightly as his Ma^{ts} loyall subiect ought to doe, giuen vnder my hand and seale at my house in S^{t} Georges in the Somer Islands the 24th day of nouember Anno dni 1618.

Daniell Tucker.

16. General narrative of the government of Captain Daniel Tucker, from Smith's 'History of Virginia.'

About the midst of May arriued this Gouernor, where finding the Inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as also in a manner disdaining and grudging much to be commanded by him; it could not but passionate any man liuing. But at last according to the Virginia order, hee set euery one was with him at Saint Georges, to his taske, to cleere grounds, fell trees, set corne, square timber, plant vines, and other fruits brought out of England. These by their task masters by breake of day repaired to the wharfe, from thence to be employed to the place

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of their employment till nine of the clocke, and then in the afternoone from three till sunne-set. Beside meate, drinke, and cloaths, they had for a time a certaine kind of brasse money with a hogge on the one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges was found at their first landing.

This course thus squared, imitating diuers orders vsed in Virginia, by Sir Tho. Dale: he began by them to looke into his instructions giuen by the Company. Whereupon by one Mr. Richard Norwood a Surueyor, sent ouer for that purpose, in the time of Master More, he began to lay out the eight tribes in the maine, which were to consist of fifty shares to a tribe; and twenty fiue acres to euery share. He also begun to plant some Colony men, on some of the especiall shares. He swore also certaine of the chiefe men of euery tribe to bee Bailiffes thereof; and appointed as many men as hee was able for all supplied shares. The goods landed in the storehouses hee sent from thence, and dispersed it to his workmen in general; some Boats also began to be builded; but the pinace called the Thomas suspected might make an escape, was laid vp in a docke, where shee yet remaineth.

In the beginning of the second moneth of his gouernment, he directed warrants to all the Bailiffes, for the holding of a general Assise at Saint Georges, and appointed Master Stokes Lieutenant of the Kings Castle at the Gurnets head. The Edwin came with him he sent to the West Indies by directions from England, to trade with the natiues, for cattel, corne, plants, and other commodities. A course of great importance, which had it been pursued, would certainlie haue produced more hopefull effects for the good of the Colony, then all the supplies and Magazines from England hath or will in a long time.

Execution of J. Wood (see p. 123).

Presently after her departure began the Asises, executed by his Deputy. The chief matter handled was the hanging one John Wood a Frenchman, for speaking many distastefull and mutinous speeches agàinst the Gouernor, to shew the rest by that example, the power of his authority, which after with his owne hands he so oft executed with a bastinado amongst the poorer sort; many termed it a cruelty, not much less than tyranny; but the sequell is more then strange.

So it was that fiue of them, seeing by no meanes they could get passage for England, resolued to undergoe all hazards, but they would make an escape from such seruitude.

The chiefe mariner and plotter of this businesse, was Richard Sanders, and his confederates, William Goodwin, a Ship Carpenter, Thomas Harison, a Joyner, James Barker, a Gentleman, and Henry Puet. These repairing to the Gouernor, and with pleasing insinuations told him, if hee would but allow

them but things necessary, they would build him a boat of two or three tunnes, with a close deck, should goe a fishing all weathers. The Gouernor halfe proud he had brought his men to so good a passe, as he conceiued, to offer themselues to so necessary a work; instantly with all willingnesse furnished them with all things they could desire, and many faire promises to encourage them to performe it with all expedition. Hauing made choice of a place most fit from molestation, they went forward with that expedition, that in a short time she was brought to perfection. By this time, the ship that brought the Gouernor, being ready to depart, he sends a lusty gange to goe fetch this new boat to carry him abroad, but arriuing at the place where she was built, they could heare no more of her, but she was gone the last euening to Sea, to try how shee would saile. Much search and dispute was where this boat should be: but at last they found diuers letters in the cabbins, to this effect, directed to the Gouernor, and other their friends; that their hard and bad vsage was so intolerable, and their hope so small euer again to see their Countrey, or be deliuered from such seruitude, they did rather chuse to put themselues to that desperate hazard to goe for England, in which if they miscarried as it was much to be mistrusted, their liues and bloods should be required at their hands was the cause. A compasse Diall Barker had borrowed of Master Hues, to whom he writ that as he had oft perswaded them to patience and that God would pay them though none did: hee must now be contented with the losse of his Diall, with his own doctrine. Such leasure they found to be merry when in the eye of reason they were marching into a most certaine ruine. The Gouernor being thus satisfied of their escape, extreamly threatened them no less than a hanging, but the stormes of the Ocean they now more feared then him; good prouision by bartering they had got from the ship, where Goodwin in a brauado told the Mariners, though he could not be permitted to goe with them, yet peraduenture he might bee in England before them, whereat the Master and his Mate laughed merrily. But hauing been now under saile three weekes, the winds so favoured them, they felt nothing of what they had cause to feare; then a blustering gale blowing in their teeth, put them to much extremity for diuers daies, then becoming more gentle, away they past prosperously some eight or ten days more, till meeting a French Piccaroune of whom they desired succour, hee like himselfe took from them what he liked leaving them not so much as a crosse-staffe to obserue withal, and so cast them off: their course still they continued till their victual began to fall to the lowest ebbe; and the very knees of their small vessell were halfe hewed away for firewood.

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At last to their infinite ioy they arriued in Ireland, where the Earle of Tomund honorably entertained them, and caused the boat to be hung up for a Monument, and well she might, for shee had sailed more then 3300 miles by a right line thorow the maine Sea, without any sight of land, and I thinke since God made the world, the like nauigation was neuer done, nor heard of. This fortunate Sanders going to the East Indies, in the rifling some ships there tooke, it was his chance to buy an old Chest, for three or foure shillings, but because it wanted a key he repented his bargaine, and would gladly haue sold it again for less. A certaine time it lay tossed to and fro as a thing hee little regarded, but at last hauing little to doe hee broke it open, when hee found a thousand pounds sturling or so much gold as bought him in England a good estate which leauing with his wife he returned again to the East Indies.

The proceedings of Captaine Daniel Tuckar.

The George setting saile three dayes after this escape, the Gouernor seazed and confiscated all that those fugitives left behind them. Within a weeke after returned the Edwin from the West Indies, furnished with figgis, pynes, sugar canes, plantaines, papaues, and divers other plants, which were presently replanted, and since increased into greater numbers, also an Indian and a Negar, and so much ligna vitae as defrayed all the charges. The Gouernor thus busied amongst his plants, making hedges of Fig trees, and Pomgranets, and several diuisions of Palizadoes for the defence of their guarding and keeping their cattel, for in such husbandry qualities he well deserued great commendations. The Adventurers to supply him sent with all speed they could the Hopewell, a small Barke, but an excellent sailer, and in her one Captaine Powell an excellent Mariner, and well acquainted in the Indies where he was to goe trade, after he had landed his passengers in the Summer Isles ; but in his iourney at the Westerne Isles, meeting a Brasile man, hee liked the suger and passengers so well, hee man'd the caruil with his own mene, and continued his course, but bethinking himselfe how this would be entertained at the Summer Isles, hee found such doubts, hee went directly for the West Indies to take time to resolue what to doe ; arriuing there hee met a French rouer, one euery way as cunning as himselfe, but much more treacherous. A great league of kindnesse is soone made betweene them, vpon confidence whereof, Powell and some of the chiefe with him being inuited aboord him, is easily entised, and in the midst of their cups both hee and his company treacherously made prisoners ; and thus was forced to giue him their prise, or hang at the yards arme with all his company. Hauing set them ashore, away goes the Frenchman ; Powels ship being but hard by, presently fetcht them all

aboord, but finding his victuall neere spent, and no hope at all to recouer his prise, set his Portugales on shore, and set saile for the Summer Isles; where safely arriuing, hee declared the whole passage to the Gouernor, lest some other in telling might make it worse, of which the Gouernor seemed well enough to approue.

This Gouernor still spent his time in good husbandry, although some of the snarling sort here in England, whom nothing will please, writ to him he was fitter to be a Gardiner then a Gouernor; some time he spent in digging of a great pond, but that worke proued altogether vnprofitable; about that time was hed the second Assise. The greatest matter passed, was a Proclamation against the spoile of Cahowes, but it came too late, for they were most destroyed before; a platforme he caused to bee erected by Pagits Fort, where a good Fort were very necessary. Captaine Powell not hauing performed his seruice in the West Indies, he conditioned with the Company, is sent thither again by this Gouernor, and thirteene or fourteene of his best men, furnished with all things necessary. In the meane time the Company vnderstanding, that in January, February and March, there are many whales, for which fishing they sent the Neptune, a tall ship well prouided with everything fitting for that purpose. But before she arriued, Captaine Tuckar who had brought also with him most prouisions for that employment, sent three good Shalops to try what could be done, but whether it was the swiftnesse of the whale in swimming, or the condition of the place, certaine it is for all their labour and hazard, they could kill none, though they strucke many.

To begin his second yeere, he called the third Assise, where diuers were punished as their faults deserued: three were condemned to die; two were reprieued, but the third was hanged; the next day there was also a leuy for the repairing of two Forts; but that labour took not such effect as was intended, for want of good directions.

The wonderfull increase and confusion of Rats.

But the great God of heaven being angry at somewhat happened in those proceedings, caused such an increase of silly rats, in the space of two yeers so to abound, before they regarded them, that they filled not onely those places where they first were landed, but swimming from place to place, spread themselves into all parts of the Countrey, insomuch that there was no Iland but it was pestered with them; and some fishes haue beene taken with rats in their bellies, which they caught in swimming from Ile to Ile; their nests they had almost in euery tree, and in most places their burrowes in the ground like conies: they spared not the fruits of the plants, or trees, nor

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the very plants themselues, but ate them vp. When they had set their corne, the rats would come by troupes in the night and scratch it out of the ground. If by diligent watch any escaped till it came to earing, it should then very hardly escape them; and they became noysome euen to the very persons of men. They vsed all the diligence they could for the destroying of them, nourishing cats both wilde and tame, for that purpose; they vsed rats-bane, and many times set fire on the woods, that oft ran halfe a mile before it was extinct; euery man was enioyned to set twelue traps, and some of their own accord haue set neere an hundred, which they euer visited twice or thrice in a night; they also trained vp their dogges to hunt them, wherein they became so expert, that a good dog in two or three houres would kill forty or fifty. Many other deuices they used to destroy them, but could not prevaile, finding them still increasing against them: nay they so devoured the fruits of the earth, that they were destitute of bread for a yeere or two; so that when they had it afterwards, they were so wained from it, they easily neglected to eat it with their meat. Besides they endeauoured so much for the planting Tobacco for present gaine, that they neglected many things might more haue preuailed for their good, which caused amongst them much weakness and mortality, since the beginning of this uermine.

At last it pleased God, but by what meanes it is not well knowne, to take them away; in so much that the wilde cats and many dogs that liued on them, were famished, and many of them leauing the woods, came down to their houses, and to such places where they vse to garbish their fish, and became tame. Some haue attributed the destruction of them to the increase of wild cats, but that is not likely they should be so suddenly increased rather at that time, then foure yeeres before; and the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw some companies of them leave the woods, and slew themselues for want of food. Others by the coldnesse of winter, which notwithstanding is neuer so great there, as with us in March, except it be in the wind; besides the rats wanted not the feathers of young birds and chickens, which they daily killed, and Palmeta mosse to build themselues warme nests out of the wind; as vsually they did; neither doth it appeare that the cold was so mortal to them, seeing they would ordinarily swimme from place to place, and bee very fat even in the midst of winter. It remaineth then, that as God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, so we need not doubt, but that in the speedy increase of this vermine; as also by the preservation of so many of them by such weake meanes as they then enioyed, and especially in the

so sudden remoual of this great annoyance, there was ioyned with and besides the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more mediate and secret worke of God.

About this time Henry Long, with seauen others in an extreame storme were cast away, but three of them escaped. One of them being asked what he thought in the worst of that extremity, answered, he thought nothing but, gallowes claime thy right! and it seames God well heard his prayer, and rewarded his ingratitude; for he was hanged within halfe a yeere after. In that March also fiue men went to Sea, but as yet was neuer heard of, and three more drowned in a boat. By Hilliards house grew a very faire Cedar, which by a thunder clap was rent almost to small shiuers, and a man stood by him, and Samuel Tanton, most fearfully blasted, yet neither they, the house, nor a little childe, yet a pair of racks in the house was all torne to fitters. The Neptune not long after arriuing to fish for whale, her fortune proued no better than the Gouernors, yet some are of opinion, profit might be made by them.

The returne of Mr. Powel from the Indies.

In May they descried foure saile, so that manning all their Forts, they stood two daies in Armes, expecting what they were; at last they found it Master Powel returned from the West Indies in the Hopewell, where missing such trade as he expected, these three Frigots comming in his way, he could not chuse but take them; Meale, Hides and Munition was their lading; Faire weather the Gouernor made with Powell, till he had got all the goods into his own possession, and then called Powell to a strict account for doing such an vnwarantable act; much adoe there was betwixt the taker and receiuer; but Powell was glad to be excused to answer it in England, leauing all hee had taken behinde him in the Iles. The Neptune also returned with him, but noble Powell lost all his pay and pillage for this yeares worke. For which the Company sent for to Tuckar, so that he also lost his part as well as Powell; Notwithstanding, the Gouernor by this meanes being strong in shipping, fitted the Caruil with twelue men, under the command of Edward Waters, formerly spoken of, and sent them to Virginia about such businesse as hee had conceiued. Arriuing there, they obtained some goates, and hogs, and what they could spare, and so returned for the Summer Iles; but whether they could not finde the Iles for want of skill, or beaten off by ill weather, or the ill will they bare the Gouernor, it matters not much; but they bare up again for Virginia, where they all remained, and would returne no more to Summer Iles.

The Gouernor thinking to make some vse of the hides, set some that professed themselues Tanners, to make tryall of their

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skill; but they lost their labours and spoiled the hides. Also he called another Assise concerning a poore fellon called Gabriel, for concealing some Speeches Mr. Pollard and Mr. Rich should vse, tending to the disreputation of the Gouernor, and his iniustice and cruelties; which being brought within the compasse of sedition and mutiny, though a yeere agoe: many were called in question about it, although euery one ordinarily had spoke as much. Yet Gabriel for example sake was condemned to be hanged, and was upon the ladder, but reprieued. The other two, Mr. Pollard and Mr. Rich, were imprisoned, but upon better consideration, the fact seemed so small and ridiculous, vpon their submission they were pardoned and restored to their places (see p. 128).

17. The diuision of the Summer Isles into Tribes, by Master Richard Norwood, Surueyor, 1618.

According to the directions of the Councell and Company, as they had determined by lot, M. Norwood tooke a plot of the Ile, and diuided it with as much faithfulness as he could, assigning to euery Aduenturer his share or proportion, as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to be called the general land, and imployed for publike vses as for the maintenance of the Gouernor, Ministers, Commanders of Forts, Souldiers, and such like; and to this end was assigned S. Georges Iland, S. Davids Iland, Longbridge Iland, Smiths Iland, Coopers Iland, Cony Iland, Nonesuch Iland, part of the maine, and sundry other small Iles. The rest was to be diuided into eight parts, each part to be called a tribe, and to haue his denomination of some principall person that was Aduenturer therein; and accordingly the first Tribe to bee Eastward, was then called Bedfords Tribe, now Hamiltons; the second, Smiths Tribe; the third, Cavendish, now Deuonshires; the fourth, Pembrooks; the fift, Pagits; the sixt, Mansils, now Warwicks; the seuenth, Southampton; the eighth, Sands; in the honours of the Right honorable the Marquis Hamilton, Sir Thomas Smith, the Earle of Deuonshire, the Earl of Pembrooke, the Lord Pagit, the Earle of Warwicke, the Earle of Southampton, and Sir Edwin Sands. Againe each of those Tribes were to be diuided into fifty parts, called shares; and every Aduenturer to haue his shares in these tribes as was determined, by casting lots in England, the manner of it appears by the map, and more largely by his Booke of the Suruay of the Countrey, which is in the Records of the Colony. And then began this which was before as you haue heard; but as an vnsettled and confused Chaos, to receiue a disposition, forme, and order, and become indeed a Plantation.

The names of the Aduenturers, and their Shares in euery Tribe, according to the suruey, and the best information yet ascertained of any of their alterations. [See *ante*, p. 99, for the original list.]

Hamiltons Tribe.

	Shares
James L. Marquis Hamil.	6
Sir Edward Harwood	4
M. John Delbridge	3
John Dike	3
Ellis Roberts	2
Robert Phips	1
Ralph King	1
Quicks assignes	2
William Cannig.	4
William Cannig.	1
William Web	1
John Bernards assig.	2
Elias Roberts, jun.	1
John Gearing	2
Cleophas Smith	2
Robert Earle of Warwicke	4
M. Thomas Couell	3
Greenwels assignes	1
Cley	1
Powlson	2
John Dike	1½
Common land for conueniency	25
M. John Dike	1½
George Thorps assig.	1

2 *Smiths Tribe.*

Sir Dudley Digs assignes	2
M. Richard Edwards	2
William Pane	4
Robert Smith	2
George Barkley assig.	5
Sir Samuel Sands	1
M. Anthony Pennistone	4
Sir Edward Sands	5
Sir Thomas Smith	5
M. Richard More	4
Ad. Brumfield	2
Rob. Johnson, Alderman	5
John Wroth	3
George Smith	4

3 *Deuonshire Tribe.*

M. Anth. Penistone	2
John Dike	1
John Dike	1
John Bernards heires	2
Robert Earle of Warwick	2
M. Francis West	2
Will. Lord Cauendish	5
Will. Earle of Deuonshire	5
Mr. Edw. Luckin	5
Edw. Ditchfield	1
Edw. Ditchfield	4
Will. Nicols	2
Edw. Ditchfield	1
John Fletcher	2
Gideon Delawere	2
Anth. Pennistone	3
Best.	2
Edw. Luckin	2
Richard Rogers	2
Will. Palmer	4

4 *Pembrookes Tribe.*

M. George Smith	4
Gleab land	2
M. Nicholas Hide	1
Sir Lawrence Hide	1
M. Thomas Judwin.	2
Will. Earle of Pembroke	10
M. Richard Edwards	1
M. Harding	1
Richard Edwards	1
Elias Roberts	1
Rich. Edwards	1

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	Shares
Jacobsons assignees	1
John Farrar	1
Nicholas Farrar.	1
Nicholas Farrar.	1
Will. Canning	2
Richard Martin	2
Morris Abbot	2
Rich. Caswell	1
Rich. Caswell	2
Will. Caswell	1
Rich. Edwards	2
Rich. Caswell	1
Rich. Edwards	1
George Sands assignees	2
Will. Paine	2

5 Pagits Tribe.

M. John Chamberlaine	5
Thomas Ayres and Richard Wiseman	4
Rich. Wiseman	1
Will. Lord Pagit	10
M. Will Palmer	4
Bagnell	5
John Bale	1
Wheatley	4
Christop. Barrow	4
John Wodall	1
John Wodall	1
Lewis	2
Owen Arthors assignees	2
George Etheridge	4
Sir Will. Wade	1
M. John Bernards heires	1

6 Warwicks Tribe.

M. Wheatley	2
Cap. Daniel Tuckar	2
M. Will. Felgate	1
Robert Earle of Warwick	5
M. George Smith	5
Sam. Tickner	2
Francis Menell	1
Stephen Sparrow	1
Joseph Man	5
Cap. Daniel Tuckar.	2
M. Elias Moore	1
Doctor Anth. Hunron	2
M. Francis Monerill	1
Rich. Poulson	1
Math. Shephard.	1
George Tuckar	10
Ch. Clithroe	1
George Sivinon	2
Rich. Tomliness.	1
Francis Meverill	1
John Waters	2
Martin Bond	2

7 Southamptons Tribe.

Cap. Dan. Tuckar	4
M. John Britton	1
Rich. Chamberland	3
Leon. Harwoods assig.	1
John Banks	1
Sir Nathanael Rich	12
Robt. Earle of Warwicke.	3
M. Rich. More	6
George Scot, Edward Scot, Antho. Abdy	6
Hen. Earle of Southampton.	4
M. Andw. Broumfield	2
Henry Timbed	2
Sir Tho. Hewet	2
M. Perce	1
Sir Ralph Winwood	2

8 Sandys Tribe.

M. George Barcklies heires	5
Sir Edwin Sands	5
M. Ierom Hidon	10
Thos. Millin and John Cuffe	2

	Shares		Shares
Robert Chamberlaine .	2	M. Robert Gone . .	2
Abr. Chamberlaine .	1	John Delbridge . .	1
George Smith . .	2	John Wroth . .	1
Robert Gone . .	3	John Westes heires .	4
Sir Edw. Sackville . .	1	Richard Chamberlaine	10
Sir John Dauers . .	1		

Touching the common ground in each Tribe, as also the ouer-plus, you may finde that at large in the Book of Surueyes amongst their Records.

Now though the Countrey was small, yet they could not conueniently haue been disposed and well settled, without a true description and a suruey of it ; and againe euery man being settled where he might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their household accordingly ; then they built no more Cabbens, but substantial houses, they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such things as would yield them their fruits in a few moneths, but also such as would affoord them profits within a few yeeres. So that in a short time the Countrey beegan to aspire, and neerely approach vnto that happinesse and prospertie wherein now it flourisheth, &c.

18. A Copie of the Lords Arbitrament concerning Capt. Tucker, Julie 24th, 1619.

24th Julie, 1619. V.P. 205.

According to A Reference from A Court holden for the Somer Islands Companie the 10th of March last past, made unto us William Earle of Pembrook, Henry Earle of Southampton, and William Earle of Devonshire, By and with the Consent of all parties for the decyding of certaine differences concerning A Surplusage of land lying betweene Southampton and Sandis Tribe in the said Somer Islands, estimated to be about seven shares of land. And also touching releife to be given to Bedford Tribe in regard that the land allotted to that Tribe is generally held to be very barren, and not fit and profitable for Plantation as the other Tribes. As likewise for recompence to be given to Capt Daniell Tucker late Governour resident in the said Islands for his service in that Plantation. And in full of such Salarie as the Governour and Companie for the Plantation of the said Islands should give unto him. Wee doe hereby Certifie

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unto the said Governour and Companie, That wee haveing mett about the said Businesse, to us referred, And haveing heard the allegations of all parties any waies interested in the said differences, Doe with one Consent make this resolution and finall agreem[t], ffirst for the said surplusage of land, Wee hould it fitt and convenient, And by the power to us given, Doe accordingly order that the sayd Surplusage of land shall be devided into seven equall parts, whereof the said Capt Tucker shall have Three next adioyning upon Southampton Tribe, together with the house lately by him erected in and upon parte of the said land so to him allotted. The next two parts of the said land shalbe Personage or Gleabe land appropriated to the Church of Southampton Tribe, and for the maintainance of such a preacher as shall be elected to take the care of Southaton Warwicke and Sandis Tribes. And for the other Two parts remayning and lying next Sandys Tribe, Wee order that it belongs indifferently to the Owners of Sandys Tribe, in exchange of Two shares of land bought at their Charge in Pembrook Tribe, for their Personage [Parsonage] or Gleabe land for the Minister of Pembrook and other two Tribes next adioyning. And soe the lymitts of Sandys Tribe to be Ireland on the one side, and the said Two parts of the Surplusage on the other. And for the releife of the owners of Bedford Tribe, Wee order that they shall have Two hundred Akers of the Generall land lying nere unto Tuckers Towne in the said Islands, if it may be conveniently spared from the forts, The Judgment whereof is referred to the Governo[r] Capt Nathaniell Butler and his Counsell in the said Islands. And if they shall thinke it inconvenient to spare the said 200 Acres, Then they shall have 200 Acres in Davyes Island, to be layd out by the sayd Governour and his Counsell, and soe for ever hereafter to be barred from all further demands of recompence of their hard lott, or further addition to their shares in Bedford Tribe.

(Signed) PEMBROOKE.
H. SOUTHAMPTON.

And whereas by the said Arbitram[t] 200 Acres is adiuged in Davies Island for the further reliefe of Bedford Tribe, and the Owners there of feareing it may proove as bad as the rest. It was by the said Owners Consents referred to the Governour to lay it out of the best land in the said Islands, Soe that it lye Altogether of the publique lands.

JOHN FFARRER *Dep.*

EDWARD COLLINGWOOD.

Transcribed out of an ancient Booke of Records extant in the Secretaries Office, And examined the 22[nd] day of Julie 1667. [MS. volume v. p. 205.]

HENRY TUCKER *Secretie.*

19. The proceedings of Captaine Daniel Tuckar (*continued*). [From Smith's 'Virginia.']

But to follow the History; vpon the best plot of ground could be found, the Gouernor prevailed so much with the generalitie, that they built a faire house of cedar, which being done, he appropriated it to himselfe, which occasioned exceeding much distaste. About this time arrived the Diana, with a good supply of men and prouision, and the first Magazin ever seen in those Iles; which course is not so much commended here, as cursed and abhorred by reason of enhansements of all the inhabitants there; six or seuen weeks this ship staied, then hauing towards her fraught thirtie thousand weight of Tobacco; which prouing good, and coming to a lucky market, gaue great encouragement to the Aduenturers to goe lustily forward in their Plantation, and without such successe, there is nothing but grudging and repining. But about the appropriation of this new built house, many bad discontents grew betwixt the oppressed Colony and the Gouernor, especially betwixt him and the Minister, and Lewis, who would neither be feared by threats nor imprisonment, that their malice continued till they met in England, of which the Minister made the cause so plaine, hee very well and honestly it seems, discharged himselfe.

Now in those times of these endlesse vnciuil broiles, two desperate men and a Gentlewoman got into a Boat and thinking to make an escape to Virginia, as appeared by some Letters they left behinde them were neuer more heard on. The very

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next moneth after the like was attempted by six others, so desirous they were to be rid of their seruitude; but their plot being discouered by one of their societie, they were apprehended, arraigned and condemned to be hanged; the next day being led with halters about their necks to the place of execution, one was hanged and the rest reprieved.

The Diana arriuing well in England, for all the infinite numbers of complaints, the Tobacco did help to sweeten all manner of grieuances, yet it bred a distaste in the opinions of so many, they began to thinke of another Gouernor; but for that time it was so qualified by diuers of his friends, they dispatched away the Blessing, which arrived in the Somer Iles. Though their generall Letter was faire and courteous to the Governor, yet by the report of the passengers and diuers particular letters from his friends, it was assured him his cruelty and covetousnesse, for all his pains and industry was much disliked, nor was he like to enjoy his house, and that land he had planted for himselfe, by the extreme oppression of the Comminality. This caused so many iealousies to arise in his conceit, that at last he fully resolued to returne by this ship, that no sooner set sail from England, then they proceed to the nomination of a new Gouernor. Many were presented according to the affections of those that were to giue in their voices, but it chiefly rested betwixt one Captaine Southwell and Mr. Nathaniel Butler, where wee will leaue them a while to the consideration of the court and company. Now Captaine Tuckar hauing instituted Captain Kendall one of the six Gouernors before spoken of for his substitute, returned with his ship directly for England, as well to excuse himselfe of those objections he suspected, as to get assured him the house and land he had allotted for himselfe, lest it might otherwise be disposed of in his absence.

Collected out of their Records by N. B. and the relations of Mr. Pollard, and diuers others. [N. B. is probably Nathaniel Bernard.]

20. The Gouernment of Captaine Miles Kendal, Deputy for Captaine Tuckar. [Smith, *continued*.]

The vnexpected returne of Captaine Tuckar, caused a demurre in the election of the new Gouernor; some perswading these oft changes were so troublesome, dangerous, and chargeable, it were best to continue Captain Kendall; other againe stood for Captaine Tuckar, but during the time of these

opinions, the Giliflower was despatched with a supply. Now I should haue remembered, Tuckar was no sooner out of the harbour; but he met Master Elfred in a ship called the Treasurer, sent from Virginia to trade; by her he writ to his Deputy Master Kendall, to have a care of all things, and beware of too much acquaintance with this ship, which he suspected was bound for the West Indies. Notwithstanding, Elfred receiued what kindnesse the Ile could afford; he promised to reuisit them at his returne; this done, because they would not be gouernlesse when his Deputyship was expired, there was a generall assembly, and by that Election Kendall was confirmed to succeed still Gouernor. Now they began to apply themselues to the finishing some platforme about Smiths Fort, and laying the foundation of a Church to be built of cedar, till the Gillyflower arriued with some priuate letters to Kendall, how he was elected Gouernor of those Iles for three yeeres. During her stay they held their Assises, where for some few suspected facts three were condemned, and the better to terifie the rest, led to the place of execution, but reprieued; diuers of the rest had their faults pardoned, and the Gilliflower set saile for Newfoundland.

The loue and Kindnesse, honesty and industry of this Captaine Kendall, hath been very much commended; by others, somewhat disliked; but an Angell in those imploiments cannot please all men, yet this consideration bred much ill bloud as well here as there, so that the company directly concluded, Captaine Butler should with what expedition they could, goe to be their Gouernor; In the Interim they took the opportunitie of a ship, called the Sea-flower, bound for Virginia, and by her sent a Preacher and his Family,[1] with diuers passengers, and news of a new Gouernor. This bred a great distaste amongst many, that still they should haue new Officers and Strangers for their Gouernors they neuer heard of, and themselves still kept there whether they would or no, without any preferment, no nor scarce any of them their inhabiting, to haue any land at all of their owne, but liue all as tenants, or as other mens poore servants.

About this time came in Captain Kerby with a small Barke from the West Indies, who hauing refreshed himself, was very kindly used by the Governor, and so departed. Not long after a Dutch Frigot was cast awaye upon the Westerne Shore, yet by the help of the English they saued the men, though the ship perished amongst the rocks. A little after one Ensigne Wood being about the loading of a piece by thrusting a pike

[1] Probably Rev. George Stirke, of Southampton Parish.

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into the concauity, grating upon the shot, or somewhat about the powder, struck fire within her and so discharged, but wounded him cruelly and blew him into the Sea, though he was got out by some that stood by him, yet hee died of those wounds. Within two or three daies after, Captaine Elfrod now comes a second time; but of that we shall say more in the Government of Captaine Butler, who presently after arriued with a good supply, and was kindly entertained by Captain Kendall and all the Colony.

From a relation of Tho. Sparks, and diuers others.

Note.—Since the preceding sheets passed through the press the editor has learnt, from the Rev. J. S. M. Anderson's 'Church in the Colonies' (1845), that the clergyman who shared in the sufferings of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, and whose ministerial offices are recorded by William Strachy (see p. 47), was Rev. —— Bucke, afterwards a minister in Virginia. He had been appointed to the expedition by the Bishop of London; and he is identical with the Rev. Richard Bucke, minister of James' Town in 1619. *See* 'The English Colonization of America,' by Edw. D. Neill, p. 113, 1871.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNMENT OF CAPTAIN NATHANIEL BUTLER,

A.D. 1619—1622.

1. General narrative of the Government of Captaine Nathaniel Butler. [From Smith's 'Virginia.']

Captaine Butler being arrived the twentieth of October, 1619, some mutterings there was how to maintaine their election of Captaine Kendall, but better remembering themselves that conceit quickly dissolued. The next day, Kendall, the Ministers, and the Counsell went aboord to salute the new Gouernor, where after they had dined with the best entertainment he could give them; they saw the Redout belonging to the Kings Castle by a mischance on fire, whither he repaired with all the means he could to quench it; but all the platforme and carriages were consumed before their faces, and they could not help it. Two daies after he went up to the Towne, had his commission publikely read, made a short speech to the Company, and so took vpon him the Government. Then presently he begane to repare the most necessary defects: The next moneth came in the Garland, sent from England six or sevin weeks before him; so that being seventeene weekes in her voyage, it was so tedious and grievous to diuers of the Fresh Water Passengers, that such a sicknesse bred amongst them, many died as well sailors as passengers. Hauing taken the best order he could for their release, passed through all the Tribes, and held his first Assise in Captaine Tuckars house at the ouer-plus. Towards the last of this month of Nouemb. there arose a most terrible storme or Hericano, that blew vp many great trees by the roots: the Warwick that brought the Gouernor was cast away, but the Garland rid by her, saued herself by cutting downe her masts; and not long after a second storme, no lesse violent than the first, wherein the Mount, which was a frame of wood built by Master More for a Watch-tower to looke out to

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Sea, was blowne up by the roots, and all that winter crop of Corne blasted; and thus was the new Gouernor welcomed.

2. With the beginning of the new yeere he began his first piece of fortification, vpon a Rocke which flankers the Kings Castle, and finding the ship called the Treasurer starke rotten and unserviceable, hee took nine peices of Ordnance from her to serve other vses. The Garland for want of meanes, could not make her voiage to Virginia as she was appointed; wherefore he entertained her to returne to England, with all the Tobacco they had in the Ile. It was January before she departed, in which time she failed not much to haue been twice cast away. But those strange and vnavoidable mischances, rather seemed to quicken the Governors industry then to dull it. Hauing finished the Church begun by Captain Kendall, with an infinite toile and labour he got three peeces out of the wracke Warwicke. Hauing an excellent Dutch carpenter he entertained of them that were cast away in the Dutch Frigot, hee imploied him in building of Boats, whereof they were in exceeding great want. In February they discovered a tall ship beating too and againe, as it seemed by her working, being ignorant of the coast: some thought her a Spaniard, to view their Forts, which stand most to that part shee so neerely approached, some, English; but the most some Dutch man of Warre; The wind blew so high they durst not send out a Boat, though they much doubted she would be foule of their Rocks, but at last she bore up running for the Sea, and we heard of her no more. That euening a lucky fellow it should seeme he was, that found a piece of Amber-greece of eight ounces, as he had twice before, which bringing to the Governor, he had ready money for the one halfe, after three pound an ounce, according to their order of Court; to encourage others to look out for more, and prevent the mischiefe insueth by concealing of it.

3. Within a few daies after, they descried two Frigots that came close to the shore and sent a Letter to the Governor, writ in Italian, that they were Hollanders had been in the West-Indies, and desired but to arriue, refresh themselves with wood and water, and so be gone. The Governor forthwith sent them to understand, that being thereunder his Majestie of England to command those Iles, he was to carrie himselfe a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies; if therefore he should show a lawful Commission for his being honestly and nobly employed, he and his should be kindly welcome, otherwise they were to adventure at their perills. But his Commission was so good he staied there two moneths, and was so well fitted with Oile and Bacon, they were all glad and happy of this Dutch Captaine Scoutans arrival with many thanks to their old friend

Captain Powell that had conducted them thither; the Colony being exceedingly in great want and distresse, bought the most part of it at reasonable rates, so Captain Scoutan returned to the West Indies, and Captain Powell for his part in the Low Countries. Whilst these things were in action, the Aduenturers in England made many a long looke for their ships; at last the Garland brought them all the newes, but the Tobacco was so spoiled either in the leaking ship, or the making vp, it caused a great suspicione there could none was good come from those Iles; where (were they but perfect in the cure) questionlesse it would be much better then a great quantity of that they sell for Verinas, and many a thousand of it in London hath beene bought and sold by that title.

4. The Governor being cleere of those distractions falls vpon the restoring of the burnt Redout, when he cuts out a large new platforme, and mounts seven great peece of Ordnance vpon new carriages of Cedar. Now amongst all those troubles, it was not the least to bring the two Ministers to subscribe to the Booke of Common Praier, which all the Bishops in England could not doe. Finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, bethought himself of the Liturgy of Gornsey and Jarse, wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at, were omitted. No sooner was this propounded, but it was gladly imbraced by them both, where upon the Governor translated it verbatim out of French into English, and caused the eldest Minister vpon Easter day to begin the vse thereof at S. Georges towne, where himselfe, most of the Councell, Officers and Auditorie received the sacrament; the which forme they continued during the time of his government.[1]

5. Much about this time, in such a faire morning, that had invited many Boats farre out to the sea to fish, did rise such a

[1] This passage in Captain Smith's History has been not a little misunderstood. It has been held to warrant a belief that Captain Nathaniel Butler, by his own authority, abolished in 1620 the worship of the Church of England established in 1612 (see p. 63), and substituted for it what is designated 'a Liturgy' in the Discipline Ecclesiastical of Geneva, as at that time embraced by a majority of the ministers of the Channel Islands. The subject cannot be discussed within the compass of a note. The reader will find in the appendix the grounds on which the Editor founds his belief that Captain Butler, who left England in the summer of 1619—probably in August or September—did no more than make the same concessions to his two ministers as had been made to the ministers of the Reformed Church in Guernsey, in the early part of the same year, by the 'Interim,' or instructions, given by the Crown to the Dean of Guernsey, pending the settlement of the Guernsey canons. These concessions of things which the Puritans 'stumbled at' meet the language of Smith. They were a permission to dispense with the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross in Baptism, and the administering the Lord's Supper to the people kneeling. The writer is much indebted to Professor Montague Burrows for assistance in investigating this question.

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Hericano that much indangered them all, so that one of them with two Boies were driven to Sea and never more heard of. The Ministers thus agreed, a Proclamation was published for keeping of the Sabbath, and all the defective cariages he endeavoured to have renewed, builded a small Boat of Cedar only to go with ores, to be ready vpon any occasion to discover any shipping, and tooke order every Fort should haue the like; also caused numbers of Cedars to be brought from diuers places in flotes, to rebuild the Mount, which with an vnspeakable toile was raised seven foot higher then before, and a Falcon mounted at the foot, to be alwaies discharged for a warning to all the Forts vpon the discouery of any shipping, and this he called Rich Mount. This exceeding toile and labour, hauing no cattle but onely mens strengths, caused many petitions to the Governor, that all those generall works might cease till they had reaped harvests, in that they were in great distresse for victuall: which he so well answered, their own shames did cause them desist from that importunity, and voluntarlie perform as much as hee required.

6. Finding accidentally a little crosse erected in a bye place, amongst a many of bushes, vnderstanding there was buried the heart and intrailes of Sir George Summers, hee resolued to haue a better memory for so worthy a Souldier, then that. So finding also a great Marble stone brought out of England he caused it by Masons to be wrought handsomely and laid ouer the place, which hee invironned with a square wall of hewn stone, Tombe like; wherein he caused to be graven this Epitaph he had composed, and fixed it upon the Marble stone; and thus it was:

In the yeere 1611,
Noble Sir George Summers went hence to heauen;
Whose noble well tri'd worth that held him still imploid,
Gaue him the knowledge of the world so wide.
Hence 'twas by heauens decree, that to this place
He brought new guests, and name to mutual grace.
At last his soule and body being to part,
He here bequeathed his entrailes and his heart.

7. Vpon the sixt of June began the second Assise, that reduced them to the direct forme vsed in England. For besides the Gouernor and Councell, they haue the Bailiffes of the Tribes, in nature of the Deputy Lieutenants of the shires in England, for to them are all precepts and warrants directed, and accordingly answered and respected; they performe also the duties of Justices of Peace, within their limits. The subordinate Officers to these in euery Tribe, are the Constables, Head-borowes, and Church-wardens; these are the triers of the

Tobacco, which if they allow not to be marchantable, is burnt; and these are the executioners of their civil and politicke causes.

8. For points of warre and martiall affaires, they haue the Governor for Lieutenant generall, the Sergeant Major, Master of Ordnance, Captaines of Companies, Captaines of Forts, with their severall Officers, to traine and exercise those numbers under their charge, in martiall discipline.

9. Concerning their Courts for decision of right and iustice, the first, though last in constitution, is their generall assembly; allowed by the state in England, in the nature of a Parliament, consisting of about forty persons, viz. the Governor, the Counsell, the Bailiffs of the Tribes, and two Burgesses of each Tribe chosen by voyces in the Tribe, besides such of the Clergie as the Governor thinks most fit, to be held once a yeere, as you shall more thereof hereafter. The next Court is the Assise or Jayles of deliuerie, held twice euery yeere, in the Christmas, and Whitson weeke, for all criminall offenders, and civil causes between party and party; as actions of debt, trespasse, battery, slander, and the like; and these are determined by a Jury of twelve men, and above them is also a grand Jury to examine matters of greater consequence. The last day of the Assise might also well be held a Court, for hearing the transgressions in matters of Contempt, Misbehaviour towards any Magistrate, riots, seditious speakers, contemners of Warrants, and such like; there are also as occasion shall require, many matters heard by the Governor, or his Officers, and oft justice done in seuerall places, but those are but as daies of hearing, and as preparatives against their Courts, &c.

At this last Assise eighteene were arrained for criminal causes, a number very extraordinary considering the place; but now occasioned by reason of the hard yeere, and the store of ill-chosen new comers; of these some were censured to the whipping post, some burned in the hand, but two were condemned to die, yet the one was reprieved, the other hanged, this done, euery man returned to his home; many trialls they made againe about the Warwicke, but to small purpose, her Ordnance being lashed so fast they could not be vnloosed, till the ropes and decks were rotten, yet some few buttes of beare being flotie they got, which though it had lien six moneths vnder water was very good, notwithstanding the next yeere they recovered five peeces of Ordnance.

10. Vpon the first of August, according to the Companies instructions from England, began the generall assembly at the towne of Saint George, which was the first these Iles ever had; consisting as is said, of the Governor, Councell, Bailiffes, and

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Burgesses, and a Secretarie to whom all bils were presented and by him openly read in the house, also a clerke to record the Acts, being thirty two in all; fifteene of which being sent into England, were by a generall consent received and enacted . . .

[Captain Smith here inserts the titles, and an abstract of the contents of the Acts, which will be found more fully below.]

11. No sooner was this businesse ouer, but the Magazin Ship is discouered, and that night came into the Harbour, but in a very weake and sickly case, hauing cast ouerboard twenty or thirty of her people, and so violent was the infection that the most part of the sailers, as well as passengers, were so sicke, or dismaid, or both, that the Master confessed, had they stayed at the Sea but a weeke longer, they had all perished.—There arrived with this ship divers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their wives and families; but many of them crasie by the tediousnesse of the voyage: howsoever most of them, by the excellent salubrity of the aire, then which the world hath not a better, soane after recouered, yet some there were that died presently after they got ashore, it being certainly the quality of the place either to kill or cure quickly, as the bodies are more or less corrupted. By this ship the Company sent a supply of ten persons for the generality, but of such bad condition that it seemed they had picked the Males out of Newgate, the Females from Bridewell; as the Governor found it his best course, to grant out the women to such as were so greedy of wives, and would needs haue them for better for worse; and the men he placed in the Kings Castle four souldiers. But this bad, weake, sickly supply being dispersed for their best reliefe, by the much employment of his boats in removing them, many of his owne men became infected, so that for some weekes, they were not able to doe him any seruice at all. Strict instructions also they brought for the planting of Sugar canes, for which the Island being rockie and dry, is so unproper, that few as yet have been seene to prosper, yet there are others hold the contrary opinion, that there is rain so ordinarily, the Iles are so moist, as produceth all their plants in such infinite abundance; there is no great reason to suspect this, were it rightly vsed, more then the rest. Seventy thousand weight of Tobacco being prepared towards her fraught, she returned for England.—No sooner was she gone then came in another, sent by the Company and generally well conditioned, but shee failed not much to haue beene caste away amongst those dangerous and terrible rocks; by her came also expresse command they should entertaine no other ships, then were directly sent from the Company;

this caused much grudging, and indeed a generall distraction and exclamation amongst the Inhabitants, to be thus constrained to buy what they wanted, and sell what they had at what price the Magazin pleased, and to debarre true men from coming to them for trade or reliefe, that were daily received in all the harbours in England. So long this Ship stayed going for fraught and wages, the master not caring how long he lay at that rate in a good harbour, the Gouernor was ready to send her away by Proclamation. Thus ended the first yeere of the government of C. Butler.

12. With the first of the second yeere were held the Assises, where all the Bailiffs were fined for not giving a beginning to the building of the bridges; there was also an order to restraine the excessive wages all handicraftsmen would haue: and that the Church-wardens should meet twice a yeere, to haue all the presentments made perfect against the Assises. The Assises done, all the ablest men were trained in their armes, and then departed to their own homes. The towne thus cleered, he made certaine new carriages for some demy Culverings, and a large new storehouse of Cedar for the yeerely Magazines goods; finished Warwicks Fort begun by Master Moore, and made a new platforme at Pagits Fort, also a faire house of lime and stone for the Townes-house. The three bridges appointed by the generall assembly, was followed with such diligence, though they were then an hundred, or an hundred and twenty foot in length, hauing the foundation and arches in the Sea, were raised and accomplished, so that man or beast with facilitie might passe them.

13. At Whitsunday was held the fourth generall Assise at Saint Georges, when were tryed twenty severall causes; foure, or fiue were whipped or burnt in the hand for breaking of houses: also an order was made, that the party cast in the trial of any cause should pay to euery of the Jurors fourpence; moreover, that not past ten leaves at the most should grow vpon a plant of Tobacco, and that also in the making it vp, a distinction should diligently be observed of two kinds, a better and a worse; then they built a strong stone house for the Captaine of the Kings Castle and corps du guard; and repaired what defects they could finde in the platformes and carriages.

14. Captaine Powell so oft mentioned having been in the West Indies for the States of Holland, came to an anchor within shot of their ordnance, desiring admittance for wood and water, of which he had great need, but the Governor would not permit him, so he weighed and departed, whereat the Company were so madded, it was not possible to constrain them to cease their exclamations against the Companies inhibition, till they

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weary with exclaiming; But still for their better defence, not thinking themselves sufficiently secure, having finished two new platformes more, arrived the Magazin Ship, but her Master was dead, and many of the Passengers, the rest for most part were sicke; and withall, a strange and wonderfull report of much complaint made against the Governor to the Company in England, by some of them returned in the last yeeres shipping: but it was eight days before she could get in by reason of ill weather, being forced again to Sea; so that time they kept every night continually great fires, she might see the Ile as well by night as by day; but at last she arrived, and he plainly vnderstood, he had more cause a great deale to looke for misconstruction of all his service then an acknowledgement, much lesse a recompence any better then his predecessors; but it is no new thing to requite the best desert with the most vildest of ingratitude.

15. The very next daies night after the arrival of the Magazin ship, newes was brought the Governor by a dismaied Messenger from Sands his Tribe, that one hundred Spaniards were landed in that part, and diuers ships discovered at Sea, whereupon he presently manned the Forts, and instantly made thitherward in person with twentie men, determining as he found cause to draw together more strength by the way. Being got thither by the breake of day, instead of an enemy which he expected, he met onely with a company of poor distressed Portugals and Spaniards, who in their passage from Carthagena in the West Indies, in consort with the Spanish fleet of Plait, by the same storme, that had indangered the Magazin ship, lost theirs upon those terrible Rocks, being to the number of Seventy persons, were strangely preserved; and the manner was thus,

About Sunne-set their ship beating amongst the Rocks, some twenty of the Sailers got into the Boat with what treasure they could, leauing the Captaine, the Master, and all the rest to the mercy of the Sea. But a Boy not past fourteene yeeres of age that leaped after to haue got into the boat, missing that hope, it pleased God he got upon a chest adrift by him, whereon they report he continued two daies, and was driuen neere to the cleane contrary part of the Ile, where he was taken up neere dead, yet well recovered. All this night the ship sticking fast, the poor distressed in her the next day spying land, made a raft, and were those gaue the alarum first ashore about three of the Clock in the afternoon,—The morning after about seven of the Clock came in the Boat to a place called Mangrove Bay; and the same day their Carpenter was driven ashore vpon a planke neere Hog-Bay. There was a Gentlewoman that had stood wet up to the middle upon the raft from the ship to the shore, being big with childe; and although this was

upon the thirteenth of September, she tooke no hurt, and was safely delivered of a Boy within three daies after. The best comfort could be giuen them in those extremities they had, although some of the baser sort had beene rifling some of them before the Governors arrival: Also the Spanish Captaine and the Chiefe with him, much complained of the treachery of his men to leave him in that manner, yet had conveyed with them the most of the money they could come by, which he easily missed; whereupon hee suddenly caused all them he accused, to be searched, and recouered to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds sturling, which he delivered into the Captaines hands, to be imploied in a general purse towards their generall charge: during their stay in the Iles, some of the better sort, nine or ten weekes dieted at his owne table, the rest were billited amongst the Inhabitants at four Shillings the weeke, till they found shipping for their passage, for which they paied no more then the English paid themselves; and for the passage of diuers of them the Governor was glad to stand bound to the Master; some others that were not able to procure such friendship, were so constrained to stay in the Iles, till by their labours they had got so much as would transport them: and thus they were preserued, releeved, and delivered.

16. In the moneth insuing arrived the second ship, and she also had lost her Master, and divers of her passengers; in her came two Virginian Women, to be married to some would haue them, and after they were converted and had children, they might be sent to their Country and kindred to civilise them.[1] Towards the end of this moneth came in the third ship with a small Magazin, having sold what she could, carried the rest to Virginia, and neuer did any of those passengers complaine either of their good diet, or too good usages at Sea; but the cleane contrary still occasioned many of those extremities. The fift of Nouember the damnable plot of the powder treason was solemnized, with praises, Sermons, and a great Feast, whereto the Governor invited the Chiefe of the Spaniards, where drinking the King's health, it was honored with a quick volley of small shot; which was answered from the Forts with the great Ordnance, and then againe concluded with a second volley of small shot; neither was the afternoone without musike and dancing, and at night many huge bone-fires of sweet wood.

The Spaniards to expresse their thankfulnesse at their departure, made a deed of gift to the Governor of whatsoever he could recover of the wracked ship; but the ship as they went out came so dangerously upon a Rocke, that the poor Spaniards were so dismaied, swearing this place was ominous

[1] These were two damsels that had attended Pocahontas to England in 1616. See E. D. Neill, 'English Colonization of America,' p. 87.

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unto them, especially the women, that desired rather to goe ashore and die howsoever, than adventure any further in such a labyrinth of dangers, but at last she got cleare without danger, and well to England; the other went to Virginia, wherein the Governor sent two great chests filled with all such kinds and sorts of Fruits and Plants as their Ilands had; as Figs, Pomgranats, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar-canes, Plantanes, Potatoes, Papawes, Cassado roots, red Pepper, the Prickell-Peare, and the like. The Ships thus dispatched, hee goeth into the maine, and so out to Sea to the Spanish wracke. He had beene there before presently after her ruine, for neuer had ship a more sudden death, being now split in peeces all vnder water, He founde small hope to recover anything save a Cable and an Anchor, and two good Sacars; but the wind was so high hee was forced to returne, being ten miles from the shore, onely with three murderers, which were knowne to be the same Captaine Kendal had sold to Captaine Kerby, whose ship had been taken by two men of warre of Carthagena, the most of his men slaine or hanged, and hee being wounded, died in the woods. Now their Pilot being at this service, got thus those three Murderers to their ship, and their ship thus to the Bermudas, as the Spaniards remaining related to the Governor and others.

17. Hauing raised three small Bulwarkes at Southamptons Fort, with two Curtaines, and two Rauilings, which indeed is onely the true absolute peece of fortification in the Iles; Christmas being come, and the prefixed day of the Assises; diuers were whipped and burnt in the hand, onely three young boys for stealing were condemned, and at the very point of hanging reprieved. The Governor then sent his Lieutenant all over the maine to distribute Armes to those were found most fit to vse them, and to giue order for their randezvous, which were hanged up in the church. About this time it chanced a pretty secret to be discouered to preserve their Corne from the fly, or weavell, which did in a manner as much hurt as the rats. For the yeere before having made a Proclamation that all Corne should be gathered by a certaine day, because many lazy persons ranne so after the Ships to get Beere and Aquavitae, for which they will give anything they haue, much had been lost for want of gathering, This yeare having a very faire crop, some of the Inhabitants, none of the best husbands, hastily gathered it for feare of the penaltie, threw it in great heaps into their houses unhusked, and so let it lie four or five months, which was thought would haue spoiled it; where the good husbands husked it, and with much labour hung it up, where the flies did so blow on it, they increased to so many weavels, they generally complained of great

losse; but those good fellowes that neuer cared but from hand to mouth, made great boasts, that not a graine of theirs had been touched nor hurt, there being no better way to preserve it then by letting it lie in its huske, and spare an infinite labour formerly had been vsed. There were also very luckily about this time found out divers places of Fresh water, of which many of the Forts were very destitute, and the Church-wardens and Side-men were very busie in correcting the prophaners of the Sabbath, Drunkards, Gamesters, and such like. There came also from Virginia a small Barke with many thanks for the presents sent them; much aquavitae, Oile, Sacke and Bricks they brought in exchange of more Fruits and Plants, Ducks, Turkies and Limestone, of which she had plenty, and so returned. During the aboad of the stay of this ship, the marriage of one of the Virginia maides was consumated with a husband fit for her, attended with more then one hundred guests, and all the dainties for their dinner could be provided; they made also another triall to fish for Whales, but it tooke no more effect then the former; this was done by the master of the Virginia ship that professed much skill that way, but hauing fraughted his ship with Limestone, with 20,000. weight of Potatoes, and such things as he desired, returned for Virginia. . .

18.[1] . . A desperate fellow being to be arraigned for stealing a Turkey, rather than he would endure his triall, secretely conveyed himself to sea in a little Boat, and never since was heard of, nor is he ever likely to be, without an exceeding wonder, little lesse than a miracle. In June they made another triall about the Spanish wracke, and recovered another Sacre and a Murderer, also he caused to be hewed out of the maine rocke a pair of large Staires for the convenient landing of goods and passengers, a worke much to the beauty and benefit of the towne. With twenty chosen men and two excellent divers, the Governor went himself to the wracke Warwick, but they could recover but one murderer, from thence he went to the Sea Adventure, the wracke of Sir George Summers, the hull through two or three fathoms in water, they found vnperished and with much a doe weighed a Sacre, her sheat Anchor, divers barres of Iron and pigs of Lead, which stood the Plantation in very great steade. Towards the end of July he went to seeke for a wracke they reported lay under water with her hatches spiked vp, but they could not finde her, but from the Spanishe wracke lay there by, they weighed three faire Sacres more, and so returned through the Tribes to Saint Georges; some were also employed to seek out beds of Oisters for Pearle, some they found, some

[1] Smith has here a revolting and incredible story concerning an offence for which two men were executed at the succeeding Assize, held about June 1620.

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seed Pearle they got, but out of one little shell above all the rest they got about 120. small Pearle, but somewhat defective in their colour.

19. The time of Captaine Butlers government drawing neare an end, the Colony presented vnto him divers grievances, to intreat him to remember to the Lords and company in England, at his returne; also they appointed two to be ioyned with him, with letters of credence to solicet in their behalfe those grievances following: First, they were defrauded of the food of their soules; for being not fewer than one thousand and five hundred people, dispersed in length twenty miles, they had at that present but one Minister, nor neuer had but two, and they so shortned of their promises, that but onely for meere pity they would have forsaken them. Secondly, neglected in the safety of their liues by wants of all sorts of munition. Thirdly, they had been censured contrary to his Maiesties Lawes, and not allowed them the benefite of their booke as they are in England, but by Captaine Butler. Fourthly, they were frustrated of many of their covenants, and most extremely pinched and undone by the extortion of the Magazin, for although their Tobacco was stinted but at two shillings sixpence the pound, yet they pitched their commodities at what rate they pleased. Fifthly, their fatherless children are left in little better condition then slaves, for if their parents die in debt, their children are made as bondmen till the debt be discharged; these things being perfected, there grew a great question of one Heriott for plotting of factions and abusing the Governor, for which he was condemned to lose his eares, yet he was used so favourably he lost but the part of one in all.

20. By this time it being growne past the wonted season of the comming in of Ships from England, after a generall longing and expectation, especially of the Governor, whose Commission being neere vpon expiration, gaue him cause to wish for a meane of deliuerance from so troublesome and thanklesse an imploiment as he had hitherto found it, a saile is discouered, and long it was not before shee arrived in the Kings Castle-Harbour; this Barke was set out by two or three private men of the Company, and hauing landed supplies was to goe for Virginia; by her the Governor received certaine advertisements of the carriage and behaviour of the Spaniards, which he had releived as you have heard the yeere before; that quite contrary, both to his merit, their vow, and his owne expectation, they made clamours against him, the which being seconded by the Spanish Ambassadour caused the State to fall in examination about it; whereupon having fully cleared their ingratefulnesse and impudency, and being assured of the choice of a successor that was to be expected within five or six weekes; hee

was desirous to take the opportunity of this Barke and to visit the Colony in Virginia, in his returne for England, leaving the government to Captaine Felgat, Captaine Stokes, Master Lewis Hewes, Master Nedom, and Master Ginner, but now his time being fully expired, and the fortifications finished, viz. the Kings Castle wherein were mounted vpon sufficient Platformes sixteene peece of ordnance: In Charles Fort two; in Southampton Fort five; betwixt which and the castle passeth the channell into the Harbour, secured by three and twenty peeces of good artillery to play upon it. In Cowpers Ile is Pembrocks Fort, where is two Peeces. The Channell of Saint Georges is guarded by Smiths Fort, and Pagits Fort, in which is eleven peece of ordnance. Saint George towne is half a league within the Harbour, commanded by Warwicks Fort, where are three great peeces, and on the wharfe before the Governors house eight more, besides the warning Peece by the Mount, and three in Saint Katherines; so that in all there are ten Fortresses, and two and fifty peeces of ordnance sufficient and serviceable; their forms and situations you may see more plainlier described in the map; and to defend those, he left one thousand five hundred persons with neere a hundred Boats, and the Ile well replenished with store of such fruits, provisions and Poultry, as is formerly related; yet for so departing and other occasions much difference hath betweene him and some of the company, as any of his Predecessors, which I rather wish were reconciled, then to be a reporter of such unprofitable dissentions.

For

> Till trechery and faction, and auarice be gone,
> Till envy and ambition, and backbiting be none,
> Till periury and idlenesse, and iniury be out,
> And truly till that villany the worst of all that rout;
> Vnlesse those vises banisht be, what euer Forts you haue,
> A hundred walls together put will not haue power to saue.

21. A Catalogue of the Martiall Officers in the Somer Islands during Captain Butler's time, w^th^ theire entertainments. Cir. 1620.

Martiall Officers at the Towne (St. George's).

Inpr Capt^n^ Robert Ffelgate Leiutenant generall of the Martiall Affaires & Captaine of the Governo^rs^ Company	Men allowed him by the Company
Senior Woodward & Capt^n^ of the Guard	His ffee 200^lb^ of Tobacco allowed by the Governor

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Thomas Buckley leiutenant of the Governors Company		200l of Tobacco yearly allowed by the Governor
Henry Ramsay leiutenant to the Captaine of the Guard		100l of Tobacco yearly out of the Governors purse
Thomas Nix Ensigne to the Governors Company		50l of Tobacco from the Governor
Jacob Clarke Edw Brangman	Serieants	50l of Tobacco apeece yearlly from the Governr
Thomas Attowell provost Marshall		Allowed one man and a Negro woman besides the ffees of his place
William Powell Joseph Goodfaith	Corporalls	40l of Tobacco apeece yearely out of the Governors purse
Tho Higgs Gunner of the Towne and Warwicke fforts		50l of Tobacco yearly by the Governor & corne.
The Guard beeing Twentie in number: allowed tenn pounds of Tobacco yearly by the Governor		200 lb of Tobacco

Joseph Goodfaith William Harding	Smiths	2	At the Towne who wrought upon all occasions for the Irone worke belonging to the Carriadges, to make ffishinghookesand the like, paied by the Governor according to theire yearely earnings
Thomas Samuell	Carpenter	1	Resident at the Towne hired by the Governor for 30lb of Tobacco yearely
John Mills		1	The keeper & looker unto the Cattle paide yearely by the Governor 40 lb of Tobacco

Thomas Hill Hughe Treherne	2	ffishermen for the aforesaide officers & generall men, belonging alsoe to y^e^ Governors boate and by him paied yearely 50^lb^ of Tobacco apiece
Stephen Stephenson John Sealer William Higgs William Harding (not free)	Sawyers 4	Who wrought continually for the use of the carriages for the ordinance platformes and the like occasions about publicke boats & were paid by the Governor upon his priuate expenses according to their yearly Earnings
Nathaniell Thatcher John Sparling John Kindred Thomas Brookes Thomas Kelly John Childley Thomas ffells	7	Colony people who wrought for themselues & to raise meanes towards the payment of the publicke officers and artificers before mentioned w^ch^ for the most parte fell out shorte and was of force to bee supplyed by the Govern^rs^ private expenses
Charles Morgan Morgan Guin Richard Apowne Robert Dubler Raph Gardiner John Pitt Henry Holland William Bodie		Colony people who wrought for themselues and the Governor Captain Nathaniell Butler being the whole number, which (without the breach of the Companies orders & graunts and without doing wrong & injury to others) hee could find here to raise his perticuler Entertainm^t^ Althoughe he had p.mise of 32 men for his owne p.ticuler and an order of Courte for the confirmation thereof

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22. A Proclamacon for the observacon of the Sabaoth day. By Captain Butler. 20 March, $16\frac{19}{20}$.

Being credibly informed that bothe at St Georges and generally throughout the whole mayne vaine prodigall & idle persons doe contynually vse to play at dise and cardes, and such vnlawfull games vppon the Sabaoth daye in the tyme of Divyne service. And that diuers greedy and covetous men have byn knowne to sett their servants to the clereing of ground planting of corne and such like worke vpon the same dayes and tymes, to the great prophanacon of that sacred daye w^{ch} God hath set aparte for himselfe whereby his anger is and maye be p.voked against vs to the further provokeinge of his judgement against vs vntill we be consumed from the face of the Earthe. Theis are therefore to geve notice to all psons of what estate or condicon soeu^{r} inh.iting in theis Islands that whosoeu^{r} he be that vseing the saide badd and vnlawfull practizes, shall hereafter be seen taken and sufficient proof made against him, for his firste offence he shall be punished with 2 dayes ymprisonm^{t} in Irons and a fyne of ten pounds of Tobacco, for the second offence with 14 dayes ymprisonment and twenty pounds of Tobacco for a fyne of the w^{ch} fynes one half shalbe distributed to the Informer, thother half towards the repairing and building of churches And if any one after those two warneings shalbe found to remayne obstinate and to psevere and continue in the saide bad and vnchristian courses, he shall receive further p.ishm^{t} as shall be thought fitt, and be dealt withall as a mutineer and rebellious pson deserves And further theis are to charge and comand all bailifs of Tribes Churchwardens or Elders and all other inferio^{r} officers that they dilligently & carefully looke after and make search for all offend^{rs} in this kynde, and having found them, to bring them out to Justice And if any Bailif or other officer shalbe found to neglect or to wynke at any of the offende^{rs} and to conceale and keep their counsells, that then the saide Bailif or Officer shalbe deprived of his place vmprisoned and fyned at the pleasure of me the Gou^{e}no^{r} And this proclamacon they the said Bailifs and Church wardens, are to publishe vpon the next sabbaoth daye after the receipt hereof at morneing prayer before all the people. And soe to fix it vp in some emynent and high place of the Churche that all men may reade and knowe it St Geo 20 Martij 1619

23. All such actes and lawes, as well penall statutes as others Acts as were passed and enacted during the whole session of the first generall Assembly held at St Georges in the Somer Islands begun vpon the first day of August A° Dni 1620 and in the first year of the Government of Captain Nathanyell Butler. [The MS. of the Laws being in many places defective, has been corrected by a copy in the British Museum, of which the above is the title. It differs verbally, as does the text, from the Record in Bermuda, but in unimportant particulars only.]

(1) An act against the vniust sale and lettinge out to hire *of apprentices* and other servants.

Whereas diuers planters of Tobacco, Inhabiting within thes Ilands, having committed unto there trust by there undertakers in England, certayne servants, and apprentices to be placed and settled uppon their shares, the one halfe of their labors to redoun^e^ to the benifitt of the undertaker, th'other to the planter It hath bene found an user practise of some of the said planters, to let out to hyre the said apprentices unto straingers, and many tymes to make sale of there whole tyme for some certayne Terme, and certayne price, w^th^out the knowledge and Contrary to the Intention of the said undertaker ; wherebye yt is conceaved that dammage may ensue to the said undertaker as well by a secret Concealment of that halfe of the hyre, wh. is to be receaued for the said servant so lett out, and which ought to belong to the undertaker (the Bailiff of the Tribe in that case not being able to discouer the deceit) as also by a lower improuement of his labor than otherwise might be. ffor remedye and redresse of w^ch^ said abuse and wronge, It is fullye Consented unto and enacted by the power and authoritye of this p.sent generall assemblie (with a Reserved Expectance of the confirmation thereof by some greate quarter Court of the Aduenturers in Englande beinge a clause and reference at all tymes. And in all other the Acts and statutes understood as inserted and submitted unto.) That from hence forward no servant or apprentice sent over by any undertaker from England be otherwise bestowed and imployed in any place and busines w^t^souer than according to the intentions & true meaninge of the undertaker ; unlesse by the leave and approbation of the said undertaker, deliuered and giuen in writing, under his hand it be found by him otherwise agreed uppon, and allowed

The Breach hereof is by the authoritie aforesaid subiected

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under the penalty of one hundred pounds of Tobacco for euerye such said Offence, which is to be levyed of the goods and chattels of any person, or psons soe offending. And to be distributed and made over to the use of the undertaker, who hathe sustayned the wronge and dammage. It is also (upon the consideration of the inconuniences that may otherwise ensue) enacted and decreed that no seruant or apprentice in these Islands be tollerated & suffered to take charge & command of any familie by way of halfinge or otherwise until he attayne unto the full age of Twentye and one years.

Provided alwayes that this act extend not to the p^{e}judice of anye such inhabitant or planter here as hath or may hereafter haue any s^{e}vents or apprentices pperlie soe his owne, as that his undertaker can noe waye make anye due p^{e}tence claim or interest in the said servants, in wch case it shall be lawful for him to dispose and order him accordinge to the p.ticular condition receaued betwixt them two, as beinge in the nature of his owne pper goods.

(2) An act concerning the disposing of aged, disseased, and impotent persons.

In respect, that there can be found noe greater disease & canker to a new setled plantacon than the stuffinge yt wth idle and unprofitable persons whose bellies for the most pte also are extraordinarylie crauinge and there mouthes as Ravenous, and that by the unheedfulle and carelesse choyce of some undertakers in England (who this waye catch at all they meete) there haue by some late importacons diuers such bene throwne in and forced upon us, and more may still be euerye day expected not onlie to the hindrance of those that soe take them up but also to the great disturbance of orderlie Gouernment, and the generall slackinge iff not chokinge of the growthe of this hopefull Plant: To preuent the like inconuniences for tyme to come, and by way of caveat to such as haue formerlye both wronged themselues and these Islands by their improvidence this waye

It is enacted and concluded by the full consent & authority of this p^{e}sent Generall Assemblye that from hence forward (begininge psently after the departure of the next Magazine shipp from these Islands) all such ouer aged disseased and impotent psons as being thus sent ouer unto us, shalbe found by a due & orderlie viewe taken of there p.sons to be utterlye unable to followe there labors, and thereby uncapable also to raise any comoditie or benifitt for there undertakers. And soe are to rest and remayne here as drones & horsleaches

liuinge upon the sweate and blood of other men. That all such soe asserted and soe disposed as aforesaid shalbe p^esently shipped backe againe unto the place from whence they came. And that at the only charge of those that sent them, or ells to be maynteyned here upon there land. And in the meane tyme to be freed from the paym^t of all such supplies as they have receaued from there said undertakers, That soe hereafter greater care may be had in their choyce and the plantacon deliuered from soe untymelye a burden.

(3) An act for the necessarye manninge of the Kings Castle.

Whereas it is but a vague worke and Idle hope to build or relye upon the best peeces of fortification in the world unless a reasonable sufficiencye of hands by able men be destinated and selected to manne & manage them. And in respect of the verye greate and extreame defects in this kind that the fforts of the Islands generally And in especiall those at the Gurnetts head, haue hitherto laboured under and are yet found to haue, upon Consideration hereof and for future p^evention of the manye & important dangers that may hereupon ensue: It is by a verye generall consent concluded and enacted by the power and authoritye of this p^esent generall Assemblie that from henceforward twelve able and sufficient men be wth all possible speed found out and appointed to make there daylie and continuall Residence (in the nature of a Garrison) at the Kinges Castle and that for there foode and p.uision there be thirtie Thowsand Eares of Corne yearly supplyed out of the mayne. And for their entertaynm^t One thousand pounds of Tobacco euerye year raised of from the Tribes, the levye thereof to be rateablye made accordinge to the quantity of Tobaccoe made in euerye Tribe and (in respect of the dissabillitye of some tribes that way and the abilitye of others) not after the number of the shares And this charge is to be equally distributed betweene the undertaker in England and the Planter here and soe to be taken out of the lumpe of euerye mans croppe accordinge as shalbe bye the quantity and waight pportioned and rated.

Conserng the alouan^e to the Castle Souldiers

And to p^event that this annual charge and leavye thus raised, loose not the intended ayme by being unprofitablee employed and bestowed. It is further ordayned by the power and authoritye aforesaid, that these twelve men thus placed and entertayned be enioyned and compelled to apply themselves by all meanes to the skill of manageing of greate Ordinance, the making of themselues Gunners and souldiers. And the keep-

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inge a contynuall watche both daye and night by turnes in looking out to sea as also that the said number of twelve able and sufficient men be always kept full, and supplyed, upon all occasions either of death or depture.

(4) An act agaynst the makinge up of rotten and unmerchantable Tobacco.

In regard that the greate quantitye of bad rotten & unmerchantable Tobacco wch hath of late bene made up wthin these Islands by some negligent and wretched hands and exported into England hath much discredited and caused an ill R.port of the Tobacco in generall, abated the pryce of that wch was good and thereby discouraged both the forward undertaker and the painfull planter to the incident damage and danger of the whole plantacon It is therefore for the redresse of this abuse for future tymes concluded and enacted by authoritye and power of this present generall Assemblie that the Baylife of euerie Tribe be enioned upon the penaltye & forfeiture of one hundred pounds of Tobacco for euerye such default to psent unto the Governo^{r} yearlye towards the end of the Tobacco harveste The names of foure men of his Tribe being of honest fame and sufficient skille out of w^{ch} number the Governo^{r} is to make choyce of two, and to cause them to be sworne by the Bayliffe in an othe conceiued for that purpose whose office and dutye shalbe, that (accompanyed with the Bayliffe) they pass through the whole Tribe from house to house at the fittest and duest tyme for that seruice and intent, and soe take a generall, strickt, and due vewe and tryall of all new tobacco made up for that yeare of all which soe vewed and tryed whatsover they shall find to be rotten trash and unvendible ware to be instantlye burned at the owners dore

And further it is concluded and enacted that what plant or tobacco maker soeu^{r} he be, be he either halver or otherwise, inhabitinge & dwellinge within these Islands that shall either refuse to showe his tobacco beinge thereunto required by the said Bayliffe & Tryers, or conceale or hyde away any pte or portion thereof, that for the said offence & contempt (beinge instly p.ved ag^{t} him) he shall forfeit and utterlye loose all that quantitye & croppe of Tobacco which was to belong unto him for his pte & share that harvest, th'one halfe thereof to be bestowed in publique works, th'other on th'informer & ouer & aboue that he endure & suffer three monthes imprisonment without bayle or mainprize.

(5) An act concerninge the makinge and mayntenance of Publique Bridges.

Whereas the whole and uniu^{r}sall bodye of these Islands put together consist of divers small broken peeces of drye land seuered one from another by certayne narrow breaches and inlets of sea whereby those people like wyse, and psons w^{che} dwell and inhabit upon them become thereby seuered also and cut of from all certayne repayre foote conveyance and union of themselues one with another, be yt either upon any allarme taken from the attempts of a foraigne enemie or any civill or private affayre so that they are forced for this purpose to a continuall use of boats w^{ch} require many hands and sometimes also, (even wth them) are necessarily to attend many dayes for wind and weather, to the much distraction of them from their labor at home, and hindrance of there affaires abrode, so that the whole plantation continually receaueth hereby much hurt and damage

Upon due respect for the redresse of the said inconvenience It is by a genāll consent fully concluded and enacted by the power and authoritie of this p^{e}sent generall assemblie That one sufficient bridge for foot passage be made at the narrow of Somersett alias Sands his Tribe and a second of the like sufficiencye and for the same purpose be framed from Harrington Tribe to Cunny Island, [Coney?] as also that the bridge wch is already erected at the fflatts ouer the mouth of the little sound be made more substantiall, and that all these said bridges be made up, perfected, and from tyme to tyme continually maintayned at and upon the generall charge of the undertakers and planters equally divided betwixt them, and this soe necessarye worke to take its beginninge at the feast of all Saints next ensueing in this present yeare 1620. And soe to be continued and held on untill yt shalbe fully accomplished & ended.

(6) An act for the continuall supplie of resident Corne in the fforts.

In Regard that there can be nothing more needfull than that there be always some convenient quantitye of resident victuall in the fforts That soe the people who upon all sudden attempt of a foraigne enemie are especially to repayre thither may therewth be nourished and fedd. The w^{ch} said sufficiency of corne having by the care and providence of a former Govern^{r} bene exacted & received so that there was for some

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yeres past a resonable allowance continually there layde up in store, and whereas it was found that at the coming in unto us of Captain Nathanell Butler now Govern^r by the expense (not to say wastes and misbestowing) of that one yere before his arrivall; the said allowance of victuall in store was so exhausted and drawn out as the said forts generally were voyd and wholly emptied of soe important and necessarye a provision.

This psent generall assemblie taking due notice and respect of the dangers that may by defect hereof ensue to the plantacon in generall, by yts full consent power and authoritie hath concluded & enacted that a new supplye of thirtye thousand eares of corne be yerely raised out of the mayne. And be consigned into the hands of the Governor to be by him disposed of and distributed unto the said fforts as he shall find yt fittest, and there to be carefully continued & p^eserved p.tly to the end and purpose aforesaid, and ptly to the use & behoofe of such workemen & labourers as shall or may upon occasion be called out and comanded to some publique service & imployment either in the said fforts or elsewhere and to no other use or uses whatsoever Provided alwayes that all and everye suche remainder of the said thirty thousand eares which at the yeres end shall be found unspent and unbestowed in the said imployment shall upon the bringing in of the new Corne w^che is likewise by the authoritye aforesaid enioyned euery yeare to be donne either at the Somer harvest or winter or bothe, be (uppon demaund) rendred and restored to such as bringe in the said new, that is to say to everye one soe bringinge in a just & ratable quantity and proportion.

(7) An Act for the makinge of high wayes & ag^t the goeinge ouer mens grounds.

Whereas it hath bene over long a generall practize in these Islands to make a comon and ordinarye passage over other mens grounds the w^ch being sometymes sett with corne and sometymes planted with Tobacco haue therebye receiued much damage & spoyle the pties offending upon Reproof growinge euerye day more and more insolent and insultine by reason that hitherto they have found noe prohibition hereof nor provision ag^t them.

It is therefore by way of redresse of this and many other ills that may here upon ensue p.uided and enacted by the power & Authoritie of this present generall assemblie that from henceforward noe pson or psons whatsoever (being private men and not publique officers) shall p^esume to walke ouer or passe thorough any mans grounde plott of Tobaccoe or pieces of

corne where no high way or comon path lyeth, unlesse (being so found) they can and doe deliver some necessarye and iust cause and occasions enducing & enforcing them thereunto, and this to be iff the delinquent be a privye man of a familye or halfer, upon the penaltye of euerye severall breache hereof of tenn pounds of Tobacco to be levyed to the use of the ptye wronged, and yf it be but an apprentice or servant to be p.sently carryed to the Bayliffe or constable of the Tribe and by him to be castigated and whipt, and to the intent to cutt off all p.tences & excuses in this case. It is also enacted by the power and authoritye aforesaid That whereas there is already a sufficient path made from the narrows of Somersett unto the further end of Warwicke tribe that that path be maynteyned and kept by the inhabitants of Sands his Tribe, their pte by the Inhabitants of the ouerplus, their pte by the inhabitants of Southampton Tribe their pte and by the inhabitants of Warwicke tribe their pte As also that there be a sufficient path made all along the south side thorough out euerye Tribe at the pticular and pper charges of euerye said Tribe, that any such path is to pass through and soe to be sufficiently kept & maynteyned And that from Tuckers Towne to the Kings Castle a conuenient path to be made and kept by a generall hand as likewise that all other crossepathes and necessarye highe wayes be p^{e}serued and maynteyned by the Inhabitants of such Tribes through wch any such crosse pathes and necessarye highwayes are or hereafter shalbe to passe And more especially that a path be carryed from Pagits Tribe to the north side through the Tribes that it is most conueniently to passe. And that a path from thence on the north side to Burnt pointe be made and kept at the charge aforesaid.

All the which workes highwayes & pathes are to be begune and finished wthin the compasse of one whole yere counting p^{e}sentlye after the Terminacon and breakinge up of this present generall Assemblye, which was in the yere of our blessed lord & Savio^{r} 1620 upon the 4th day of the month of August upon penaltye of the forfeiture of two hundred pounds of Tobacco to be levyed and raised upon every such Tribe or Tribes as shalbe found guiltye of the breache and non pformance either of the whole or any pte hereof.

Provided always that all such Tribes as are knowne to be but weake in men, And in this kind to haue much worke to pforme may and shall call in unto them a competent assistance from there next neighbours whoe are by vertue of this p^{e}sent act upon the penaltye aforesaid in this case to helpe and Rlieve them.

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(8) An act for the fixt days for the holding of the generall Assizes.

Yt being found verye Requisite and necessary for the quiett & suertye of this Plantacon and for the due & tymely execution of Justice therein that an Assize or generall Gaole deliuerye be held for this intent and purpose at two severall and distinct tymes in euerye yeare. It being likewise conceaved verye conuenient & fitt that these two distinct tymes beinge made choyce of to be at such seasons of the yeare as the people may best be spared from there home affayres and that also by beinge fixt and certayne they may wthout further adoe be generallie knowne that soe all such as are to attend any business at them may be the better puided

It is in these Respects enacted and confirmed by the authoritye of this present gen'all Assemblye that the said two fixt dayes for the holding of the said two Assizes euerye yere be kept at St. Georges (unles upon some occasion, some other place be by the Govern^{r} for that tyme nominated and appointed) the one of them upon the Tusday in Whitsun weeke, the other upon the 27th day of December (yf yt fall not out to be Sunday) and yf yt soe doe then to begine the next daye followinge and that these two fixt tymes remain euer hereafter constant and certayne and be taken notice of accordinglye by all euerye pson inhabitants wthin these Islands who are to make there appearance at the said Assizes at these p.fixed tymes without all expectance of any further warrant or Summons.

Upon the penaltye of such losse and damage as for neglect of there duties by way of fyne forfeiture of there recognizances by breach of couenants or any other waye, by want of due appearance or p.formance of there duties in this s^{e}vice may by them be expected & looked for.

(9) An act agaynst the killinge of ouer young Tortoyses.

In regard that much waste and abuse hath been offered and yet is by sundrye lewd and impvident psons inhabitinge wthin these Islands who in there continuall goinges out to sea for fish doe upon all occasions, And at all tymes as they can meete with them, snatch & catch up indifferentlye all kinds of Tortoyses both yonge & old little and greate and soe kill carrye awaye and devoure them to the much decay of the breed of so excellent a fishe the daylye skarringe of them from of our shores and the danger of an utter distroyinge and losse of them.

It is therefore enacted by the Authoritie of this present

Assembly That from hence forward noe manner of pson or psons of what degree or condition soeuer he be inhabitinge or remayning at any time wthin these Islands shall p^esume to kill or cause to be killed in any Bay Sound Harbor or any other place out to Sea : being w^thin five leagues round about of those Islands any young Tortoyses that are or shall not be found to be Eighteen inches in the Breadth or Dyameter and that upon the penaltye for euerye such offence of the fforfeyture of fifteen pounds of Tobacco whereof the one half is to be bestowed in publique uses the other upon the Informer.

(10) An act concerning vagabonds and the entertayninge other mens servants.

Whereas divers ill chosen psons sent out of England having been bred in a lazie and vagrant life and soe not easily nor sodainly to be Reclaymed from there lewde conditions at there severall Arrivalls here doe renewe there old custome and fall a wanderinge from Tribe to Tribe and house to house and in that fashion are many tymes entertained by diuers inconsiderate & unneighbourlye psons who for some common s^evices and to serue there own present Turne doe nōrishe and maintayne them in this unseemlye and Roageing life by furnishing them for a day or two w^th meate drinke and lodginge to the apparent wronge and hindrance of such as are there undertakers or masters and to the great disturbance of the welfare and orderlie constitution of this plantacon

This p^esent generall Assemblie taking notice of the inconuenience that may hereby ensue and by waye of provision ag^t this increasing ill by the power and authoritye thereof doth enact and decree that from henceforward, what pson or psons soeuer inhabitinge wthin these Islands shall p^esume in this case to enterteyne or sett on worke any seruant or apprentice belonginge to another man being either runne away from his said M^r or usinge any other indirect course to free himselfe from him shall for the first offence by way of penaltye incur the forfeiture of tenn pounds of Tobacco and yf he shall yet be found to psist and continnewe in the said dishonest and unlawful practizes he shall for euerye night of his soe entertayninge and keepinge of any the said servants or apprentice forfeite tenn pounds of Tobacco whereof thone half shall redounde to the use of the ptie soe wronged, and the other to be imployed in publique works

It is likewise ordayned by the authoritie aforesaid that that s^evant or apprentice so runninge awaye and offeringe himselfe to be soe entertayned shall instantlye be carryed to the Bayliffe

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or constable of the Tribe wherein he is soe found and by him be whipped upon his naked Backe at the whippinge poast untill the Blood appeare

(11) An act for the settinge of a due quantitye of corne for euerye familye and for the collection & keepinge a Publique store in euerye Tribe

It beinge found by over sensible experience that ptlie by some few accidentall ills of the climate and place, ptlie thorough the negligence and sloth of many people inhabiting here and ptlie (yf not especiallie) by the want of due providence and moderate expense there haue sundrye dearthes & scarceityes of corne and bread faln out amongst us to the great misery of many private p.sons and also to the apparent disturbance of diuers publique and most necessarye works whereby the whole plantacon in generall hath been shaken & in danger. Uppon Consideration hereof and by way of p^{r}vencon of the like for future tymes, It is fully concluded and enacted by the power and authority of this p^{e}sent generall assemblie, That from henceforward there shall for euery pson being above the age of sixteen yeres be sett or caused to be sett one acre of corne at the least at euerye Cropp, answerable to the number of euerye person soe aged dwellinge or being wthin the number of any familie whatsoeuer. And that for the neglect hereof and for the default of the said quantitie of ground found unsett for euerye such person soe aged the said familie shall be amerced and fined in X^{lb} of Tobacco for euerye such offence; thone halfe thereof to be levied to the use of thinformer, and thother halfe generall seruice.

Provided that yf yt so fall out that (through the ouer pesteringe of some families by some improvident undertakers) there shalbe found any familie to haue more psons soe aged put upon yt than yt hath an allowance of corne ground, answerable unto them accordinge to the rate aforesaid That then in this case notice thereof shall be giuen to the Baylif of the Tribe who upon viewe taken and the findinge yt accordinglye shall order and stint yt as neare as possible maybe after the intent and meaninge of this psent Statute.

And for the better p^{e}vention of the danger and inconvenience form^{r}lie menconed It is further ordained and enacted by the Authoritie aforesaid That in euerye Tribe a certayne quantite of corne amounting to fiftie eares out of euerye thousand be yearelie leavied and kept by way and in the nature of a publique store As also that to that end and use a certayne convenient and publique store house be builded in euerye Tribe,

the w^ch^ said publique store is to be renewed yearly accordinge to the quantitie and after the manner aforesaid w^th^ new Corne, and the old that is founde lefte to be deliuered to the renewers The charge and government whereof in the meane tyme to rest under the comand of the Baylife of euerye Tribe who is yearlie to be accomptable for yt

And this order and annual course is to take yts beginninge, at and upon the next somer crop of Corne w^ch^ shalbe in the yere of our Lord 1621 beinge the seconde yere of Captaine Nathaniell Butler his Gouernm^t^ and soe from yere to yere to be maynteyned & kept

(12) An Act for the takinge vp and housinge of Turkeys and other poultrie during the settinge tyme of Corne

It is enacted by the power and authoritye of this p^r^nte gen^r^all assemblie, that in respect of the incroachments that divers inhibitants of these Islands haue bene found to make upon there neighbours by the keepinge & nourishinge of ouer many Turkeys and other poultrye, and especially the sufferinge of these to runne abroad whereby many of them growe wild to the greate indamageinge of the Corne Potatoes &c. That from henceforward eu^r^y man of what condition or qualitie sou^e^r he be, shall use his uttermost skill and endeavo^r^ to take up and to house all his Turkeys & other poultry euery settinge tyme of corne And so to hold & keepe them up untill the said corne shalbe found to be half legge high above grownd And that otherwise yt shall be lawfull for any Inhabitant or pson whatsoeuer dwellinge in the mayne (yf duringe the said tyme of inhibition) he shall find any such Turkeys or poultrie still rang-inge abroad, & not taken up to cease upon them, kill them, and carry them away, and soe to use them as yf they were his owne

(13) An Act for the mayntenance of sufficient fences and against the fellinge downe of marked Trees appointed for bounds.

Whereas at the first layinge out and distribution bothe of the Tribes and shares in the mayne there were certaine Ceders, Palmetoe trees, some others reserued, sett out and marked as the due and equall Bounds and Limitts of the said Tribes and shares that so euery man might the better be able to distinguish them and know his owne; It hath since been pceyued and founde that at the Clearinge and Riddings of some pticuler pcells and

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plotts of ground diuers persons either out of carelesnes, or unconscionablenes, or both, have felled and cutt downe many of the said trees soe marked for the intent aforesaid whereby it is conceaved that in tyme a great confusion may growe and many contentions arise and muche strife be pcured.

It is therefore by the full consent and authoritie of this present generall Assemblie (by way of redresse of this said dangerous ill): Concluded and Enacted that from hence forward noe pson or psons whatsoever inhabiting or being within any of these Islands shall p^{e}sume to fell downe or cause to be felled downe any such tree marked as aforesaid for the intent aforesaid or remove or cause to be remoued any stake stone or any other thinge whatsoever growinge fastned or sett downe for any boundary or limitt to any tribe or share whatsoeuer upon the penaltye for euery such offence duly proued, of the forfeiture of 20^{l} of Tobacco. And further it is enacted and concluded by the power and authoritie aforesaid that in regard diuers and many negligencies haue of late been committed and suffered both in the ouer felling of fences in generall and the ill keepinge and lookinge unto them that euery man be enioyned to leave and mayntayne a verye sufficient fence both upon his owne ground and against other mens that he is to fence upon and where the natural Palmetoe fence is failed and is found to be wantinge that instead thereof there be planted a sufficiencye of Pomgranate and figg trees for a supplie thereof, and this to be done upon the penaltye of the losse of tenne pounds of tobacco for euery such breach contempte or negligence and for the better lookinge unto and respect of soe necessarye a worke and care It is also ordayned and appoynted that the Bayliffe of euerye Tribe accompanied with some principall assistants doe euerye yere once upon some one day in that weeke next before Whitsonday passe through and take a viewe of the limitt and bounds of the Tribe that he is so bayliffe of And that as he and they shall there and then find them to enforce accordinglye that soe upon default the aforesaid penaltie may be dulye and thoroughlye inflicted and enacted

(14) An act for the leavie of one thousand pounds of Tobacco towards the payment of publicke works for this yere 1620

Whereas at the arrival of Captain Nathanyell Butler nowe Governor there were discouered many and greate defects in most of the fforts belonging to these Islands by reason that many of the great peeces lay dismounted and most of the rest by hauing

defective and broken Carriages were in a manner altogether vnserviceable soe that of eighteene pieces of Ordnance which the hon^ble^ Companye of Aduenturers in England conceived to be verye sufficiently fitted in the Kings Castle there were not to be found aboue three onlye that could be used in fight beyond three discharges to the great pill and danger of our liues and the liues of our wives and children yf a foreigne enemie should haue attempted upon us, as alsoe in respecte that at the verye first entrance of his Gouernment amongst us: One of the Redoubts of the King's Castle miscarryed by fyre and the Mount (w^ch^ was so necessarye a piece for the discouerye of shipps upon the Coasts and a seamarke) by a most vyolent wind or hurricane was turned up by the roots; all the which wants, miscarriages, and defects haue in this yere last past in good and sufficient manner w^th^ some additions and needefull new workes beside bene by him supplyed recou^e^ed and raised, soe that therebye he stands engaged to diuers and sundrye workmen whom of necessitye he was to use and imploye in those services in greate somes of tobacco and greater by farr than either by his owne meanes to be raised here or the Publique Revenue (w^ch^ all men knowes is for the p^s^ent little or nothinge) he can possibly discharge of himselfe

In regard of the p^r^mises this p^e^sent generall Assemblie taking unto ytselfe the due care and consideration hereof by yts full power and authoritye hath graunted and enacted that for this yere 1620 and for this Croppe there be leuied and raised upon the eight tribes in the mayne one thousand pounds of tobacco; the whiche are to be rated according to the quantity and somme of Tobaccoe generally made up and not accordinge to the number of the shares, the Charge thereof to be equally diuided and distributed betweene the undertaker and the planter The w^ch^ some beinge soe raised by the Bayliffe shall and is to be consigned into the hands of the Gouern^r^ towards the defraight of his soe large and necessarye an expense That soe for a generall good wherein euerye one is interrested a disbursem^t^ may be made out of a generall purse where it is euer least felt.

(15) An act concerninge the acknowledgement and acception of resident Governors in Case yt fall out that the date of their comissions be expired before the arrival here of a successor from England.

In respect that it is fully and lively apprehended that there cannot fall out, a more deadlier dissease, nor a more speeding blowe be anyway giuen to the verye being and life of this well

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setled plantacõn, then by the confusions that an Anarchie by vacancy of Goverm^{t} may bringe upon yt.

And whereas it may manye Tymes fall out by reason of the lengthe and uncertaintye of the voyage from England hither that the date Limited and Sett downe in the comissions of Gouerno^{rs} resident in these Islands may be accomplished and expired before the Arrival here of a legittimate successor sent from thence, in w^{che} case being unwarranted and unauthorized he neither can nor in discretion will exercise or take upon him any longer any publique Act, or charge, so that it is most apparent by reason hereof we must needs hazard the dangers and undoings aforesaid, ffrom these w^{e}ightie grounds and considerations and by way of p^{e}vencon And as an antidote against the poyson and infeccon of this bad effect as also hereby to cutt of all Cullo^{r} & p^{e}tenses of unmeete & p^{e}sumptũos elections here

It is by the full & universall consent of this present generall assemblie enacted and concluded (our attendance for the ratification hereof from the Court of the hon^{ble} companie of Aduenturers in England and our submission thereunto alway remembered and ment) that in case of such expiration & accomplishment of the comissions of resident Governo^{rs} as aforesaid the said Gouernor^{rs} shall nowithstandinge be received and continnewed in there full rule place and authority here amongst us, and soe accepted of by us, untill the arrival of some one appointed and authorised from the said Companye in England to succeede him in his said Gouernm^{t}. It being besides conceived, a greate forwardinge of the welfare of this present plantacon And a way and means of advantage for the establishinge of a free and uninterrupted course to the affayres in generall that the Gouern^{rs} in succession should for a month or two before the receipt of the helme remayne here as private men And soe in that Interime be lookers on and observers of the settled fashion and manner of the carriage of the publique business, the w^{ch} as there Judgm^{ts} shall lead them either to approve or refuse they may afterwards innovate or continue accordinglie

It is however (with all due respect and dependancye by this p^{e}sent generall assemblye) offered unto the determination and consent of the hon^{ble} companie of Aduenturers in England, that from henceforward an answerable date, may be obserued by them in all there comissions that are to be graunted unto such future Gouerno^{rs} as they shall thinke fitte to send out hither, that is to say that there said comissions be not admitted to take there beginninge or to be in force and vigor untill two monthes after their first arrival in these pts.

Provided alwaies that the old and quondam Governo^{rs} remayne and tarry here the said whole term and space of two monthes, after the said Arrivall of the new; And w^{c}he, yf he doe not, that then the said Comissions, maie uppon the instant of his departure out of the Harbour, be of power & force, to authorize and warrant them presently to enter uppon there new place Command & Gouerm^{t}. By the w^{che} Course, as it is to be hoped much good and benefitt may ensue to the whole Plantacon in generall, soe by the consent and approbation hereof from England a generall content and satisfaccon shall (wthall gratefull acknowledgem^{t}) be successivelye receiued approved and applauded by the whole bodye of the inhabitants resident or to be resident wthin this every day augmentinge Colonie and well p.misinge little peice of earth

[The fifteen foregoing acts are those whose titles are given in Smith's 'History of Virginia,' as previously quoted. The copy in Bermuda, which is mutilated, has been compared with and completed by one preserved in the library of the British Museum; the texts are not quite identical, but the differences are only verbal and unimportant. We have followed the Bermuda text except in the heading.]

Colonial Papers, 1574-1621, Vol. i.

24. Bermuda was, from its popular association with Virginia, probably near receiving at this time a share of that tide of French Protestant emigration which, long before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had begun to carry the intelligence, the industry, and the arts of the French people into so many Protestant countries. We find among the Colonial papers in the Record Office a Round Robin bearing the signatures of fifty-six Walloon or French refugees, praying permission to settle in Virginia. The Company, August 11, 1621, by John Farrar, Deputy, report to the Lords of the Council, 'That if it stand with his Ma^{ts} gratious favo^{r} they do not conceiue it any inconvenience at present to suffer sixtie families of Walloons and ffrenchmen not exceeding the number of 300 persons, to go and inhabit Virginia. The sayd persons resoluing and taken oath^{s} to become his Mat^{s} and his successors faithfull and obedient subjects,

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and being willing as they make profession to agree in points of faith, So likewise to be conformable to the form of Government now established in the Church of England.' There is no evidence that any of these refugees reached Bermuda; but towards the close of the next century it became the home of many French families.

By Capt. Butler, 1621.

25. Orders made and confirmed in a generall Court of the Somer Islands this 13 July 1621 concerning the diuident of comodities

ffirst that out of euery Tribe two officers be chosen by the major part of voices, once euery yeare w^{ch} shall be called by the name of Ouerseers (and the office of Bayliffes to cease, whose office they are to execute) who hauing taken their oath before the Gouerno^{r} and counsell for the tyme being for their faithfull dealing herein, shall haue authority to divide with an even and iust hand equally and indifferently betweene the owners and their Tenants all the Tobacco and other comodities growing in that p.ticular Tribe that is appropriated to their charge

And that they may the better informe themselues what cropp is to bee received out of the whole Tribe, they shall some ffourteene daies before the usuall tyme of gathering their comodities generally survey all the ground so planted throughout, observing also diligently what quantity each tenant or servant hath planted and same enter into a booke, and thereof keepe a perfect register for that yeare as they will answer it vpon their oath, and to retourne a coppy thereof, as likewise of the diuident vnder their hands vnto the Company here, And when they haue made the diuision in manner aforesaid iustly and truly, both quantity and quality without partiality, they shall cast lots for either moity, and so take that part that shall fall vnto them by lot

Which being done, they are likewise to take care to see the owners part duly put vp and sealed, and afterwards to dispose of it according appointm^{t} as they shall receive by Ltres to that purpose, or otherwise in defect thereof, according to such direc$\bar{o}$n as shall bee giuen in each mans pticular contract and covenant with his Maister.

At the same time they shall also diligently enquire what debts are oweing by Tenants or servants to their Landlords informing themselues thereof either by their contracts w^{ch} are to bee extant vpon record hereafter, or otherwise vpon aduer-

tisement by Ltres from their masters. To the end that for debt appearing to be due they cause them to make satisfaccon to their Landlords, after the division be once made before they deliuer the moiety due vnto them Provided there be still some meanes of liuelyhood and sustenaunce left vnto them

And forasmuch as Tenants may either secretly sell, conceale and privately convey away much of their Tobacco or any other comodity before division can be made as aforesaid ffor better discouerye of all such fraud and deceipt comitted by Tenants or servants It is thought fitt that Instructions bee giuen by the Governour by way of Articles to informe the Jury at euerye Sessions or Assizes to examine and enquire vpon oath the defaults of Tenants or servants in this kind, vpon direccon also of their proceeding therein to make a true and pfect certificate vnto this court, testified vnder the hands of the said Jurors

And to this end it is thought fit that all the surveyors of each parish being 6 in number shall once at least euery Quarter meete together at their parish Church, and thither warne all the Parishioners to bee there, thereby to learne what presentments shall bee made of the misdemeano^{rs} of Tenants or servants, or what fraud or deceipt they haue vsed any kind of way in their comodities to wrong their masters, the better to prepare that generall informacon w^{ch} they are to giue against them at the grand Sessions

And in case any such purloyning deceipt or fraud shall be proued and so found by the Jury, and the Tenant or servant thereof lawfully convicted, the said person so offending either presently, or as soone as hee hath wherewithall to doe it (besides restitucon) shall be compelled to pay one fourth part of all the Tobacco or such like profits which hath, or shall plant the same yeare, to bee seized vpon by the said ouerseer w^{ch} fourth part being divided into three parts, the one shall bee to the Landlord or Master of the said Tenant or seruant, the second to the Ouerseer, as an addition to his salary, and the third pt to the Informer. Lastly in consideraton of the greate care and paines w^{ch} the said ouerseers must vndergoe to pforme their office duly according to their oath It is thought fit that for a Salarye they haue one Hundreth weight of Tobacco to be taken out of either moity after diuision shall be once made as aforesaid, where of the Landlord is to haue one halfe in respect of his servants imployment herein from his worke, and the other halfe to be vnto the said servant so imployed.

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26. Orders and Constitutions partly collected out of his Maiestie's Letters Patents; and partly by authority and in virtue of the said Letters Patents:

Ordained upon mature deliberation, by the Governour and Company of the City of London for the Plantation of the Summer Ilands, for the better governing of the actions and affaires of the said Company and Plantation 6 Febr: 162½.

[These orders and constitutions are, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as those of the Virginia Company promulgated two years before (June 9, 1619); many of them are copied verbatim. The duties of treasurer of the Virginia Company are transferred, § 26, to the Governor of the Summer Islands Company. Those of the deputy are unaltered. The duties of the assistants and treasurer are new. The former replace the council of the Virginia Company. The duties of the auditors and of the secretary are laid down in nearly the same terms, and so of other officers. The regulations in the second part, § 105, to the end are for the most part original; and the best proof of the experience and wisdom with which they were passed is the fact that they retained their authority, and are constantly appealed to for half a century. I am much indebted to the Hon. John Harvey Darrell, C.M.G., ex-Chief Justice of Bermuda, for the copy, which the burden of fourscore years did not prevent his writing out with his own hand for this work.]

THE FIRST PART.

The Company.

1.

The Company of *Summer Ilands* consisteth of the Freeholders and owners of land there. Neverthelesse, no man shall be admitted into this Company, or have voyce in any elec-

tion or other businesse in quality of a Freeholder or owner of land, that is not owner of one entire share, at the least, of the foure hundred and five shares, into which the eight Tribes of the said *Summer Ilands* are divided. Provided alwayes, that the Owners by Ioynt-tenancy, Coparcinary, or otherwise, as tenants-in-common, if the number of their persons exceed not the number of their shares so held may be admitted into the said Company and have each their severall voyces: but if the number of their persons exceed, they shall or may present one to have voyce for them all.

2.

No man, though having right, shall presume to be present at the Assemblies of the said Company, before he be solemnly admitted by the Governor or Deputie of the said Company in a Generall Court: which admittance shall neither be granted, where it is not due; nor denyed, or delayed, where it is apparently due.

3.

No person by reason of minority of yeares (having otherwise right) shall bee excluded from being present at the Generall Assemblies of the said Company: but yet shall not be admitted to have voyce in any election, or other businesse whatsoever, till he have accomplished the full age of eighteene yeares.

Courts.

4.

There are foure great Generall Courts, commonly called Quarter Courts, appointed to be held by the Governor, Assistants and Company for the *Summer Ilands*, upon the foure last Wednesdayes of every Terme; which onely have and shall have power to chuse Officers, as well for the Company here, as also for the Colony and Planters in the *Summer Ilands*, to make Lawes and Ordinances; to distribute and dispose of the lands in the *Summer Ilands*, as well for the public good of the Company and Colony, as also agreeable to every man's particular right. And lastly, to settle the matter of trade, for behoofe of the Company and Colony.

5.

Every Friday before a Quarter Court, shall be held a Court to prepare all kind of businesse reserved to the power of a Quarter Court to determine.

6.

Every Wednesday fortnight, reckoning from the Great Courts, shall also bee held an Ordinary Court for this Company,

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for the dispatch of ordinary and extra-ordinary businesse. And it is not to bee counted a perfect Court, unlesse the Governor or Deputy be there, and seven of the Assistants.

7.

It shallbe in the power of the Governour, or Deputy in his absence, upon extraordinary cause, to call an extraordinary Court.

8.

It shall not be in the power of an other then a Quarter Court, to make any Contract, (save for the setting out of Ships) whereby, either to charge the Company, or otherwise to binde the Company for any continuance of time. In which case it shallbee proposed also in the Preparative Court next preceeding.

9.

Publique businesse shallhave precedence in the Courts before private, unlesse there bee extraordinary important cause to the contrary.

10.

If any thing ordered in an ordinary or lesser Court, be afterward reversed in one of the foure great and generall Courts, it shallbe from thence forward, as though it had never been so ordered.

11.

All Courts shall begin at two of the Clocke in the afternoone, and dissolve at the rising of the Governor, or of the Deputy in his absence.

12.

Nothing shallbe put to the question after sixe of the clocke in the afternoone; yet by order of the same Court to be made before sixe, the debating and concluding of any particular businesses mentioned in the said Order may continue on longer, as the matters then in handling shall require.

13.

If the businesse for the Quarter Courts grow very greate, it shallbe in the power of the Governour or Deputy, with allowance of the Preparative Court next preceding, to assemble the Quarter Courts both in the forenoones at eight of the clocke, and in the afternoones of the dayes appoynted for them. Neverthelesse, in regard the meetings in the afternoones have been observed to bee alwayes farre greater than in the mornings; It shall be in the power of the same Quarter Court, in the afternoone to disavow and reverse any thing passed in the

morning; to which purpose the morning Court shallbe first read.

14.

The Company shallbe summoned to the Quarter Courts, and Courts extraordinary, by the Officer; but of the ordinary Courts themselves shall take notice. And the Secretary shall keepe a booke of the proceedings of the Courts, who with the husband and other Officers shall at all Courts give diligent attendance.

15.

It shallbe lawfull at a Generall Court, and with consent thereof to dispence with all meetings in long vacations, or in such part of them as may bee spared, unlesse some extraordinary matter befall: In which case may be called extraordinary Courts.

16.

The Governor and Company being a Body and Communalty perpetuall, shall have one faire and common legall seale, to be kept by the Governour, and not to be affixed to any Grants or Instruments whatsoever, otherwise than in publike Courts, or by expresse warrant from them.

Elections.

17.

At the great and generall Court, commonly called the Quarter Court in Easter Terme, all Officers of this Company shall be voyd; and the Court shall proceed to election of new Officers in manner following.

18.

The Governour, soone after the beginning of the Court to be held in the afternoone of that day, at the giving up of his office, shall declare by word or writing, the present estate of the Colony and Planters in the *Summer Ilands*. And the Treasurer at the same time shall deliver in the Court a booke of his accounts for the yeere then ended, examined and approved under the Auditors hands; declaring with all the present estate of the Cash: which booke shall lye open in every Court to be viewed by all men till the next Quarter Court; and shall then be laid up in the chest of the Company's evidences.

19.

This done, the Governor shall leave his place, and the Court without intermixing of other businesse, shall proceed to

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Election of Officers for the yeere insuing; first of a Governour, then of a Deputy; afterward of the Assistants; next of a Treasurer; after that, of the Auditors: and lastly, of the Secretary, Book-keeper, Husband, and Beadle.

20.

At the choyce of each Officer, the persons nominated to stand in Election, shall withdraw themselves till the party chosen bee publikely so pronounced. And generally, no man shallbee present in the Court, while himselfe or his matter passeth in judgement of the Court.

21.

In regard of the waighty businesse of this Companye, which is also like to increase: no man shall be chosen Governour of the Company of the *Summer Ilands* who at the time of his election is Governour of any other Company; except it seeme good for the behoofe of both Companies, that the same man have the Government both of this Company and of that for *Virginia*.

22.

It is for waighty reasons thought very expedient, and so ordered, that no man continue in the place of Governour, Deputy, or Treasurer of this Company above three yeeres at once.

23.

For the avoiding of divers inconveniences; It is thought fit and so ordered, that all elections of Principall Officers in, or for the *Summer Ilands*, as also of the Governour and Deputy here, be performed by a ballating box, as in some other Companies.

24.

Every Officer as hee is chosen, shall openly in Court take his oath, or if he bee absent, at the next Court he commeth to.

25.

The Governour, Deputy and Treasurer, having no certaine allowance for their cares and labours: the rewarding of these former Officers according to their deserts, is referred to the pleasure of the Court, wherein new Officers are chosen.

Gouernour.

26.

The Governour's duty is to keepe the ordinary Courts of the *Summer Ilands*, and upon cause extraordinary, to call

Courts extraordinary; And in all Courts and other Meetings, hee is to have a casting voyce.

27.

He is to moderate the Courts in quality of a President, and to cause gravity, decency and good order to be observed; and for breach thereof, after a grave admonition first given and prevailing, to proceed to reformation by the judgement of the Court.

28.

He is to propound and put all things to the question which the Court requires, the same not being contrary to his Maiestie's Letters Patents or Instructions, nor to the standing Lawes and Orders of the Company; under paine of being immediately put from his Office, if he refuse: in which case the Deputy shall doe it under the like paine: And if hee refuse, then any of the Assistants there present.

29.

The Governour is to have care that the extraordinary Committies appointed by the Courts to severall businesses doe prosecute the same, and give reasonable account of their doings to the Court.

30.

He is also to have an especial care, that no Grant or Patent doe passe from the Company, but upon examination thereof by a select Committy, who are exactly to observe the Orders made concerning them. And to this end, with divers others, hee is to have a vigilant eye on the Companies Seale, which is to be committed to his custody, that they be not wronged by abusing thereof.

31.

The Governour, upon receipt of publike letters from, or concerning the *Summer Ilands*, shall assemble at least foure of the principall Assistants to impart them to them, and by their assent shall cause them to be read in Court, unlesse there bee some cause of secresie; in which case hee shall communicate them with the Assistants onely. In like sort, the publike letters and instructions to be sent to the Governour and people in the *Summer Ilands*, or otherwise concerning them, hee shall cause to bee publikely read and approved by the Court or Assistants, as the case shall require. And neither hee, nor any other, shall of his owne head or authority, write or send any directions swarving from such as the Court or Assistants shall give, upon paine to be suspended from the Court forever.

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32.

The Governour shall assemble the Principall Assistants whom the Court shall particularly assigne to assist him, upon all waighty occasions requiring serious deliberation; and shall have care with them, that the Lords of his Maiesties Privie Councell be acquainted with all matters of extraordinary and greatest importance concerning the state.

33.

He is to doe his best, that fit men bee chosen to the place of Assistants, and being chosen, is to have care that they take their oathes.

34.

The Governour is to have care also, that the generall Assistants keepe their Courts with the Deputie, upon all occasions of businesse.

35.

The Governour at his pleasure shall sit in any Assembly either of the Assistants, or other Committies ordinary, or extraordinary; unlesse the matter happen to concern himselfe particularly.

Deputy.

36.

For matter of the Courts, in the Governor's absence, the Deputy shall performe his office, and in his presence be assisting to him.

37.

He shall oversee the Secretary for entring the Orders of Court, and shall give instructions for the writing of letters as he shallbe directed, and have care that accordingly they be written.

38.

The Deputy shall also keep the Courts of Assistants upon all occasions requisite, and at his pleasure shall also sit in any Assembly of Committies, ordinary or extraordinary, unless the matter concerne himself; and in all these in the Governor's absence he shall have a casting voyce.

39.

He shall suffer no warrant to be made and signed by issuing out of money, but in the open Court of Assistants, after due

examination of the cause: unto all which warrants his owne hand shallbe first set, and after it, other foure hands or more of the Assistants. And the Deputie and Assistants shall not intermeddle with disbursements for any other charges, then such as arise within the compasse of their owne yeere.

40.

When a Warrant is directed to the Treasurer to pay any grosse Summe to the Deputie, to be issued out by him and the Assistants for the use of the Company: in that case it shall not be requisite that the Deputies hand be to the Warrant, so it be to the receipt.

41.

Generally the Deputy shall over-see all inferiour Officers that they performe their duties.

Assistants.

42.

The Assistants being to bee foure and twenty, and to be yerely chosen, there shall be a yerely alteration made of one fourth part at the least; to the end many be trained up in the busines: to which end, the six new Assistants shall be first chosen.

43.

The Assistants office is, together with the Deputy, to performe the orders of Courts, for setting out Ships and buying provisions for the *Summer Ilands*; wherein especiall care is to be had, that neither the husband, nor any one man alone bee intrusted with the making of those provisions; but two at the least, to be appoynted thereunto by the *Deputy* and Assistants in their Court; who shall also bring in their bils and accounts to be examined and approved by the Assistants. The like care shall they have at the returne of Ships from the *Summer Ilands* of the goods belonging to the Company to bee safely kept and sold to the best advantage, either in Court, or otherwise by the Court's direction. The accounts of all which, shall be transmitted to the Auditors; and the money remaining, returned to the Cash. The *Deputy* and Assistants shall also have care of the Invoyces to be made for the provisions sent to the *Summer Islands*, and of the Certificates of the receit to be thence returned; as likewise of the Invoyces of the Goods sent from the *Summer Ilands*: all which shall bee registered fairely in a booke.

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44.

The Assistants shall diligently keep their Courts whensoever occasion of businesse shall require. They shall be summoned by order from the Governour or Deputy; and it shall not be counted a Court of Assistants, unlesse the Governour or Deputy with sixe Assistants be present. The Secretary of the Company shall keepe a Booke also of their proceedings.

Principal Assistants.

45.

After choice of the foure and twenty Assistants, sixe of them shall be selected by the Court, to be of Counsell with the Governour, or Deputy in his absence, in all matters of importance concerning the *Summer Ilands*: and they shall have the name of Principall Assistants; but their power shall be onely to deliberate and advise; but not to conclude without the rest of the Assistants, or the Generall Court, as the case shall require.

46.

The Principal Assistants are to assemble upon all important occasions, being requested by the Governour or the Deputy in his absence. And in defect of both, being desired by the Court: and without favour or displeasure, private or sinister respect, to give their faithfull advice in all matters tending to the advancement and benefit of the *Plantation*; and especially touching the making of Orders and Constitutions for the better governing, as well of the Company heere, as also of the Colony planted in the *Summer Ilands*, wherein the policy and forme of *England* is to be followed as neere as may be.

47.

The Principall Assistants, together with the Governour and Deputy, shall have an especiall regard by pious Constitutions, and by other good politique Lawes and Orders, to hold the people there in the true Religion and service of God; and in assured allegiance to his Maiesty and the Crowne of *England*; in due respect also to this Company for the *Summer Ilands*; and in justice, peace, uniformity and amity amongst themselves.

48.

They shall also have care of the Instructions to be delivered or sent from time to time to the Governour, or other Principall Officers in the *Summer Ilands*: and shall have an eye upon the due observance of the same.

49.

If any Principall Officer of the Company here, or Magistrate great Officer or Councillor in the *Summer Ilands*, shall by the fame of his mis-deserts, or particular occasion, merit to bee called in question heere of being removed from his place, or otherwise reformed or censured, he shallbe first convented and examined by the Governour, Deputy and Principall Assistants, before his Cause be produced in publike Court; and in his absence the like course shallbe held for his businesse.

50.

The Principall Assistants, in consideration of this their greater imployment, shall not be tyed to attendance at the Courts of the Generall Assistants, other than at their owne leisure and pleasure.

Treasurer.

51.

The Treasurer shall stand charged with the publike Treasure of the Company, and is to have care that it be duly got in, and not issued out, but by lawfull warrant, and to the Companies use.

52.

A lawfull warrant for charges of the present yeere, is that which is signed by the Deputy and foure of the Assistants, unlesse the money be to bee paid to the Deputy himselfe; in which case the warrant shallbe signed by sixe of the Assistants; and for former charges and debts, that which is signed by three of the Auditors, whereof one to be of the *Quorum*; and underneath, or upon the backe of every Warrant an Acquittance shallbe taken for the Receit under the parties hand.

53.

The *Treasurer* is also to yeild up a true and perfect Account of the generall Cash at the end of his yeere, and to bring it in a fortnight before to the Auditors to be examined; and at all times, being requested by the Auditors or Assistants, to shew in what case the Cash doth stand.

54.

If any complaint or suspition grow concerning the account, a review shallbe made by twelve chosen by the Court, and the Account being accepted and approved by the Court, the *Treasurer* shall have his *Quietus est*, under the Companies Seale at the Quarter Court in Trinity Terme then next insuing.

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Auditors.

55.

The Auditors shallbe five; whereof one at the least of the Principall Assistants, and two of the *Quorum*.

56.

The Auditors shall have care of the generall accounts, to examine the Receits and disbursements according to the orders of the Company; and in all cases of difficulty, or of breach of these Orders, they shall acquaint the Governour and the Generall Court therewith; and from thence receive resolution and direction.

57.

They shall also cause to be reduced into a severall Booke, the whole receits and disbursements of that yeere; and the same under three of their hands at the least (whereof one to be of the *Quorum*) shallbee presented by the *Treasurer* at the Quarter Court in Easter Terme, at the giving up of his and their office.

58.

They shall sign no Warrant for the issuing of money, but onely for old charges or debt, that is to say, due before that yeere of their office; and that not otherwise, then after due examination of the matter had in their appoynted meetings. Unto which Warrant shallbee first set the hand of one at least of the *Quorum*, and then of two other or more of the rest of the Auditors.

59.

The Auditors shall also imploy their best industry and care, for the recovery of the old Debts due to the Company, and their receits shall transmit to the generall Cash.

60.

And touching the old Accounts now depending in Audit, that is to say, from the beginning of the Plantation till the ninth day of May 1621, the Auditors shall proceed in the examining and reducing them to order, and to the final auditing of them, with what expedition they well can: and shall from time to time acquaint the Governour, Deputy and Court, with such impediments and difficulties as shallbe incident.

61.

The Auditors shall keep their meetings once, at the least, in a week in Terme time, or oftener, if need require; and once every moneth at least in the vacation times, to oversee the accounts, and to dispatch such other businesse as shall be committed to them.

62.

They shall also have the authority of the Court to call before them such persons as are indebted or accountable to the Company. To which end the Beadle shall attend upon them; who shall be rewarded for his travell at the pleasure of the Court.

Accounts.

63.

No Auditors extraordinary, shall presume to intermeddle with the auditing of any Accounts, wherein the body of the Company is interessed; but being appoynted in the face, and with the approbation of the Court.

64.

All Accountants whatsoever and Auditors extraordinary, if the Court so require, shall have an oath ministred unto them in the face of the Court; the one for true accounting, the other for true auditing.

65.

No account shallbe held cleared, nor Accountant discharged, till the account being approved under the Auditor's hands, bee presented to the Court, and there lye openly in Court two Court dayes, to be viewed by any that are so disposed.

66.

If exception bee taken to any Account whatsoever, the Court shall proceed to review, as in like case of the *Treasurer*. If no exception bee taken in the two Court dayes, or upon the review returned, and the Account approved; the Governor then, or Deputy in his absence, shall signe the account in open Court; whereby the Accountant shallbee clearly discharged.

67.

If any Officer, or other Accountant, be slow in bringing in his Accounts to the Auditors, ordinary or extraordinary, or, within one moneth after his Account is perfect, doe not pay the Cash the due summe remaining, unlesse the Court see cause

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to give longer time, the Auditors or Treasurer shall impart the same to the Court, that order may thence be given for redresse thereof.

68.

If any man be found indebted to the Company by any meanes whatsoever, and being required, shall refuse or forbeare to pay the said debt; the same shallbe levied upon such profits and Commodities, as hee either hath in the *Summer Ilands*, or shallbe returned hither from thence, wherein he shall stand to the judgement of the Court.

Secretary.

69.

The Secretary shall attend the Governour and Deputy, in such service of the Company as wherein they shall have cause to use him. And besides the generall Courts hee shall of duty attend the Courts of Assistants, and keepe severall Bookes of their proceedings. The principall Assistants, Auditors, and Committies extraordinary, he shall then also attend when, and so often as hee shall bee thereunto required.

70.

He shall be bound by oath to keepe secret all matters of secrecie; and not to discover the proceedings of the Principall Assistants, and Committies extraordinary, till such time as themselves shall publish the same.

71.

The Secretary, upon reference of any businesse from the Court to a select Committie, shall give a note to the Officer, containing the businesse, time and place.

72.

His Office is also to be a Remembrancer to the Generall Courts, and to the Courts of Assistants, for the prosecuting and performing of matters formerly ordered; as also touching motions formerly made, and referred to speciall Committies; or other further consideration.

73.

If at any time a generall Court shall order any money to be issued out of the Cash, the Secretary under his hand shall deliver a Copy thereof to the Auditors, if it be of old debts;

and if otherwise then to the Deputy and Assistants, who respectively shall under that order, make their warrant for payment of that money, unlesse they finde the Court, by wrong information, to have been abused and deceived in that order; whereof at the next Court they shall give advertizement.

74.

The Secretaries Office is to keepe the Bookes of the Company, and fairely and orderly to enter in them the particulars hereunder expressed, and in such manner as hee shall be directed by the Governour, Deputy, or Auditors.—*First*, a Booke containing the copies of the Kings letters Patents to the Company: Likewise of all Grants from the Company for *Virginia*: Also, of all Letters, Orders, Directions and other writings from his Maiesty, the Lords of the Councell, and other great Officers, concerning the Company and affaires of the *Summer Ilands*; together with the answeres made unto them.

75.

A second Booke shallbee kept of all the Lawes and standing Orders established henceforward in the Quarter Courts, and beginning with this day; as well such as concerne the Government of the Colony and affaires in the *Summer Ilands*.

76.

In a third Booke shall be registered all the Patents, Charters, and Indentures of validity, heretofore granted, as that hereafter shallbee granted by the Governour and Company; all instructions, all publike letters written to the *Summer Ilands*, or from thence returned.

77.

A fourth Booke shallbee of the Acts of the Generall Courts beginning with a new Booke at the Quarter Court in Easter Terme last. In which Booke, upon any cause controverted and debated, the Secretary shall have care to set downe exactly, the resolution and conclusion of the Court, together with the principall reasons inducing thereunto; but shall not set downe other passages of speech, nor the parties names that were of other opinion.

78.

A fifth Booke shallbee of the Acts of the Assistants, beginning from the same Court. In which Booke shall be registered all Invoyces of the provisions sent to the *Summer Ilands*, and the Certificates of the Receits to be thence re-

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turned; as likewise the Invoyces of the Goods sent from the *Summer Ilands*, with the Husbands Certificates of the receit or defect.

79.

In the sixth booke shall be registred the names of all the Adventurers and Owners of land in the *Summer Ilands*, together with the number of Shares to each person belonging, according to the severall Tribes wherein they are placed. Here shall also bee entred the lawfull transports of Shares. Both which shall first bee published and allowed in a generall Court, and not registred in this Booke, but by direction from thence.

80.

The Secretary shall also keepe safe in the Companies Chest of Evidences, the originals of all the Letters Patents, and other writings afore-mentioned: all the bookes also aforesaid: all the Governours and Treasurers Bookes of their yeerely accounts; the Husbands bookes of Accounts of every voyage to the *Summer Ilands*: and all other Accounts perfected and approved by the auditors. In the same Chest shall be kept all Charter-parties, as well cancelled as uncancelled; all bonds made to the Company, or for their use: And all bonds of the Companies, discharged and cancelled; and all other writings and muniments whatsoever belonging to the Company: and the Secretary shall deliver out none of the Companies writings, but by direction from the Governour, Deputy or Court, taking a note of the parties hand for the true restoring of them: and in convenient time hee shall make Calenders of all the foresaid writings. The said Chest of Evidences shall have two strong lockes to it: the Keye of the one shall be kept by the Governor or Deputy; and the Key of the other by the Secretary.

81.

The Secretarie's Salary shallbe for the present, ten pounds *per annum*, and when the publike land shall be thorowly planted, then twenty pounds; and of his paines extraordinary, the Court shall take consideration.

Booke-Keeper.

82.

The Booke-Keeper, at such time as hee shallbee found to be necessary, shallbe directed and ordered by the Treasurer and

Auditors; and shall receive his Salary in the Quarter Courts, as the Auditors shall report of his paines and deserts.

83.

The Booke-Keeper, upon conference with the Secretary and the Husband, and they two in his defect, shall in every Quarter Court present openly to the Governour, a true note of the Debts both owing by the Company, and ought unto them; together with the ground from whence they are risen; that the Court may take order for the discharge of the one, and the recovery of the other.

Husband.

84.

The Husband is to bee ordered by the Governour, Deputy, and Assistants, and to keepe his Accounts in exact and justifiable manner; and to bring them from time to time to the Deputy and Assistants, to be first examined there, and approved under their hands, and then to be presented to the Auditors.

85.

He shall at the end of every voyage set out by the Company make a severall booke of the charges of that voyage, to be presented by him to the Auditors, and by them to the Court. His wages for the present shallbee tenne pounds *per annum*; and twenty pounds, when the publike lands shallbe thorowly planted.

Beadle.

86.

The Beadle or Messenger is to bee at command of the Governour, Deputy and Courts: He is to warne all Quarter Courts, and Courts extraordinary, all meetings of the Assistants, and of all select Committies. His wages tenne pounds *per annum* for the present, and twenty pounds when the publike lands shall bee thorowly planted.

Generality.

87.

The particular Members of the Company shall be subject to the generall Courts, in matters concerning the Company or

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Plantation. If any man find himselfe agreaved by a lower or ordinary Court, hee may appeale to a great and Quarter Court; where the matter shall be heard and finally ordered. If any man refuse to obey both the one Court and other, he shallbe suspended from the Courts for three yeeres, and so much longer till he submit himselfe to the order of the Court.

88.

Every man speaking in Court, shall addresse his speech to the Governour, or Deputy in his absence; as representing the Court: and all private speech, or directed to particular persons, shall bee forborne.

89.

No man in one Court shall speake above thrice to one matter, save the Governour and the Deputy, being to moderate the busines.

90.

No man with his speech shall interrupt the speech of another before he have finished; except the Governour, or in his absence the Deputy, (with approbation of the Court) see cause to put any to silence for impertinency or other unseemly speaking.

91.

If any man be found by sinister course, to practise his owne advantage, to the damnifying of the publike, or be found with the Companies money or goods in his hands, and refuse to deliver the same, being lawfully thereunto required; If being summoned to the Court, he refuse to appeare; or appearing, performe not the order of the Court; hee shall be both suspended from the Courts, and further proceeded against, as an unworthy member and wrong-doer to the Company.

92.

If any man out of evill mind, practise to rayse faction or dissention in the Company, he shall for the first time be admonished by the Governour and the Court; and at the second time be suspended from the Court for three yeeres.

93.

Whosoever shall attempt by private solicitation to packe the Court to any unjust or unlawful end: hee shall upon complaint be convented before the Governour and Principall Assistants; and being convicted thereof by judgement of the Court, hee shall be suspended from the Court for three yeeres.

94.

If any man be found through corrupt reward, to make a motion in the Court, tending to the publike hurt, or to the private wrong of another; hee shall be forthwith suspended from the Court for ever.

95.

No man shall presume to intercept letters, written by or to the Governour or Company, or to spread false rumours upon sinister intent to the wrong of the Governour, Company or Colony. The offender shall bee suspended from the Court for ever.

96.

No man shall traduce any Member of this Company in the Court of any other Company, for anything done or spoken in this Court. The offender for the first time shall be admonished: for the second, suspended from the Court for one yeere; and the third time, for more yeeres as the Court shall thinke meete.

97.

To avoid the drawing the Company into debt henceforward, It is ordered that no man other than the Governour or Deputie, by the advice and assent of the Principall Assistants, make or propound any new project of charge to the Company: but that he therewithal offer good meanes to defray that charge, and uphold his project in such sort that the Company be never drawn againe into any further debt. And the breakers of this Order, shallbee excluded from the generall Courts, and from having voice or bearing office for one yeere after.

98.

If any man moove for any charge to the Companie by way of gift in what sort soever: It shall be first referred to a select Committie: And if the charge doe not exceede ten pounds, it may be ordered by the next Court; If above, it shall be reserved to the Quarter Court ensuing.

99.

It shall not be lawfull for any Owner of land, to sell or transport his shares to another, otherwise than in open Court: And not before it do appeare under three of the Auditors hands that the partie transporting his shares stand cleere, and bee not indebted to the Company; or the partie to whom they are passed, pay the said debt.

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Lawes.

100.

No Lawes or standing Orders shallbe made by the Company otherwise than in this manner: First, after the propounding of them in Court, they shall be referred to the discussing of a select Committie: the Committies shall present their labours to the view of the Assistants: The Court of the Assistants approving them, they shall bee brought to the Court of Preparation next before the Quarter Court, and there openly read: and lastly they shall passe the Judgement of the Quarter Court.

101.

The Lawes and Orders thus made shallbee fairly registered by the Secretary in a Parchment book: which he shall bring in every Court, and lay on the Table, that all men may peruse them that are so disposed.

102.

In the Quarter Court in Hillary Terme, all Lawes and Standing Orders concerning the Company here, shallbee publikely read in the beginning of the Court, till such time as it shall seem fit to have them printed.

103.

The abrogating of a Law or Order, shall proceed by the same degrees, by which the making.

104.

All Orders heretofore made repugnant or swarving from these, shallbe henceforth void.

Orders and Constitutions for the Summer-Ilands &c presented to the Quarter Court held the 6 of February, $162\frac{1}{2}$, and finally enacted and established in the Quarter Court held the 29 of May, 1622.

THE SECOND PART.

Land in the Summer Ilands.

105.

The Land in the *Summer-Ilands*, is partly publike, partly private. The private land is divided into eight Tribes, lying

from the Common Land in this Order: Namely, *Harington* and *Hamilton's* Tribe, *Smythe's* Tribe, *Devonshire* Tribe, *Pembroke* Tribe, *Paget's* Tribe, *Warwicke* Tribe, *Southampton* Tribe, and *Sandys* Tribe: Each of these Tribes is sub-divided into fiftie shares belonging to particular owners; save that two shares in *Pembroke* Tribe are appropriated forever in quality of Gleabe land to the Minister. To *Southampton* Tribe there have been also annexed five other shares or parts out of an *overplus* of land that fell out in the Devision,[1] three whereof have beene given by the Company to one of the Governours in the said *Summer-Ilands*: and the other two are appropriated for ever in qualitie of Gleabe Land to the Minister.

106.

The little Ilands and spots of Land scattered about these Tribes, and not appropriated to any Tribe at the admeasurement of the Land as parcell of the same, shall lye in common to the use of *al* the eight Tribes: But the spare land lying neare the fresh water in every Tribe, shallbe divided in proportion to every share, and shallbe orderly layd out for the building of houses, and for gardens and other easements to bee adjoyned to them, that the people may live more comfortably as in Townes together.

107.

All the residue of the Land, with the little Ilands and spots adjoyning, is and shall for ever continue publike Land, that is to say, the Land of the Governour and Company of the City of London for the *Summer-Ilands*: and shall not be alienated from the Bodie of the said Company, or subdivided amongst the said Company or any part thereof: Save that two hundred acres of the Iland, called *Davies* Iland, [David's] shallbe annexed to *Harrington* and *Hamilton's* Tribe, to make recompense for the alleaged sterility of the Land in that Tribe; and excepting such other Lands, as have been already lawfully alienated or granted by former Quarter Courts, if any such be.

108.

Neverthelesse, the publike Land shall receive the division insuing, for publike uses and services. Fiftie acres next to Saint *George's* Towne, shall be appropriated forever in quality of Glebe Land to the Minister: and fifty other acres next to *Harington* and *Hamilton's* Tribe, in like sort to another Minister. The Governour of the *Summer-Ilands* there residing, shall have allotted to him and his Successors, twelve

[1] See the explanation at p. 141.

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shares of land, containing three hundred acres: which Land shall lye together in Saint *George's* Iland, and shall begin at the poynt next *Penistons* Iland at the East, and so shall take all the Land before it from sea to sea; save that the fifty acres belonging to the Minister, shall lye neare to the Church and Parsonage House; and the Governour shall take charge of the three Forts in his owne Land. The Sheriffe shall have also allotted to him and his Successors there residing, foure shares of Land, containing one hundred acres, next adjoyning to the Governor's land.

And the Secretary shall have two shares containing fifty acres. There shallbe also allotted to the Captaines of the other Forts, eight shares of Land, containing in the whole, two hundred acres, *viz*: to the Captaine of the two Forts in *Peniston's* Iland, two shares: to the Captaine of the Fort towards Saint *David's* Ilands, two shares: to the Captaine of the Fort on *Cooper's* Iland, with a Platforme over against the Forts at the *Gurnards* Head, two shares, and to the Captaine of the Forts on Gurnards Head, two shares: which shares of land shallbe laid out of good Land, and in places most convenient for the Officers aforesaid: all the residue of the publike Land, shall be occupied for the use of the generall Company; and to defray the publike charges for the safegard of the said *Summer Ilands*; and in workes for the generall good of the Inhabitants thereof, according as the said Company shall appoynt.

109.

The Governour's Land, at the charge of the Company, is to be furnished with two Tenants to every share: In like sort the Lands of the Sheriffe, and of the Secretary, and the Glebe Lands of the *foure* Ministers: the Lands also of the foure Captaines of the Forts above specified. And it shall not be lawfull for the said Governour, Shereffe, Ministers, Secretary, Captaines or any of them, to let out his or their Tenants to hire, or to imploy them elsewhere, or otherwise then in occupying of the said Lands respectively, under a grievous penalty to be inflicted upon the offender by the Judgement of a Quarter Court. And the Governour, Sheriffe, Ministers, Secretary, and Captaines aforesaid, and their Successors for ever, shall at the yeilding up, or leaving of their places, be it by death or otherwise, leave the like number of Tenants to their Successors, as shallbe left unto them from their Predecessors, or as they shall have received from the Company.

110.

For the benefit and better incouragement of all Handicraftsmen necessary for the *Summer-Ilands*, it is granted and

ordered, that every Ship-wright, Carpenter, Joyner, Mason, Brick-maker, Brick-layer, Smith, Cooper, Sawyer, and all other of like necessary Handicrafts, that shall goe to the *Summer-Ilands* to inhabit upon the publike Land, and there to exercise their Handicrafts, shall have two acres of the said publike Land set out unto each for an House and Garden, paying the yeerely rent of two shillings, at the feast of Saint *Michael* the Archangell, to continue in like sort to them, their heires and assignes; upon Condition that they continue also the exercise of some Handicraft occupation, and wholly forbeare the planting of Tobacco upon the same Lands, and not otherwise.

111.

If any Handicraftsman aforesaid shall desire to be placed in any of the Tribes; it shall bee lawfull for any Owner in every of the said Tribes, to demise unto any of the said Handicraftsmen, two acres of his Land, or a lesse quantity, but not above, for such yeerely Rents as they shall agree on; upon Condition that the said Handicraftsman continue the exercise of his said Trade, and wholly forbeare the planting of Tobacco upon the same Lands, and not otherwise.

112.

All the Lands in the *Summer-Ilands*, as well publike as private, shallbe occupied to halfe profits, betweene the owners and the occupiers; except the Lands granted or demised to the said Handicraftsmen, and such Proprietors as themselves shall inhabit upon their owne Lands, and such other as shallbe hereunder excepted: and all other Contracts shallbe voyd.

113.

Yet no children, or young men under the age of twenty and one years, shall share by halves in the profits, as other men doe; nor live upon shares by themselves; but with Masters of families; there being found to them diet, lodging, and apparell convenient, with some other yeerely allowance of profit, according to their abilities and deserts. And if any owner of Land shall contract with his servant or Apprentice, to serve him at any other rates, and not at the halfe profits, till the said servant or apprentice shall have accomplished the full age of twenty foure yeares, the said Contract shall stand in force and validity.

114.

The Governour, and other officers, shall take care for the preservation of the breed of Birds, by reserving to them those

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Ilands whereunto they resort. Also for preservation of the young Tortoyses, by such orders, and under such penalties, as by the generall Assembly hereafter to be spoken of shallbe set downe.

115.

They shall also have especiall care of the preservation of Timber that no waste be made thereof. And in particular that no man presume without the owner's consent under his hand and seale, to cut down young Cedar trees, before they be come to their growth, under a grievous penalty to be assessed at the discretion of the said Governour and Councell. Neither shall they suffer any Timber, boards or Plankes, to be transported out of the said Ilands, without especiall warrant from the Governour and Company heere.

116.

Care also shallbee taken that all sorts of trees, which defend the Ilands from Winds and tempests, bee preserved and maintained ; and where decay hath been that young Plants be there set and cherished.

117.

All Grants from the Company, of mens private Lands in the *Summer-Ilands*, shall pass under the Common Seale of the Company ; which shall bee sufficient Evidence for their said Land : provided that both the Grantees, and they from whom they derive their estate, before the affixing of the said common Seale to their Grants, stand cleere from being in any way indebted to the Company.

118.

No man may be owner of more than ten shares of Land in the *Summer-Ilands* ; except it shall please a Quarter Court to grant liberty to any man for five shares more, or under, but not above : which Grant must be confirmed also by the Quarter Court next ensuing. The Transgressor of this Law, either directly or indirectly, shall forfeit his Shares exceeding the lawfull number to the Company. But if they accrue unto any man by discent or Legacy, in those cases there shall be granted unto him the liberty of twelve moneths, to alienate the shares exceeding the lawfull number.

119.

All Grants of Land and Liberties in the *Summer-Ilands*, shall be passed by Indenture ; the counterpart whereof shall be sealed by the Grantees ; and the Secretary shall have the ingrossing of all such Indentures.

120.

No Patents or Indentures of Grants of Lands in the *Summer-Ilands*, shall be sealed with the Companies Seale, but being read and approved in a Quarter Court; the same having been also first examined and allowed under the hands of a select Committy for that purpose.

121.

No liberty shall be granted, tending to the exempting of any man from the authority of the Governour or Sheriffe of the *Summer-Ilands*, or of the Councell or Courts to be there established, in any case of Treason, Rebellion, Sedition, Heresie or Schisme; or upon any duty to be performed for the necessary defence of the Countrey, or for the preservation of the publike peace, and suppressing tumults within the Land, or for Trials in matters of Justice, by lawfull orders to be from hence delivered; or in cases consented unto, as well by a Generall Assembly of the Colony there, as by the Company heere in a Quarter Court. And all Grants swarving from this Order, shall be deemed unlawfull and surreptitious.

122.

In all Grants of Lands, a fifth of the Royall Mines of Gold and Silver shall be reserved to the Company, as another fifth is already reserved to the Crown.

123.

There is also and shall be forever reserved to the Company the Moity of all lawfull wrecks; and the other Moity shall be to the Recoverers. But if the wrecke be driven within the bounds of any particular mans Land; the Recoverers shall yield to the Owner of the said Land the one halfe of their Moity.

124.

There is likewise and shall be forever reserved to the Company, a fifth part of all the Ambergreece that shall be found; and the rest shallbe divided equally betweene the finder and the Owner of the Land where the same is found; save that three shillings four pence upon every ounce of the said Ambergreece, shallbe allowed to the Governour of the said Ilands. And whosoever shall not discover to the said Governour and Sheriffe, and some one other of the Councell, the true quantity of the Ambergreece so found, within five days after the finding of the same, shall forfeit his owne intire part to the Company, and be subject to such other punishment as the Generall Court shall award.

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125.

In all Patents or Indentures of Grants of Lands the Grantees shall covenant to imploy their people in reasonable sort in Staple Commodities, and not wholly or chiefly about Tobacco.

126.

All Grants of Lands shall be made with equall favours, and Grants of like liberties and immunities as neere as may be; to the end that all complaint of partiality or un-indifferency may be prevented.

Officers in the Summer-Ilands.

127.

All Principall Officers in the *Summer-Ilands*, and namely the Governour, Sheriffe and Secretary, shall bee chosen heere by Ballating in a Quarter Court.

128.

The Ministers, and the Councell established in the *Summer-Ilands*, and all other Officers there reserved to the choyce of the Company heere, shallbe chosen in a Quarter Court by onely erection of hands; unlesse the Court desire to have it passe by Ballating.

129.

The Commissions to all Officers there, excepting Ministers, shall bee onely for three yeeres in certaine, and afterward during the Companies pleasure; onely the Governour shall, upon no occasion hold that place above sixe yeeres together.[1]

130.

The Company here shall not bee charged with the maintenance of the Officers there: But they shall be maintained there, out of the publike Lands, or by such other meanes as shall bee heerafter set downe.

Governour in the Summer-Ilands.

131.

The Governour to be sent to the *Summer-Ilands*, shall be chosen a man well-affected in Religion, and zealous of the Service of God; a Person discreet, industrious, moderate, just and valiant. His commission is to be for no longer time than three yeeres, to be counted from the date of the same. Never-

[1] This restriction was removed about 1676 in favour of Sir John Heydon.

thelesse, his said Commission is not to take effect, till the expiration, or other determination of the Commission to a former Governour, or till the delivery thereof to the new elected Governour; either here in *England*, or in the said *Summer-Ilands*, as the case shall require. Howbeit it is and shall be lawfull, by a new and solemne Election, in manner before set downe, to continue the said Governour in his place of Government for longer time, according to his deserts; so as the same exceed not sixe yeeres in the whole together. And if it happen that the Commission to any such Governour expire before the arrival of his lawfull Successor; In that case hee shall continue still in his place of Government, till such time as his said Successor shall arrive there; Immediately whereupon he shall yeeld up the Government to him.

132.

The Governours duty is to have a vigilant eye upon the strength and safeguard of the Ilands, both from forraine Invasion and intestine Mutinies. In which case hee hath authority to exercise Martiall Law, according to the manner and forme limited by his Maiesties Letters Patents.

133.

It is also his duty to have an eye upon the Ministers, as well that the people performe their duty toward them, and use them with all due respect and reverence; as also that they performe the duty of their place, in duly observing the solemne Divine service, and training up the People in the true feare of God, and observance of his Commandments. In assured allegiance also and duty to the King, his Heires and Successors: In obedience also to all other subordinate Governours and Government, placed over them by authority derived from his Maiesty: And lastly, in a fraternal love and unity among themselves. In all which, the example of the Majestrates and Ministers, will bee of more force then any other perswasion whatsoever.

134.

It is the Governours Office, to have care of the due administration of Justice to all the people, as well in cases criminal as Civill; wherein the equity of the Lawes of *England*, & forme of administration of Justice here used, is to bee followed as much as may be: Neverthelesse the Governor of himselfe alone shall not make any order in Causes litigious, without both parties consent: but shall heare and determine Causes with the Councels assistance and assent, in such manner as shall bee hereafter set down.

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135.

In all causes civill brought to the Governour and Councell at the first instance, they may proceed to hearing, and determining thereof in their ordinary sittings. But if it be brought to them by appeale from some other Inferior Officers, or if appeale be made from themselves, the Tryall thereof shall be reserved to the next Generall Sessions.

136.

The Governour shall not proceed as of himselfe alone to the Corporall punishment of any man, other then three daies imprisonment. If the crime deserve higher punishment, he shall proceede by the advice and assent of the Councell. Provided alwaies, that matters of Treason, Murder, and Felony; also of Forgery, Periury, Conspiracy, and such like, be reserved to bee tried at the next Generall Sessions according to the Lawes and formes of Triall used in this Realme.

137.

The Governour in the *Summer-Ilands*, hath power granted by his Maiesty, to minister a formal oath to any person there whosoever, for the examination, testifying and clearing of the truth in any cause whatsoever, as well concerning the *Plantation*, as any other particular businesse there arising, for the maintenance of Peace and Justice amongst the Inhabitants. Of which power he shall make use there, in all causes and to all such persons, as the like is done by the Judges and Justices of this Realme.

138.

The Governour shall not suffer any man to depart from the *Summer-Ilands*, against whom there is any Cause or Suit in Law depending; unlesse the Defendant shall first substitute an Attorney sufficient to answere and undergoe the suit in his place; and also enter into bond with two sufficient Sureties to performe whatsoever Sentence shall pass against him. And if the Governour and Councell see probable cause to conceive that the suit is set on foot upon malice, and to stop the Defendant from his intended iourney; in that case the Plaintiffe shall likewise give good security to pay to the Defendant double costs and damages, if the Sentence passe (or) not against him.

139.

The Governour is to hold two generall Sessions in every yeere at times to be appoynted by the generall Assembly here-

after mentioned: whereunto every Tribe shall send sixe men chosen by themselves to serve for that Tribe, and the common Land twelve: And all other having businesse, or summoned by the Governour and Councell, may, and shall repaire thither, and make their appearance. And no man shall depart till the Sessions be ended, without leave of the Governour.

140.

The Governour shall also, in every second yeere, once, hold a generall Assembly, for the making of Lawes and Orders for the particular necessities and occasions of those Ilands, and the Inhabitants thereof, and for the ordering of other important businesse; which Lawes and Orders shall no further forth be of force and validity, if they receive not confirmation afterward in a Quarter Court heere. In this Assembly, the Governour shall act as President, to moderate the Assembly, and shall have a Negative voyce. The Councell shall sit next to him, and each have his severall voyce; but if they all ioyne in one opinion, that also shall have the force of another Negative: And lastly, each Tribe shall by Election send out foure able persons to represent that Tribe: And the occupiers of Common Land, eight: who shall likewise have free voyces in that Assembly; where all things shall bee established by plurality of voyces, the foresaid Negatives reserved.

141.

Lastly, it is the Governours duty, to oversee all inferiour Officers that they performe their duties. To which end he shall minister a formall oath to all other Officers and inferiour Ministers in the said Ilands whatsoever, for the iust, true, and faithfull discharge of their severall places, duties and services.

142.

The Governour shall not impose any fines or Amercements for his owne behoofe: But all Fines, Amercements, Forfeitures, and Confiscations shall accrew to the publike service of the *Plantation*; or to such other uses as are before, or shall bee hereafter particularly expressed; to be levied and kept by the Sheriffe, and to be expended or paid over by direction of the Governour and Councell.

143.

The Governour shall not lay any taxes or Impositions upon the Lands in the *Summer Ilands*; or upon the people or Commodities, otherwise then by the authority of the generall

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Assembly; to be levied and imployed as the said Assembly shall appoynt.

144.

The Governour shall not withdraw the Inhabitants from their private labours, to any service of his owne, upon any colour whatsoever. And in case the publike necessity require imployment of many hands, before the holding of a generall Assembly so give order for the same: In that case, the levying of men shall be done by order of the Governour and whole body of the Councell, and that in such sort, as to be least burthensome to the people, and most free from partiality.

145.

The Governour shall not grant leave to, nor suffer the Tenant or servant of any man to returne into *England*, or otherwise to depart from the occupying of his Landlords or Masters Lands, before the time of his Covenant be fully expired; except the Owner of the Land, under his hand and Seale give consent thereto.

146.

The Governor also, in quality of Captaine Generall, shall have care that the people bee trained up to Military service; and shall from time to time give seasonable advertizm̄t, for provision of Shot, Powder, and other Ammunition to be made. He shall also have yeerely a generall Muster or view of Armes; and shall yeerely returne to the Company a list of the names of all the trained Bands, together with a Certificate of all defects whatsoever.

147.

The Governour shall not forsake his charge, nor depart out of the *Summer-Ilands*, during the time of his Commission, without especiall Licence of a Quarter Court heere, under paine of being disfranchised for ever as an unworthy person; and further censured and proceeded against, as by a Generall Court shallbe thought meet.

148.

If it happen the Governour of the *Summer-Ilands* to dye, before the expiration of his Commission, or arrivall of his Successor; in that case the whole body of the Councell shall assemble together, and chuse any of themselves to succeed in that place of Government; unlesse, or till such time as the Company take other order. The like course shallbe held for all other Principall Officers.

Sheriffe.

149.

The Sheriffes Office shall bee, to see or cause the Judgements of the Governour and Councell, especially those at the Generall Sessions, to be put in due execution. At which Sessions hee shall also impannell the Juries with all Indifferency.

150.

He shall also levie, or cause to be levied, all Fines, Amercements and other forfeitures whatsoever; all Taxes and Impositions lawfully assessed. And the same in quality of a Treasurer to the Colony, shall keepe or convert to the most profit for their use, and shall expend the same for no other than publike services; and that by direction from the Governor and Councell; and shall openly at every Sessions deliver up in writing, a true account of all such his receits and disbursements. The allowance for his charges, as well in executing the foresaid Judgements, as also in levying the said Fines, Amercements, Forfeitures, Taxes and Impositions, shall be such, as by the said generall Assembly shall be set downe.

151.

He shall also in quality of a Treasurer to the Company carefully collect and levie all such profits, as shall any way belong to the Company, by reason of the Royalties and other Commodities to them reserved, or by reason of any forfeitures due to the Company: and shall cause them to be yeerely transmitted to the Company, together with his account; for which he shall receive from them an extraordinary reward. The like shall he do for the forfeitures due to the particular owners of lands.

152.

All Shot, Powder, Armour, and other Ammunition whatsoever, with all publike provisions sent from the Company to the *Summer-Ilands*, shall be consigned to the custody and charge of the Sheriffe; who shall not deliver out the same, or any part thereof, but by order, either from the Company here, or from the Governour and Councel there, whereof the said Sheriffe shall yeerely give up a true and perfect account in writing; as well to the Governour and Councell there, as also to the Governour and Company here. And if any Officer or other person, by himselfe, his servants or agents shall sell away any of the publike provision of Shot, Powder, Armes, or other Ammunition, to the wrong of the Company, he shall make restitu-

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tion to the double; and being an Officer make forfait also of his place.

153.

Lastly, the Sheriffes duty is once at least every Quarter, and oftener if there be cause, to visit the eight Tribes, as also the *Publike Lands*, and all the severall parts both of the one and other; and by diligent enquiry, to see how as well these Orders of the Company, and all other instructions, as also the contracts and agreements betweene the severall members of the Company, and the Tenants or Servants, are observed; and with the advice and assistance of the Overseers of the Tribes, and of the Chiefe Masters of Families, shall proceed to the reforming and rectifying of what is found amiss, according to such orders as shall be established. And if any man be found intracticable or incorrigible by the Sheriffe, hee shall bee summoned by him to appeare before the Governour and Councell, either at the generall Sessions, or otherwise, as the cause shall require.

Ministers.

154.

The Ministers being to be foure, shall have their Churches and Parishes thus placed and divided. The first Church shall be at *S^t George's* Towne: and that Parish shall extend over all the publike Land save that parcel which adjoyneth to *Harrington* and *Hamiltons* Tribe on the Maine. The second Church shallbe on the said publike Land fast adjoyning to *Harrington and Hamiltons* Tribe, and that Parish shall extend over that part of the publike Land, being as is said before on the Maine; as also over all *Harrington and Hamiltons* Tribe and *Smiths* Tribe. The third Church shall bee in *Pembrooke* Tribe, upon the two Shares there bought for Glebe Land to the Parsonage: and that Parish shall extend over *Pembroke* Tribe, *Devonshire* Tribe, and *Paget's* Tribe. The fourth Church shall be on the confines of *Southampton* Tribe, and *Sandy's* Tribe: and this Parish shall extend over *Southampton* Tribe, *Warwick* Tribe, and *Sandys* Tribe. Neere adjoyning to their Churches shall the Parsonage Houses be built. And for the better yeerely maintenance of the Ministers, over and above their Houses, Glebes and Tenants as aforesaid; It is ordered, that there shall bee apportioned to them out of the fruits of the earth, and Cattel, growing and renewing within their severall Parishes, a certaine portion by way of charge upon every Share or Farme; so as to make up each Minister's Intertainment in that kind, to

the value of one hundred pounds a yere, or thereabout. Which value of one hundred pounds the yeere shall commence at the end of seven yeeres after the making hereof. And in the meane season, the proportion for their yeerly maintenance, besides the said Glebe Lands, shall bee such as shall bee agreed upon betweene the Company and the severall Ministers.

155.

Whereas the Owners and Occupiers of the Land, have of their own voluntary gift, offered the hundredth part yeerely of all their Tobacco, towards the building of the said Churches and Parsonage houses; it is ordered that the Overseers of every Tribe, as also of the common Land shall yeerely collect the same, and deliver it upon account to the Sheriffe; who by advice and direction from the Governour and Councell, shall take order for the erecting of the said Churches and houses: and faithfully expend that which shall arise by the said Collections upon the uses aforesaid, and thereof deliver up a yeerly account to the said Governour and Councell; who shall transmit the same, or a Copy thereof to the Governour and Company here. The works being finished, the Gift also shall cease.

156.

The Ministers shall diligently apply [to] their vocation, and shew themselves Patternes of Piety and virtue to the people. They shall by helpe of the Overseers of the Tribes, and other chiefe men in their Parishes, indevor to reforme all disorderly persons. If any appeare incorrigible, he shall be presented to the Governour and Councell; who shall proceed to reformation by exemplary punishment, according to the quality of the Offenders mis-deserts.

157.

For the avoyding of Sects and Factions in Religion, the Governor and Councell shall be careful to suppresse by course of authority, all factious and seditious Preaching, teaching and disputing, as well in private, as publike.

Secretary in the Summer Ilands.

158.

The office of the Secretary is to keepe, or cause to be kept a Register-Booke of the Decrees and Orders of the Councell there; and to deliver to the Sheriffe, and other Officers to whom it shall appertaine, a Copy of such of them as are to bee published, or to be put in execution.

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159.

It is also the Secretary's Office, at the General Sessions to performe, or cause to be performed, the office of Clarke of the Peace, and Clarke of the Assizes; and to have care that all Trialls doe passe in due forme of Law; and to keepe a Register Booke of all the verdicts and Judgements: and to deliver to the Sheriffe a Copy under his hand, of such of them as are to be put in execution.

160.

The Secretary shall also in all generall Assemblies, hold the place of Speaker; and have care that all things proceed and passe in due order; and shall keepe a Register Booke of all the Acts there passed being first signed by the Governor and the Councell present.

161.

It is also ordered for the present time, till a more convenient course may be taken, that the probate of Wills, committing of Administrations, and all other Acts incident to Testamentary Causes, shall be annexed to the Secretaries Office; who shall likewise keepe an exact Register of them. The Ministers also in their severall Parishes shall deliver unto the Secretary at every generall Sessions, a note of all the Christenings, Marriages, and Burials which have been in their Parishes from the generall Sessions last before; which the Secretary shall likewise enter into a Booke, and shall send a Copy thereof yeerely to the Company.

162.

The Secretary at the arrivall of every Ship at the *Summer-Ilands* shall make a true list of the names of all the people then arriving with intent to continue and inhabite in the said *Summer-Ilands*, of what sex, age and Trade they are, and upon whose account they are sent. And likewise at the departure of every Ship shall make a like list of the names of all the Inhabitants that depart therein, with their sex, age, and Trade, and whose Tenants, or servants they have formerly bin, together with the cause of their departure. Both which hee shall enter in a Booke there to be kept, and a Copy thereof shall transmit to the Company by the severall ships returning.

163.

Lastly, it is the Secretaries duty to be assisting to the Governour, as well in dispatch of all Letters and other Writings to the Company; as also in publishing all Orders, Commissions, and other directions whatsoever, which the Governour there shall receive from the Governour and Company heere; and to have

care with the Governour, that the said Orders, Commissions and directions be duly executed; and that thereof a reasonable account be given to the Governour and Company heere.

164.

The Secretary, for his service at the generall Sessions, and at the generall Assemblies, and for Testamentary causes, shall have such Fees as shall bee set downe by the generall Assembly.

Captaines of Forts.

165.

The Captaines of the Forts ought to bee men discreet, and commended for fidelity. They are also to bee expert Gunners, and trained up in Military service. Their duty is to have care of the safety of the Forts committed to their severall charges, and that they bee well furnished with all necessary provisions. There shall be also assigned by the Governour and Councell, a competent number of the publike Tenants to the service of every Fort, to be trained up to that service, and to be alwaies in readinesse when occasion shall require: which Tenants in consideration of that attendance and service, shall pay to the Company only a fourth part of their yeerely profits. If any of the Captaines of the Forts die there, his place shall be supplyed by appointment of the Governour and Councell there, till such time as the Company here proceed to a new Election.

Overseers.

166.

Out of the sixe persons sent yeerely from every Tribe to serve for that Tribe at the Generall Sessions to be held in the Spring or former part of the yeere, the Governour and Councell shall chuse out two, to have the place of Overseers of that Tribe for the yeere ensuing. And the Governour shall openly in the said generall Sessions, minister unto them a formall oath for the due execution of their Office. Provided always, that at the humble petition of any Tribe, the Governour and Councell if they thinke good, may continue either one or both of the Overseers of the former yeere, for the yeere also ensuing. Like course shall be held for the Overseers of the publike Land in all poynts. Provided always, and it is reserved to the power of the Company here, to place such Overseers there from time to

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time, as they shall please to elect and nominate in any of their Quarter Courts.

167.

The dutie of these Overseers, is in their severall charges, to divide with an even and just hand betweene the owners and their Tenants, all the Tobacco and other Commodities growing within their charge. And to the end that they may better inform themselves what Crop is like to bee received out of the whole Tribe, they shall, about 14 daies before the usual time of gathering their Commodities, generally surway all the Ground so planted throughout, and diligently observe what quantity each Tenant or Servant hath planted; and the same register in a booke; a Coppie whereof, as likewise of the Divident, they shall send under their hands unto the Company here. When the division is made betweene the Owner of the Land and his Tennants or Servants, as justly both for quantity and quality as they can: They shall cast lots upon the Moities, and take [that] part for the Owner which shall fall unto him by Lot. Which done, they are likewise to have faithfull care, that the owners part of such Goods as are fit, or shall be directed to bee sent, bee duly packt up sealed and conveied to the Ship, (unlesse the Owner under his hand and seale give other direction), to bee sent to the Company heere, or as the Company shall direct. Other Goods unfit to be sent by Sea, they shall dispose of as the Owners shall appoint. Provided alwaies, that the Tobacco to bee divided, be cured and made up in best manner, before the said Division bee made. And concerning the Tobacco and other Commodities of the growth of the Overseers themselves, the same course shall bee held, as well for division thereof betweene them and their Landlords, as also for disposing of the Landlords Moity in manner aforesaid: Save that the division of the Tobacco, and Commodities of the one Overseer, shall be performed and perfited by the other reciprocally.

168.

These Overseers also, in their severall charges, shall diligently enquire what Debts are owing by Tenants or Servants, to their Landlords. To which end the Landlords shall acquaint the Overseers, with the severall Contracts betwixt them and their Tenants or Servants. All which hereafter, for the avoiding of fraud or quarrell, shall passe by Indenture. And the said Overseers, after the division once made, shall cause satisfaction of the Debts appearing to be due, to be made to the Landlords, before they deliver the Moity due to the Tenants or Servants: provided that there be alwaies meanes left for livelihood and subsistence, to the occupiers of the Land.

169.

And to prevent all wrongs on either side, betweene Landlords and Tenants or Servants: It is ordered, that the Governour at every Generall Sessions, shall charge the Grand Jury, to enquire by all lawfull meanes of such defaults: and especially to enquire if any fraud have been committed by the Tenants or Servants, in concealing or secretly conveighing away any of the said profits to be divided, before division of the same be made. And after presentment made, and tryall thereof had, the Governour there shall cause a true and perfect Certificate thereof to be made unto this Company, under the Jurors hands. And for the better discoverie of all such misdemeanors, It is ordered that all the Overseers in every Parish, shall once every Quarter meete together at their Parish Church and warne every Parishioner to be there; thereby to learn what presentments shal be made of the said misdemeanors, or any other of the like nature; the better to prepare that generall information. And in case any such purloyning, imbezelling, deceit or fraud shall be proved, and the Tenant or Servant thereof found guilty, the person so offending, either presently, or soone as he hath wherewith to doe it, besides restitution, shall bee compelled to pay one fourth part of all the Tobacco, or such like profits, which he hath or shal have growing the same yeere; to be seized upon by the said Overseers in their severall charges; which fourth part being subdivided into three parts; the one part shall be to the Landlord or Master of the said Tenant or Servant, another part to the said Overseers, as an increase of their Salaries, and a third part to the Informer or Informers. The like penaltie shall be for every wrong done by the Landlord or Master to his Tenant or Servant.

170.

It is the dutie also of the Overseers, to take up all pettie controversies, and to informe the Governour and Sheriffe of all matters of greater importance: To see the people diligently and discreetly to apply to their businesse: To acquaint the Sheriffe from time to time, of the estate of each Tribe; what persons there are on each Owner's land: what bee their names, and what their indevours; and in what estate their Farmes doe lye, that the same may be yeerely certified by the Sheriffe to the Company. They shall also have care, that the severall Lands or Farmes be wel used, and occupied in husbandly manner by the severall Tenants and Servants: That the houses be maintained and kept in repaire: And that the Timber be preserved, according to the orders concerning it.

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171.

The Overseers in regard of their great care and paines, if they performe their dutie according to their oath, shall have two in the Hundred waight of all the Tobacco growing within their precincts, to be taken out of each Moitie at the division made as aforesaid.

Councell.

172.

Out of the Officers aforenamed, the Governour shall have a Councell to assist him, which shall be ordinarily these: The Sheriffe, the two Ministers planted on the publike Land, The Secretary; Two Captaines of the Chiefe Forts, & the first of the Overseers of the publike Land. Neverthelesse, at the Generall Sessions and upon other especiall and extraordinary occasion, there shall sit with the Governour, as being of the Councell, the other two Ministers, and the first of the two Overseers of every Tribe. There shall bee also of the Councell, all such as have held the places of Chiefe Governours or Sheriffes of the said *Summer-Ilands*, and have worthily for their times discharged their offices, and not beene censured for misdemeanors, either by the Company here, or by such Commissioners as shall bee sent from hence with such authority. Lastly, it is in the power here of a Quarter Court, to appoint any other particular person to be of the Councell there, whom they shall please to choose.

173.

It shall not be counted an Assembly of the Councell, unlesse that foure of them, or three at least bee present, beside the Governour; and that without practise or purpose to exclude the rest.

174.

It is the dutie of the Councell there, to be assisting to the Governour with their faithfull and carefull advice, both for the strength and safeguard of the said Ilands; and for the well Government of the people; as also for the due administration of Justice in all causes brought before them; and for the observance of all the Lawes and Orders delivered unto them by authority from hence, and such other particular instructions as from time to time they shall receive. To the performing of which dutie, the Governour shall administer to every of them, at his admittance to be of the said Councell, a formall Oath. And in all meetings of the said Councell, Resolutions and Judgements shall passe by plurality of voices: but the Governour

shall have both two voices, and also a casting voice in the said Meetings.

175.

The Governour with the whole Councell, shall sit as Judges or Justices in the generall Sessions, wherein by Agreement amongst themselves, they shall publish to the people what times they will hold for their ordinary hearing of causes and administration of Justice, in all such matters as shall come or be brought before them; which times they shall not faile duly to observe. Neverthelesse, it shall be lawfull for the party grieved, to appeale from any Sentence given by the said Governor and Councell, to a more solemne triall at the next Generall Sessions; Yet so, that hee put in good security to pay double Costs and Charges to the party at variance with him, if the matter passe against him at the Generall Sessions, be it either by the verdict of Jury, or by the judgement of the Governour and whole body of the Councell, as in cases of equity and not triable by Jury. The same Law shall be for all other appeales whatsoever.

176.

The pleading of all causes both Civill and Criminall shall be *ore tenus*; and plaine. The parties by themselves or by their more able friends declaring and alleaging what they have to say each for themselves: And the witnesses shall bee present, and heard *viva voce*; being first sworne: Onely the sentence shall bee fully set down in writing, and registred in a Booke to be kept for that purpose.

Inferiour Officers.

177.

The Governour and Councell shall, at their Meeting at the Generall Sessions, chuse & appoint al other Inferiour Officers, necessary either for the due and speedy administration of Justice, or for other publike service in the said *Summer-Ilands*, whose fees shal be such & no other, as shal be rated & set downe by the General Assembly from time to time. Which Generall Assembly may also at their pleasure alter and reforme the said Officers and Offices; with reference alwaies to the pleasure of the Companie here, as is before expressed.

178.

In like sort the Inhabitants of every particular Tribe, as also of the publike Land, being assembled by the Overseers

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respectively, shall have power to chuse such inferiour Officers, for the behoofe and service of the said Tribes and publike Lands respectively, as they shall finde necessary, with allowance of such Fees from the said Inhabitants, as they shall agree on: Which shall be subject to the Confirmation or reformation of the said General Assembly, in manner before delivered.

Commissioners.

179.

The Governour and Company here, by Order in a Quarter Court, shall once in three yeeres, if they think it so expedient, send or appoint Commissioners for the said *Summer-Ilands*: Men, fearing God, Men of gravity, wisdome, courage and integrity uncontrouled, to examine the actions as well of the said Governour and Councell, as of all other Officers, or which in former times have borne Office within the said Ilands: Who shall also have power, according to the tenour of their Commission, to proceed to the censuring and reforming of all Delinquents: And the said Commissioners, during the time of their Commission, shall be exempted from any Jurisdiction over them in the said Ilands: and of all their proceedings, they shal from thence, or at their returne, make due Certificate to the Governour and Company here.[1]

Inhabitants.

180.

The Inhabitants of the *Summer-Ilands*, shall duly frequent the service of God, and thereat behave themselves with all decency and reverence, under penalty to bee set downe by their generall Assembly. The Masters also of Families, shall by aid and direction of their Minister, see their children, Servants and other Co-habitants, brought up in the true knowledge and feare of God, in the hatred also of vice, and exercise of piety and virtue.

181.

They shall carry themselves loyally both in deeds and words towards the *King*, his Heires and Successors. They shall also behave themselves reverently and dutifully, as well toward the Governour and Company here, as also toward the Governour and Councell there; under penalties to be set downe by the Generall Assembly. If any man suppose himselfe to have iust

[1] See p. 239 for the oath taken by these commissioners, who were more than once appointed.

cause of grievance, he shall not by mutinous speech raise discontent also in other men; but exhibite his Petition or Complaint to the Governour and Councell; who shall transmit the same to the Governour and Company here, from whom he shall receive right and iustice without delay.

182.

The Tenants or Servants shall not by unreverent speech or writing, abuse their Landlords or Masters under a penalty to be inflicted upon them by a great and generall Court heere; But hee that hath cause of Complaint, shall exhibite his Petition in manner aforesaid.

183.

If any of the Company heere, by any sinister meanes seeke to oppresse or wrong any of the Inhabitants there; after Complaint made and proved, either before the Governour and Company heere, and the Governour *or* Councell there, and certified hither, as the case shall require, besides the forfeiture above mentioned in the said *Summer-Ilands*, whereof one third part shall be to the party grieved; hee shall be also severely proceeded against in a Quarter Court here.

184.

If any man be a Common Swearer, or profane abuser of the Name of God, if after lawfull admonition by the Magistrate or Minister, he does not reforme himselfe, besides other due punishment, he shallbe declared infamous.

185.

If any man of unquiet or contentious spirit, be a common raiser of quarrels or brabbles amongst neighbours; besides other penalties to be inflicted according to Law, he shallbe condemned by the Governour and Councell to be a person infamous.

186.

A person by lawfull sentence condemned and declared to be infamous, shall, during the time he so continueth, be uncapable of any office of dignity or command: But in offices ministeriall, and of toyle only and labour, he may, and shall be imployed. He shall not sit or stand in the church with the rest of the Congregation, but in a lower place apart by himselfe: and in all other Assemblies, he shall alwaies sit or stand in the meanest place. His testimony shall not be received in any cause or businesse. If he commit any Crime, or break any Law or order, his punishment shall be double to that of another man in the

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like case. If he presume to doe anything contrary to this Order, hee shall indure sixe dayes strait imprisonment for the same. And every person declared to be infamous, shall so continue till hee publikely declare his repentance and reformation at a generall Sessions; and thereupon be discharged from his infamy.

187.

If any man being of an idle and vaine disposition forsake his labour, or other businesse, and thereby give example to other men to doe the like: Hee shallbe admonished thereof by the Sheriffe, or Overseer. If after admonition he persist in his idle course of life, he shall be declared infamous. But if the same person become also a wanderer or vagrant from the due place of his service; hee shall for the first time be onely admonished; but for every offence after, he shal by order of the Sheriffe or Overseers, be scourged on the naked backe at the whipping post, as a Rogue; and the entertainers and relievers of every such wandering person, or of any Fugitive from the businesse of his lawfull Landlord or Master, shall for every time or day of such entertainment forfeit ten pounds of Tobacco, or the value thereof; whereof the one Moiety shall be to the use of the Landlord or Master so wronged, and the other moity shall be to the use of the publike workes of the Plantation.

188.

If any man be a Drunkard, or a common haunter of Tippling houses; if after admonition he doe not reforme himselfe, besides other due penalties, he shallbe declared infamous. And the Governour and Councell shall in their General Sessions, from time to time, take especiall care for limiting the number, and reforming the abuses of all Hosteries, Tavernes or Drinking-houses of what kind soever.

189.

If any man be a common spender of his time in dicing and carding, or other vaine or unlawful gaming; or use the same at times unseasonable; he shall be declared infamous.

190.

Whosoever shall in bravery of apparell exceed his degree: if after admonition he doe not reforme the same he shall in all publike burthens beare the double to any others.

191.

The Sheriffe and Overseers of Tribes, shall take diligent notice also of such persons, as by their orderly and industrious

course of life, give good example unto those amongst whom they live: whereof, and of their other good parts and abilities, they shall give information to the Governour and Councell, from time to time, who upon that, and such other information as they shall take, shall advertize in like sort the Governour and Company heere of the men of best quality, good carriage and sufficiency in the said *Summer-Ilands*; that the Company may accordingly preferre or otherwise reward persons of good sufficiency and well deserving.

192.

No Tenant or Servant, set out and furnished by any Owner of Land according to their mutual agreement, shall, during the terme contracted for betweene them, shift his Master or Landlord, or occupie any other man's Land, or come away from the said Ilands, without his Landlords or Masters consent in writing under his hand and seale.

193.

Whosoever shall by any perswasion whatsoever intice or withdraw the Tenants or Servants of any Owner of Land, to forsake the occupying of the said Owners land, shall forfeit the one Moity of all his part of Tobacco or other profits growing in that yeere; whereof two third parts shall be to the Owner of the said Land, and a third part to the Informer. But if any man shall seeke to draw away any of the Tenants of the publike Lands; hee shall forfeit the double of the foresaid forfeiture, to bee levied part in that yeere, part in the yeere ensuing. Of which forfeitures, two thirds shall bee to the use of the Company and one third to the Informer: And the Tenant or Servant so inticed or withdrawne, or withdrawing himselfe, shall be immediately returned to the said Owners or publike Land, as the case shall require.

194.

No Tenant or Servant shall alienate, lend, or let to hire any Apprentice or Servant provided, sent, or contracted for by the Landlord or Master, to be placed or imployed upon his owne Land, without leave first obtained from the Owner of the said Land, in writing under his hand and seale. The offender shall forfeit One hundred pounds of Tobacco, and in want of Tobacco, other goods to the like proportionable valew, to be levied to the use of the said Owner or Landlord: and the said Alienation, hiring, or lending out, shall be utterly voyd: And the said Apprentice or Servant shall bee returned to his first place, imployment and service.

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195.

If any Tenant or Servant, being sent over to the *Summer-Ilands* by his Landlord or Master to be imployed upon his Land there, shall afterward betake himselfe to some handicraft trade, or other course of life, and either in whole or in great part neglect the occupying of his said Landlord or Master's land; he shall pay unto his said Landlord or Master, during the time of the Contract with him, the Moity as well of all the profits by his other earnings, as of the profit of the said Land which hee shall occupy, to be rated, assessed and levied by such waies and meanes as shall be set downe in the Generall Assembly.

196.

If any man marry the Maid-servant of any Owner of Land, or the Widow of any of his Tenants or Servants sent over to inhabite upon his Land there; he shall by the Governour and Councell, pay to the said Owner, the ratable part of furnishing out, and transporting the said Maid-servant or Widow, Consideration being had to the time that shee hath served her Master, or the owner there.

197.

It shall not be lawfull for any Tenants or Servants to abuse the Owner's land on which they are placed: but they shall use it in an orderly and husbandly manner, according to the Owners directions, or according to such directions as they shall receive, either from the Governour and Councell, or from the Sheriffe and Overseers in their severall charges who shall take the well using of the Lands in the *Summer-Ilands* into special consideration: The Transgressor, after admonition and direction, shall forfeit the one Moity of his profits for that year, to the use of the Owner of the Land abused.

198.

The making and repairing of the Forts, also of Bridges, and Highways, and the preserving of the bounds of every mans Land, shall be performed in such sort, and by such meanes as the Generall Assembly shall appoynt.

199.

The Governour and Councell shall take into consideration the building of houses in the said Ilands, and give order that they may bee strongly and durably built; and being built, that they be wel maintayned and kept in repaire. The execution of which order, and Survey of the said buildings, shall be committed by them to the charge of the Sheriffe and Overseers or

such other as they shall thinke meet to appoynt; the violation of this Order shall be censured and punished at the discretion of the Governour and Councell, at their next general Sessions.

200.

No kind of timber wood growing in the said Ilands, shall be used for firewood, under the penalty to be set downe in the generall Assembly over and above the double valew thereof to be forfeited to the owner of that Land.

201.

No Tenant or servant shall cut down any Timber trees, but upon a Survey and setting out thereof by the Overseers, respectively: which Timber so cut downe, shall be laid up and preserved for the building of houses, and other necessary uses with the owners consent. The transgressor of this order shall be amerced at the discretion of the Governour and Councell, whereof the one moiety shallbee to the Owner of that Land, and the other to the publike services of the *Plantation*.

202.

The Timber of the Land of one Owner, shall not be carried from thence to the Land of any other, or to the use of any other person, without the Owners consent under his hand and seale, under paine of the double valew, to be forfeited to the Owner, and levied to his use. But if necessity require that the Timber growing upon any private mans land, be taken for publike use of the Company and Colony; the Owner shall be paid for the same by the Company or Colony, according to a true estimate by an indifferent Jury.

203.

The Inhabitants shall not live too much scattered or single one from another, but draw themselves to live in a Family at the least, where it may conveniently be, so as to eate and worke together.

204.

Neither shall they wholly apply themselves to the planting of Tobacco; but rather to other more stabile and solid Commodities, as the Governor and Councell by directions from hence, or as the General Assembly shall appoynte.

205.

All bad, rotten, and otherwise unwholesome or unmarchantable Tobacco, being tried by order inacted in their Generall Assembly, shallbe publikely burnt, under such penalties for

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concealing of the said bad Tobacco, or neglecting to put the said Order in due execution, as by the said Generall Assembly shall be set downe. And if the badnesse of the said Tobacco, have happened meerly by the negligence or other default of the maker thereof; he shall be bound to continew in occupying of the Land where the said Tobacco did grow, one whole yeere longer than his contract with his Landlord; and so *toties quoties*, in recompence of the said Landlords losse undeservedly sustained.

206.

It is ordered that every Tribe, at the common charge thereof, shall build a sufficient Storehouse with two roomes; the one for keeping corne, the other for their Armes: and that each man be provided of one Sword and Piece at the least; and that all Pieces be of two sorts, Callivers and Muskets; and of one kind of bore, to avoid confusion by diversity of moulds and bullets. And the Inhabitants of every Tribe being assembled by the Overseers, shall agree amongst themselves for the safe and cleane keeping both of the said Corne and Armour; that the one may bee sweet, and the other bright and serviceable. In defect whereof, the Governour and Councell shall set downe a certaine Order for the same; which the Sheriffe shall see put in due execution.

207.

It is likewise ordered, that for the preventing of dearth, each Family sowe or plant a convenient quantity of Corne, according to the proportion that the generall Assembly shall set downe. Of which Corne, a certain quantity (to be rated likewise by the said generall Assembly) shall at every Harvest, being well conditioned, bee brought into the publike stores before mentioned; which at the Harvest of the next yeere shall be faithfully delivered out to the true Owners thereof, at their bringing in of new Corne of like quantity to the same. Provided alwayes, that in case of generall scarcity, the Corne in the said Store-houses may bee delivered out to the Deliverers in thereof, before the time of the Harvest; or to others that shall bee prest with greater need, satisfying the Owners according to the true valew thereof. The penalties for neglect or breach of this Order, are likewise referred to the General Assembly.

208.

Whereas by reason of divers uncertainties and difficulties, through the great remotenesse of the *Summer-Ilands*, the particularities of sundry matters mentioned in these Lawes, are referred to such further Orders, provisions and penalties, as by the generall Assembly to be held in the said Ilands, shall be thought

iust and expedient: It is therefore ordered, that the Governour of the *Summer-Ilands*, which shallbe sent thither next, doe within one halfe yeere after his arrivall there, hold a Generall Assembly: and that therein, according to the trust reposed in him and them, they doe, with grave and mature deliberation proceed to the setting downe of the Orders and penalties here referred to them: and thereof together with the rest of their proceedings, make a full and authenticall Certificate to the Company, to receive their approbation, or reformation, as there shall cause appeare.

Trade.

209.

It shall be free for all the Members of this Company, to trade into the *Summer-Ilands*, with the Colony there, by Commission from the Governour and Company heere; which shall be denyed to no man; and according to such Orders as the Company shall finde expedient for behoofe of the Colony. Provided notwithstanding that if any man be found by himselfe, his Factors or Agents, to use any fraudulent or oppressive course, to the wrong either of the Inhabitants there, or of the Owners of the Land, in that case the Company shall inhibite the party so offending, whether by himselfe, or by his Factors or Agents, from trading to the said Ilands, during the space of five yeere then next ensuing: and under such penalty as shallbe set downe in a great and generall Court. And for the better discovery of all fraud and oppression, the Cape-Marchant or Factor for every publike joynt-stocke or *Magazine* shall keepe a true Booke of the Sale of all the Commodities then sent and transported to the *Summer-Ilands*; expressing both to what persons, as also in what quantities, and at what prices they shall have bin sold; which Booke shall be presented to the view and consideration of a generall Court.

210.

If in any joynt-stocke or *Magazine* to be hereafter erected, the generall Company, out of their Common Cash beare part as an Adventurer: they shall ratably partake like profits, and undergoe like losse, with other Adventurers: and any Order to the contrary shallbe void. In which case also the Court shall appoint the meetings for the *Magazine*.

211.

The Governour and Company heere, as also the Governour and Councell residing in the *Summer-Ilands*, shall from time

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to time have especiall care, that as well the Passengers to and fro, as also the Inhabitants in the *Summer-Ilands*, maintain friendship and good correspondence with all other Nations being in league or amity with his Maiesty, and the Crown of *England*; and that they forbeare all hostile or injurious acts or attempts against them, or any of them, in their persons, Possessions, Lands, Goods, or businesse, upon penalty to be proceeded against as Malefactors in the highest nature, and disturbers of the generall Peace established by his Maiesty.

Land in Virginia.

212.

Whereas the Company for *Virginia* in consideration of the great defect of the quantity of Land in the *Summer-Ilands*, conceived to have been at the time of the sale thereof to this Company, and to make recompence for the same, have ordered in one of their great and generall Courts, that there shall bee granted by them, and under their legall Seale, a large proportion of Land in *Virginia*, to be and continue to the Company of the said Summer-Ilands, and the members thereof for ever, for the better support of the said Company, and of the Inhabitants of the said Ilands: It is therefore ordered, that a select Committee be forthwith appoynted, as well to pursue the perfecting of the said Grant; as also to take into carefull Consideration, how the planting and peopling of the said Land in *Virginia*, may be proceeded with in most effectuall sort, and without delay, and as may be most for the support of the said Summer-Ilands: which Committee shall from time to time, reduce into writing, and present to the Courts, their proceedings therein: so to receive resolution and further direction.[1]

Note on the Overplus (Art. 105).

27. Richard Norwood, in his Book of the second survey, of 1662–3, gives the following account of this tract, which formed the western portion of the present parish of Southampton, and originally contained about 207 acres :—

[1] This arrangement is still commemorated by the name of the Bermuda Hundred, Chesterfield County, Virginia; and it may be mentioned *en passant* that the infusorial earth so well known to microscopists by the name of Bermuda Earth comes from here, not from the Islands of Bermuda.

The occasion (he says) of this *Overplus* was this. When I had order from the honor^{ble} company to subdivide the country which was about the year of o^{r} Lord 1616 (elsewhere, he says, 'about 47 years ago') I knew not exactly y^{e} Quantity of the whole, but perceived there would not be land sufficient to lay out for every share 26 acres. And I was much pressed to subdivide as much as might bee before o^{r} magazine shipp, then here in harbo^{r} went for England, that so the company might be certaine y^{t} y^{e} worke was begun and like to be finished, as they much desired. Therefore I went presently in hand with it, and laid out 25 acres to a share, choosing rather to leave an overplus then to want anything

The cause why this Overplus was left in this place, namely betweene Southampton tribe and Sandys tribe was this. Hauing subdivided the first foure tribes, y^{t} is to say Hamilton, Smith, Devonshire and Pembroke tribe, the season of the yeere was come for setting of corne. And the whole Country was then greivously *afflicted with ratts*. Where vppon y^{e} Gouernor Captain Daniell Tucker and his counsell being assembled, did determine and order that all the country for y^{t} yeare should set the corne in Sommerset Iland, that so they might the better preserue it from the Ratts, which formerly had devoured almost all. Now if they should have cleared ground there before y^{e} shares were laid out, they would haue cutt away y^{e} places w^{ch} should be left betweene one mans ground and another, not knowing where they would fall: therefore they ordered that hauing finished Pembrooke tribe, I should next goe in hand with Sommersett. I shewed y^{e} Inconveniences of it, but being expressly so ordered by y^{e} Governor and Counsell, I did forthwith subdivide Sommersett Iland and y^{t} being finished returned to my former course: viz. to Pagets tribe, then Warwick tribe last of all to Southampton tribe and by this meanes y^{e} overplus fell out betwixt Southampton Tribe and Sandys tribe. This I thought good to expresse because some haue thought it was laid out here for other ends and causes.

This allusion is to the fact that several of the most influential members of the Company held shares in Southampton Tribe, such as the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Thomas Hewitt, and Captain D. Tucker himself, and some of these were supposed to have so arranged it for their own advantage, the land being of the best quality. There does not appear to have been any foundation for this suspicion. Two out of seven shares were made

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glebe. Captain D. Tucker obtained three; the other two were allotted to Colonel Richard Sandys.

28. Norwood may have had the advantage of some previous survey begun by Bartlet, and had no doubt the plan, now lost, which had been made by Sir George Somers himself (p. 39); but that he should have estimated that the land would divide into 400 shares of twenty-five acres, and would not divide into as many of twenty-six acres, which, if his subsequent measurements were correct, was exactly borne out, argues remarkable ability in so young a man. It is only necessary to compare his chart of 1622 with that of the Admiralty, based on the laborious surveys of Captain Hurd, R.N., 1783–97, to perceive that his reputation as an accurate surveyor must have been well established when he undertook the celebrated measurement of two and a half degrees on the earth's circumference, by chaining the distance from London to York, in 1639. As on that occasion his instruments were a quadrant and plane table, without telescopic sights, he is likely to have had nothing superior for his survey of the Somer Isles, twenty years before. His method appears to have been to run lines by compass straight across from south to north, measuring their length very carefully with a chain of 99 ft. (not the modern chain of 66 ft.); these lengths vary from 500 yards to about a mile, taking an average in each allotment or share he gave it such width as would include twenty-five acres; and the shares thus laid out are the foundation of all divisions of property in Bermuda to this day.

29. The Gouerno^{rs} grievance [Nathaniel Butler].

Copie vnder Mr. Lewis Heughes his hands [1] a paper transmitted to the Company in England.

1. Because his maintenance (contrary to yo^{r} pmise and order of Court) is not made good

[1] The Rev. Lewis Hughes, Hughs, Hues, Hewes, or Heughes, one of the two first ministers in Bermuda.

2. Because he hath no allowance of Sailes, Stuffe, nailes, nor anything else for generall Boates

3. Because hee hath no oyle allowed for the fixing of small shott, no nettes, lines, nor hookes: no cloathing for the negroes, no hands to gather his corne: noe meanes to man out a boat when shippes are discouered, but, is forced to supplie all those out of his owne pticular meanes

4. Because certein clauses and provisoes haue beene suffered to passe in open court without checke w^ch^ haue basely and falsely insinuated a charge of reproach and miscarriage in him

5. Because false rumours and scandals tending to his disreputacon haue bene tollerated and received, and some have writt imperious ltres full of threatening, as though hee were there apprentice

6. Because the tenne that were sent him out of Newgate are a burthen vnto him, because the men cannot worke, and if they could he hath no ground to place them on:[1] neither will any hire them, because they came out of Newgate. The woemen are many of them with childe and their Bastards to be kept by him: both men and woemen are like to go naked or to bee cloathed by him

7. Because hee is whollie disabled to proceed in any such workes as appertayne to the defence of the Islands—or soe much as to keepe his boates afloat.

8. Because of the proposition of sugar canes, the w^ch^ hee is forced to put the people vpon, there is broken off the most important peece of worke that was ever yet thought vpon in the Somer Islands vizt the making of a tenable blockehouse vpon the top of an hill in Penystons Island [now Paget's Island] to command with great advantage not only the harbour and harbour mouth w^ch^ by reason of the vnskilful contryving of Pagitsforte is not halfe well secured but also serue as a sure place of retreate for woemen children and impotent persons, in case any suddaine landing of the enemie by shallops should bee made on the maine.

9. Because of the not performing of the order of court w^ch^ injoines a continuall supplie of generall men (but instead thereof warrants and passes are sent for the taking off of the few that are left) not only the fortes are left destitute of all necessarie manning of them vpon any occasion, but also there will not be found hands enough to man a boat to set vpon any discoverie. It is thought that the Gou^e^no^r^ will not be able this yeare to mainteine ten men at St Georges w^ch^ makes

[1] Smith distinctly places this arrival in the first year of Butler's government, 1620.

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the People both thinke and say, that their liues and safetie of the Islands, are nothing p^rcious in the eyes of the aduenturers

10. Because the execution of the non diuident order of Tobacco hath extreamely discontented the people

Because vpon slight information, and sute made by some passionate men that thinke all to be iustice that makes for their private benefite, that in such cases yo^u impose vpon the gou^eno^r the execution of them after the forme of their suggestions, so that many times vpon the examination of the cause, although it be found farre otherwise then yo^u haue beene informed yet the Gou^eno^r through want of due proviso to bee inserted in yo^r orders of Court in these cases cannot swerve from your said vnlimited injunctions *for feare* of incurring the daunger of a contempt.

11. Because it is conceived that vpon *newes of your prohi*bicon of the admittance of such *Dutch ships duely* commissioned, some of them may wr*eake their anger on vs* and others may vndergoe infinite *hardship from the* want of ordinarie refreshm^t of wood *and water, on whose* report of w^ch hard vsage, the rest w*ill be incited* to make the same warre vpon vs, as they *make on Spain in the* West Indies, holding vs to bee no lesse vnhos*pitable than so many* saluage men

12. Lastly, because yo^u haue given certaine comissions to some officers in prime places who are found by him to bee altogeather vnfitt for such commands his desire is to be informed whether the said commissions may bee countermanded by him, or noe, in case hee finde them to remaine vnfitt and that in y^r gennerall Lres you will resolue him in that pointe.

30. The Peoples grievances [these follow on the same page, see *ante*, p. 161].

1. Want of ministers of gods word

2. Want of all necessarie supplies, especiallie of Shoes and cloathing, nettes and lines and also of stuffe to trimme and make boates. It is to be feared that halfe the boates in the Islands will *this winter* be destitute of sailes, and bee readie to sink in the sea thorowe want of stuffe to trimme them, what miseries may ensue there vpon everie man may conceiue

3. The tying of them to the highe prices of yo^r magazin and keeping of them as slaues without shippes or meanes to relieue themselues from other places

5. The non divident, whereby all conversing one with another is taken away

6. The threatening speeches of some vndertakers, one said, that he would see his men hang and starue before hee would supplie them. An other said that hee would see them hang and rot before he would supplie them. Another said, If they grow rich they will not care for vs : wee must look to that

7. The Imposition that is laid vpon everie pound of Tobacco besides the Taxes that are laid vpon them in the Islands for publique vses

8. The Daunger of their liues if enemies should invade because the fortes are not sufficiently mand. And do want gunners, powder, shott, and other necessaries

9. Want of necessarie Tradesmen as sawiers, carpenters, Turners, Cowpers, Coblers, Smithes and . . . These aforesaid greevances doe cause the people to sighe and some of them to say, Wee are the kings *subiects and free*men wee will serue the king and *obey and honor* him The marchants slaues wee *will not bee. It will* neuer bee well with vs vntill wee *bee giuen vp vn*to the King.

31. The following is a copy of the earliest deed of sale recorded, and may doubtless be taken as a sample of the conveyancing of the day in regard to lands held under the Royal charter :—

1622. To all people to whom these present writings shall come. The right Hon'ble Henry Riche Knight Captayne of his Mat[ies] Guarde and 2nd son of the right Hon[ble] Robert late Earle of Warwicke deceased, and the ladie Issabella wife of the said S[r] Hen. Riche send greeting in the Lord God euerlasting. Whereas for and by reason of certayne summes of money heretofore payd by S[r] Walter Cape Knight (now deceased) into the Treasurie of the Somers Islands Companie There did belong appertayne vnto the said S[r] Walter Cape twoe shares of land in the said Somer Islands [1] which twoe shares of land doe now of right belong and appertayne vnto the said S. Hen. Riche and the Lady Issabella his wife, (in right of the said Lady Issabella) as sole daughter and heiress of the said S. Walter Cape deceased Now knowe ye that the said S[r] Hen Riche and the said Lady Issabella his wife (for diuers good causes and consideracons them therevnto mouing) Haue giuen graunted assigned and transferred And by these presents doe fuelie and absolutilie giue grant assigne and transferre vnto Hen Percy and Marie his

[1] They were in Paget's tribe, as appears by subsequent recitals of conveyance (Percy to Ffrancis Meverell, sen., 1623; Ffrancis Meverell, jun., to Will Burges, 1640).

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wife their heires and assignes for euer The said 2 shares of land in the Somer Islands aforesaid with all lands powers priuiledges Jurisdictions and p.fitts & comodities w^t^soeuer that doe or shall belong or apptayne vnto the same. And all rents arrerages of rents & pfitts w^t^soeuer of the same 2 shares and either of them. And also all the estate and estates right title interest Inheritance proptie clayme & demaund w^t^soeuer of them the s^d^ S^r^ Henrie Riche and the Lady Issabella his wife or either of them of in and to the said two shares of Land [recited in] the premises To haue and to hould the said two shares of land and all other and things afore hereby graunted or meant mentioned or intended to be graunted and euerie pte & parcell thereof vnto the said Hen. Riche, his wife their heires and assignes for euer To the onlie vse and behoofe of the aforesaid Henry and Marie his wife and of their heires and assignes for euer As fullie and wholie in as large ample & beneficiall manner & forme to all intents constructions and purposes as they the said S^r^ Henrie Riche & the Lady Isabella his wife or either of them or the heires of them or either of them may might or of right ought to haue hold and enioy, or to haue had held or enioyed the same in any manner or waye.

In witnesse whereof the S^d^ S^r^ Henrie Riche and the Lady Isabella his wife haue hereunto sett their hands & seales. Dated the 26th day of September Anno Dni 1622

Signed RICHE
HENRIE RICHE

1622. 32. The Oath of the Governor of the Somer Islands:—

[These forms occur, without date, at the commencement of the book A, and doubtless are of the same period as the preceding instructions.]

You shall sweare to beare fayth and allegiance to the kinges Ma^tie^ his [Lawfull [1]] heires and successors, you shall truly and faythfullie pforme all matters belonginge to your place of Governour of the Somer Islands soe farr as shall lie in your power. you shalbe carefull to preserve and keepe safe the saide Islands both from forraigne Invasions and Intestine mutinies and shall not deliuer or suffer to be deliuered up the said Islands or any pte of them into the hands or possession of any other than such as shall haue Lawfull authoritie from the Governo^r^ and

[1] Word interlined in a later hand.

Companie of the Citty of London for plantation of the Somer Islands by virtue of His Ma^ts^ letters Pattents to Receaue the same, you shall uprightly and sincearelie w^th^out reward or ptialitie administer justice or cause the same to be administered to all his Ma^ties^ subiects in the said Islands. You shall haue care that the people there liue in the ffeare of God and in alleegiance and dutie to the Kinge his heires and successors and in obedience to all subordinate Governo^rs^ and governm^t^ you shall ouersee all inferio^r^ officers as much as conveniently you can that pforme their duties. You shall not suffer any wronge or p^r^iudice to be wrought to the said Gouerno^r^ and Companie in there Lawfull authority ryghts goods or possessions but generally shall in all thinges use your true indeauo^rs^ for the lawfull advancement both of the benefitt of the Companie, as also of the welfayre and pseritie of the Colonie so helpe you God.

33. The Oathe of the Sherriffe of the Somer Islands:—

You shall sweare to beare fayth and allegiance to the Kinges ma^tie^ his heires and Successors, you shall trulie and faythfullie pforme all matters belonging to your office of sherriffe of the Somer Islands. Soe far as shall lie in your power you shall be carefull as far forthe as shal belonge to your place to pr.serve & keepe safe the said Somer Islands both from forraigne Invasions and intestine mutines and shall not practize or p.cure consent or suffer that the said Islands or any of them be deliuered up into the hands or possession of any other than such as shall haue Lawfull authoritie from the Governo^r^ and Companie of the Cittye of London for plantacon of the Somer Islands by virtue of his Ma^ties^ ltres pattents to receaue the same. You shall carrye yourselfe vprightlie w^th^out partialitie thorough affeccon or corrupt reward in the administracon and execucon of Justice in the said Islands, you faythfully collect all fynes & amerciam^ts^ and all taxes & imposicons lawfully assessed in qualitie of a Treasurer to the Colonie & expend the same for the publique services by direction of the Governo^r^ there and Counsell, you shall also in qualitye of a Treasurer to the Gouerno^r^ & companie aforesaid carefully collect and leavye all pfitts of royalties & other generall comodities to them reserved or by reason of any forfeiture due unto them and shall cause the same to be yerely transmitted to them as much as shall lie in yo^r^ power. The shott powder armo^r^ and all other amminicon w^th^all other publike puisions sent from the said Governo^r^ and Companie you [shall] carefully and faythfullie keepe and pr.serve and not

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expende or deliuer out the same but by lawful order. You shall haue a care accordinge to your abilitye hauing noe lawfull impediment that the contracts and agreements betweene the severall members of the companye & their tennants & servants be duely observed. You shall be carefull so farr forth as belongeth to yo^{r} place that the people there liue in the feare of God and in alleagance & dutye to the kinge his heires and successors and in obedience to all subordinate Gouerno^{rs} and Gouernm^{t} you shall oversee all inferior officers as much as conveniently you can that they pforme their duties you shall not suffer any wronge or pr.iudice to be wroughte to the saide Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie in there lawfull authoritie Rights goods or possessions but generally shall in all things doe yr true indeauo^{rs} for the lawfull advancement both of the benefitt of the Companie and also of the welfayre and p.speritie of the Colonie So helpe you God

34. The Oathe of the Secretarie of the Somer Islands. [Identical with the oath of the sheriff down to 'execucon of Iustice in the said Islands.' It proceeds: 'And likewise in all testamentarie causes belonging to your office.' The remainder is also the same as the oath of the sheriff from the words 'you shall not suffer any wronge,' &c.]

35. The Oath of Captains of Forts in the Somer Islands :—

You shall sweare &c. you shall trulie and faythfullie p.forme all matters belonginge to you place of Captaine of fforte or fforts committed to your charge so farre as shall lie in y^{r} power. You shalbe carefull so farr forth as shall belong to your place, to p^{r}serve and keepe safe the said Somer Islands, both from forraigne invasions and intestine mutinies, and shall not practize nor p.cure, or suffer that the said Islands or fforts or any pte of either be deliuered vp into the hands or possession of any other then such as shall haue lawfull authoritye from the Governor and companie . .

[The remainder is to the same effect as the oath of the sheriff, from the words 'you shall oversee.']

36. The Oath of a Counsellor of the Somer Islands :—

You shall sweare &c you shall in all things to be moved treated and debated in that Councell concerninge that plantacon or the trades thereof faythfullie & trulie declare yo^{r} mynde and opinion accordinge to yo^{r} harte and conscience and shall keepe secret all matters treated in that councell wherein secrecye is required until such tyme as by consent of the Governo^{r} there and the greater pte of the councell publicacon shall be made thereof . . . you shall be assistinge to the said Gouerno^{r} of the Somer Islands with your faythfull and carefull advice both for the strength and safety of the said Islands & for the well government of the people as also for the due administration of Justice in all causes brought before you wherein you shall proceed vprightlie and sincerelie wthout partialitie thorough fauour & reward You shall have care that the people there liue in the feare of God and in alleageance and dutie to the kinge his heires and successors and in obedience to all subordinate Gouerno^{rs} & gouernment, you shall not suffer any wronge or p.uidice to be wrought to the said Gouerno^{r} and Companie in theire lawfull authoritie rights goods or possessions but generallye shall in all thinges use your true indeavou^{rs} for the lawfull advancement both of the benifit of the said Companie and alsoe for the wellfare and prosperitie of the Colonie Soe helpe you God

37. The Oath of the Overseers of the Companies land in the Somer Islands :—

You shall sweare . . . you shall accordinge to the order and Constitutions of the said Gouerno^{r} & companie make or cause to be made a true & iust diuision of the p.fitte and comodities growinge upon or wthin the said companies land betweene the said Gouernor & companie and their tenants or seruants and shall cause as farr forth as shalbe in your power the parte of the said pffitts belonginge to the said Gouernour & companie to be safelie p^{r}serued & shipped for England for their use or otherwise disposed of as shalbe directed. You shall to the best of your skill find out and discouer all fraud and wronge doeing in the said Tennants and seruants towards the said Gouerno^{r} and Companie and the same shall disclose to the Gouernor and counsell in the Somer Islands to the end that due redresse & reformacon thereof may be had you shall be truly ayding and assisting to

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the sherriffe of the Somer Islands at such times as he shall come to visite the said Companie's land as well in doinge your good endeavours to cause or p.cure that the Contract betweene the said Gouerno^{r} and Companie & their tennants or seruants be p.formed and that the debts be dulie satisfied as also in giuing him notice of the true Estate of the said Companie's land both touchinge the p.sons and the seuerall possessions in the same. You shalbe Carefull soe farr forth as belongeth to your place that the people in the said Companies land liue in the feare of God and in all integritie to the Kinge his heires and successors in obedience also to all subordinate Governo^{rs} and gouernment and lastlie in peace and good demeano^{r} amongst themselues you shall not as in you lyeth suffer any wronge of p.iudice to be wrought to the Gouernor & Companie in there lawfull authoritie right goods or possessions but generallie shall in all thinges doe y^{r} true endeauour for the lawfull advancement both of the benifitt of the Companie and also of the welfayre & p.speritie of the Colonie Soe helpe you God

38. The Oathe of the Overseers of the Tribes in the Summer Islands :—

You shall sweare &c

You shall accordinge to the orders and constitutions of the said Gouernor & companie make or cause to be made a true & equal diuision of the profitts and commodities growing wthin the said tribe betweene the seuerall owners of the Land in the same & there *tennants* or *seruants* and shall cause as farr forth as shalbe in your power the moyetie of the said pfitts belonging to the said owners to be safelie p.served and shipped for England for the owners use or otherwise disposed of as shalbe dyrected You shall to the best of yo^{r} skill find out & discou^{r} all fraude & wronge doeinge as well in their tennants & servants towards theire Landlords as likewise in the said Landlords towards theire tennants and servants inhabiting in the saide Tribe and the same shall disclose to the Gouernor & councell there to the end that due redresse & reformacon thereof may be had you shall be trulie ayding and assistinge to the Sherriffe of the Somer Islands at such tymes as he shall come to visit the said Tribe as well in doing your good endeavour to cause or p.cure that the Contracts betweene the landlords or m^{r} & theire tennants or seruants be p.formed & that the debts on both sides be trulie satisfyed as alsoe in giuing him notice of the estate of the said Tribe both touching the psons and the severall posses-

ions in the same. You shall be carefull so far forthe as belongeth to your place that the people in the said Tribe live in the feare of God [see preceding oath]. Soe helpe you God.

39. The Othe of commissioners for the Sum̄er Islands. [See Rule 179, *ante*, p. 220.]

You shall sweare &c

You shall trulie and faythfully for your pte as farre forth as shall lie in yo^{r} power p.cede in the due execution of the com̄ission to you and others directed for hearinge & determining the complaints against the psent and late Gouernor [1] officers & others in the Somer Islands accordinge to the tenure of the saide commission and accordinge to such other instructions as you shall receave herewth you shall not herein doe anything thorough p.tiall favo^{r} or displeasure or wth sinister intent or upon feare or for corrupt reward but shall to the best of your skill p.cede sincerelye & uprightlie hauing God and his justice in your harte & before your eyes. Soe helpe you God.

40. The Oathe of the Inferior Officers of the Somer Islands:—'You shall sweare,' &c. [This oath is in general terms nearly verbatim the same as those in the oath of Governor.]

41. The Oathe of the Constable of the Somer Ilands:—

[The following is entered in the book B between two proclamations of Captain Henry Woodhouse, the second of which is dated July 26, 1624, but it may conveniently follow here.]

You shall sweare that you shall well and truly serue our Sovereigne Lord the King in the office of a constable. You shall see and cause his Ma^{ts} peace to be well and duly kept and p^{r}served according to your power, you shall arrest all such persons as in your sight shall goe armed offensiuely or shall comitt or make any Ryot affray or breach of his Ma^{ts} peace you

[1] Probably N. Butler and D. Tucker. Numerous charges were brought against the former. The terms of the oath do not appear to apply to the Commission which in January 162$\frac{2}{3}$ investigated the affair of the Spanish wreck.—C. P. p. 32.

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shall doe your best endeauours vpon complaint to you made to apprehend all fellons, barrato^{rs}, and riotous persons riotouslie assembled and if any such offend^{r} shall make resistance with force, you shall levy hue and cry and shall pursue them vntil they bee taken yo^{u} doe yo^{r} best endeavour that hue and cryes bee dulie pursued. And that the statutes made for punishm^{t} of Rogues, vagabonds, night-walkers, and such other idle persons coming within yo^{r} bounds or limitts bee duely put in execucon you shall haue at watchfull eye to such persons as shall mainteyne or keepe any comon house or place where any vnlawfull game is or shall be vsed, as also all such as shall frequent or vse such places or shall vse or exercise any vnlawfull games there or else where contrary to the statute. Yo^{u} shall well and duly execute all precepts and warrants to yo^{u} directed from mee the Gouernor of these Islands And you shall well and duly accordinge to your knowledge, power, and habilitie doe and execute all other things belonging to the office of a constable so long as yo^{u} shall continue in this office. So helpe you God

42. To y^{e} honor^{ble} Companie of Marchants of Bermuda Februar. 6 162½.

162½. The wreck of the Saint Antonio.

The Spanish Ambassador y^{e} *Earle of Gundamar* doth certifie vnto y^{e} hono^{ble} Comp. of marchants of y^{e} Bermuda that a certeyne ship called *S^{t}. Anthony* of 300 tun haueing run vpon the Rocke nere the Island of y^{e} said Bermuda and some of y^{e} passengers hauinge saued themselues by meanes of y^{e} Cocke boate, and y^{e} rest by what other waie theie could, the said cocke boate was taken from them by the English men there wthout p.mitting y^{e} Spaniards in no case to retorne back to saue and to benifite themselues of y^{e} goodes wth w^{ch} y^{e} saide ship was fraighted w^{ch} was great store of gold siluer and marchandizes to y^{e} value of more than 60,000 crownes All w^{ch} y^{e} saide English tooke and seized vpon even vnto y^{e} Artillery and the rest wthout giuinge or restoring anie thinge to y^{e} said Spaniards, not soe much as their aparell although theie shewed them vnto them saying that they would sell those vnto them because they were not made of y^{e} English fashion, and knowinge that they had not one penie left being robed and spoiled by them of there verie cloths and of whatsoeuer they had saued and gotten to land

Wherefore the said Earle of Gondomar doth desire and request of y^{e} foresaid hono^{ble} Comp. of marchants of Bermuda that theie will giue order that satisfaction may be made pre-

sently for these losses & y^{t} sufficient security may be giuen him that those fiue Spaniards captiues w^{ch} were left in Bermuda shall be set at libertie as speedily as may be to y^{e} end he may write it soe to the Kinge his master, and that the great losses damages and Inconveniences may be prevented w^{ch} may arise from not soe doinge and furthermore doth desire that there resolution and Answere conserninge this matter may be sent him by writinge.

43. To the excellent Lord the Earl of Gundamar Embassador from the Kinge of Spaine to the Kings ma^{tie} of great Britain From the right hono^{ble} Company of aduenturers and owners of the Somer Ilands vnder the kings ma^{tie} our sou^{r}aigne

Answer, Feb. 9th. 162$\frac{1}{2}$.

In answer to y^{e} writinge we receyued from yo^{r} excellency vpon Wednesday the 6th ffebruarie we saie, the forme of y^{e} alegation semes most strange vnto vs and as we beleue grounded vpon a mere misinformation because that y^{e} letters from the Gou^{r}nor there Importeth in all points y^{e} cleane contrary as before hath bene declared to y^{r} excellency and it amazeth us to finde an accusation instead of those thankes we thought we had deserued for the great respect and favours w^{ch} our officers and people there in the Somer Islands expressed to the companie of vnfortunate & miserable men soe wrecked, w^{ch} respect & favour is confessed here euen by som of y^{e} bett^{r} sort of those spaniards and to ye pticulers of the charge made by yo^{r} Excellency. First for the great store of treasure aledged to be taken by o^{r} men from y^{e} wrack we assure yo^{r} excellency we knowe of none at all. for the gou^{r}nor affirms to vs that the ship was so suddeinly & violently beaten all to shiuers beinge 10 miles of y^{e} land y^{t} he had not recov^{r}ed any thinge of valew out of her saue only two Sakers, the rest of y^{e} goods all flotinge away & perishinge in the sea except some little tobacco & aneale driuen a shore & taken vp by the people but vtterly spoiled & nought worth.

And for y^{t} pilliginge and Riflinge of yo^{r} men o^{r} Informacõn stands thus, y^{t} o^{r} gou^{r}nor vpon complaint by y^{e} captaine and m^{r} of y^{e} ship vnderstandinge y^{t} the baser sort of their marinors vpon y^{e} first aprehention of their danger had stolne away from them in y^{e} boate & not only left them to y^{e} mercy of y^{e} seas but also caried away wth them all such money as could hastily be gotten soe y^{t} the better sort who had most right vnto it were thereby vtterly destitute, vpon Justice by them herein discreetly demaunded he caused a gen^{r}all search to be made & recou^{r}ed

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from amongst them all to y^e^ quantity of 140^li^ or thereabouts the w^ch^ before witnes he deliu^r^ed into y^e^ Captaines hand to be imployed in a gen^r^all purse towards y^e^ keepinge of them duringe their stay there, and soe billited them abrode amongst y^e^ people of y^t^ part wherein they were first cast at y^e^ rate of 4*s.* per week for y^e^ head, only the captaine Pilat & some others of y^e^ chiefest of y^e^ men & women he caused to be conveyed to the towne, wher theie liued y^e^ most part of them at his owne table 9 or 10 weeks and further we knowe not conserninge this nor doe we beleue y^t^ any such misdemeano^r^, if it had bene, could not haue passed vnpunished nor they unrighted. And touching the soe mistermed Captiues there kept o^r^ gou^r^nor said it was for want of rome, y^e^ ship being full, that they staied behinde & besides if other reports be true they were of y^e^ meaner sort of people & such as for sicknesses & other infectious deseases were not fit to throng a ship & as we hear themselves desired to be kept behinde, soe y^t^ we neyther desire their ransome, nor desire to deteyne them but purpose to send them away by the next conveniency, in y^e^ meane tyme intreatinge yo^r^ excellency to discharge our gou^r^nor from his ingagement for y^e^ Spaniards fraight homwards and to take some order for y^e^ charges of them y^t^ are now to come, as for y^e^ two sakers already recou^r^ed or what hereafter shall come to vs the companie we will w^th^ the first conveniency giue order to be brought home and deliu^r^ed to yo^r^ excellency beinge desireous to giue yo^r^ excellency all due satisfaction.

This is all the Answer we can retorne and shall be glad if it satisfie if not we must leaue to yo^r^ excellency the propoundinge of any further indifferent way for to finde out the truth of this fact And now only conclude for y^e^ better information of yo^r^ excellency although you know as well as any what is due to psons of honor & their titles, that we hope it is vpon mistake not purpose y^t^ yo^r^ excellency is pleased both in the title & bodie of y^e^ paper, 3 tymes to stile vs the honorable companie of y^e^ Marchants of the Bermudos, we desire yo^r^ excellency to know y^t^ sundry of the great peers of this kingdome & knights & gentlemen of quality be aduenturers therein as in a noble action not as marchants wherein we conceyve yo^r^ excellency was misinformed. And if we are proprietaries of those Ilands as a Collony by o^r^ Industry & great Charges there planted vnder y^e^ Authority & protection of our most gratious sou^r^aigne.

Replie, Feb. 11th.

44. To y^e^ right honorable Lords & noble Companie of the Ilands of the Bermudos

The Earle of Gundomar Ambassador from y^e^ kinge of

Spaine doth declare vnto the right honorable lords and noble Company of the Bermudos that he desired exceedingly that this bussines of the Spanish Ship w^ch^ ran vpon y^e^ Rocks nere y^e^ Bermudos might be acomadated & ended w^th^out any further processe, but y^t^ hauing seene by the paper w^ch^ the said honorable lords and noble Company did deliu^r^e him that there cañot be agrement made by this their answer, he will procure y^e^ remidy by the means w^ch^ will seme vnto him most convenient for the dischargінge of his obligation & charge to the end that the Kinge his Master & his subiects may receyue satisfaction for the losses & injuries w^ch^ they haue Receyued. Desiringe in all other things w^ch^ conserninge this busines that the said honorable lords & noble company will imploy him, in that w^ch^ may be for their service w^ch^ he will doe with a verie good will.

45. Interrogatories to be ministered to the Masters of ships & others as came from the Summer Islands in two ships (the Joseph and James) touching the complaint of certain Spaniards wrecked near that Coast. 10 Interrogatories exhibited, 22 Feb. 1621.

William Argent, about 31 years old, gentleman usher,

8. Says that Don Ferdinando de Vera and his wife often while in London acknowledged their obligations to the governor of the Sommer Islands for his kindness, and he heard them say that the English in Bermuda having taken things from them were made by the Governor to give them up, and the said Don dined with the Governor; the deponent dined at the governors mothers house in London with Don F. and his wife and a Scotchman called John de Spayne.

William Buggon, about 50 years old, of Dartmouth, Collector of Customs,

7. Says there were 18 Hides landed at Dartmouth for which custom was paid; also 24 hogsheads of Tobacco grown in the Summer Islands and afterwards shipped for Holland but by contrary winds the ship returned to the port, and at the instance of Barnardo, the tobacco was searched, and dismissed.

10. The Spaniards landed at Dartmouth where they lived plentifully.

James Butler of London, about 34 years old.

1. Says that John of Spain said to him that the Governor did not refuse them the Boat, as was reported.

3. Don Farnando and his wife told him that he had 6,000 pieces in the ship, although when asked if there was any Deed of Gift of the goods in the ship made to the Governor, he said he knew of none.

8. Says that Don F. and his wife told him that understanding at Dartmouth that certain Portuguese would speak ill of the Governor he willed John of Spain to tell deponent that he came to London to vindicate the Governor's character.

William Caning of London, aged about 60 years.

7. He has heard there was 700 weight of Spanish Tobacco shipped in the Joseph and received into the Warehouse at Custom House Quay, which as he has heard, was delivered to Mansell and Ballard the two Cape merchants by Seamor Sergeant major and other Inhabitants of the Islands. And also heard of a small Barrell of Indigo in the King's Storehouse.

8. Henry Mansell the Cape Merchant was arrested upon the Exchange for a wedge of gold pawned to him by a Spaniard for money lent. Which wedge Mansell delivered to the then Lord Mayor of London, as deponent heard. And heard that Don F.'s lady gave Mansell links of a chain of gold to give his wife, for his courtesy being Cape Merchant.

Simon Day, aged about 33 years, Master of the Joseph.

2. Heard that the Governor once went in the same Boat, and that two pieces of Ordinance and two pieces of a Cable were saved; and that when the Governor came there the Ship was split all to pieces and the goods lost.

5. 3 of the Spaniards wished to stay behind, the other two were so diseased that the Master of the Ship refused to bring them, as he heard.

6. Heard that some money was taken from the Spaniards by the English but the Governor commanded it to be restored.

7. Knoweth only of one Roll of Spanish Tobacco, that Henry Mansell brought home for a taste.

9. He only had one wedge of gold of the goods of the wrecked Spaniards pawned in part of their passage for £8. 8s., which gold was restored to them by the Lord Mayor. He brought some of them for half fraight and 6 of them for nothing because they were poor.

Roger Lewellein, 8 years in the S. Islands, aged about 25 years, lately come in the James.

1. Heard that the Spaniards gave their boat to the Governor.

2. The Governor went once to the place where the Ship was wrecked and found part under water, and thence

brought two Sakers, and others drew out of the water some hides and old clothes. And William Elye and others recovered a Spanish Gown. And John Macaw of Captain Elfrey's gang recovered a little bag of 100 dollars, which was brought to the Governor.

5. Heard that 2 Spaniards were aboard the James but the Master refused to bring them because they were diseased.

6. Thomas Downinge at the first arrival of the Spaniards, handling a purse that hung about Don F.'s lady's neck, she through fear gave it to him (Downing), containing some wedges of gold, which the Governor, hearing of, caused to be given back.

7. Saw some 10 hides, and some 3 or 4 Rolls of Spanish Tobacco about the James.

8. Knows the Governor used them kindly. And that 4 or 5,000 weight of Tobacco floated ashore but being spoiled by salt water was cast away.

Henry Manzell, Cape Merchant of the Joseph, aged about 32.

6. The Spaniards complained that they had lost a hat-band of silver and pearl valued at 20 nobles for which the Gov^{r} searched but could not find, & one of their own company was supposed to have it.

7. Had about 700 weight of Spanish Tobacco delivered him by Mr. William Seamo^{r} and John Hanmer Inhabitants of the Sumer Isles, which was worthless; but he was intreated to bring it home to sell for their use, and it is now in the Custom house. And that 20 hides were offered him to sell by Seamor but they were good for nothing. He brought home a Rundlett of about 30 pounds weight of Anneale now in the Custom House which was consigned by Nicholas Wath to Salomon Mansell one of the Princes servants.

8. Heard Don F. and the Captain and Pilot of the Ship and most of the Spaniards acknowledge that they were well used by the Gov^{r} and Inhabitants. About 700 dollars taken from the Spanish Mariners who first came from the wreck by the Governor at the entreaty of the Spanish knight the Captain and pilot and the chiefest of the passengers, which was by their appointment delivered into the Governor's Bailiff's hands to buy them provisions.

9. The Spanish boatswain of the Ship pawned to him an ingot of gold worth 20 pounds for 8 pounds 8 shillings to pay for their passage, which he delivered to the Lord Mayor who upon payment of the eight pounds 8 shillings to this deponent would give back the ingot to the Spaniard. This 8 guineas was all they had for their passage home, and there were 13 of them,

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and if they were English their passage would cost £65. Confesses that he had links of a chain to buy articles value 40s.

10. Heard that the Spanish boatswain of the St. Anthony sold to a goldsmith in Lumbard Street, ingots of gold, value about £100.

John Morrice of London, aged 33 years or thereabouts.

8. Don F. showed him his cloak that was the Governors Carpet and being questioned of their diet answered 'Hens, Conies and Fish of the best was their ordinary fare.'

John Stanley of Cheapside goldsmith aged about 33.

10. Bought 2 ingots of gold of a Spaniard who came from the S. Islands and in company with a Scotchman, and gave them £45. And of 2 other Spaniards of the same Company three parcels of gold chains for £15 or £16. Also another Spaniard offered to sell him an Ingot of gold weight 20 oz. but could not agree as to the price, worth from £60 to £80. Two other Spaniards offered to sell to Mr. Alling goldsmith a gold chain weighing about 6 or 7 oz. worth about £20 but could not fix a price.

Robert Elliott of Fresh wharf in Thames Street, wharfenger aged 67 years.

23 Feb.

10. Some of the Spaniards coming to his wharf, brought by a Porter named Allard to one Englefield's house; and deponent being there, saw one of their slaves take out two bags, one a foot long, out of which the slave by the Captain's order took 2 handfuls of Spanish money and gave to the Captain his Master. Supposes that the bags contained about £200 if they were silver only.

John Haverd Inhabitant of the S. Isles about 10 years, aged 52 years.

That two Spaniards who had a box with silver locks and hinges, which having been delivered to deponent, the Governor ordered to be restored to the owner.

Henry Longe, Inhabitant of the Islands, 8 years, passenger in the James, aged about 29.

2. There was recovered from the wreck a piece of ordnance and a cable.

5. Four Spaniards left behind in the Islands but not kept as Captives, two were infectious and the other two because no one would undertake their passage.

7. Rotten hides brought home by the Steward of the James and some of them sold at Dartmouth. Heard of two or three Spanish rolls of tobacco brought home by Mr. Tirrill and put in the Custom house.

8. Some of the Spaniards were billeted by the Governor among the Inhabitants at 4s. each per week.

10. When the Spaniards arrived at Dartmouth, saw the Cap^{t}. of the Spanish Ship change gold for English money with a goldsmith at Dartmouth. And some of them went thence to London. The James then put into Dover and there landed Don F. and his wife and one of their slaves carried money after them. Heard that some of the Spaniards sold chains and gold valued at £100.

James Sanders, gunner of the Joseph, aged about 32.

2. An Anchor was saved from the wreck.

7. Only had 8 or 10 pounds weight of damaged Spanish tobacco, given him by the Inhabitants of the S. Is.

9. Bought a silver cup, weight 5 oz of a Drummer in the Islands for 26s, but the governor took the cup away from him and ordered the drummer to restore the money.

John Salmon, 'ancient' to Captain Butler Governor, aged 40 years. March 1.

2. Heard there was a silver bason recovered.

3. Spaniards made a Deed of gift to the Governor.

5. Five Spaniards were left behind.

7. He landed 200 weight of Tobacco of S. I's growth of his own which went to the Custom House and was searched. Also there was tobacco of same growth landed on Mr. Delbridges account, also searched, and afterwards shipped for Holland.

8. The Captain of the Spanish Ship called S^{t} Anthony, on 28 Feb. 1621 at the Spanish Ambassador's house, confessed the Governor's kindness.

9. Received of the Captain and Pilot of the Spanish Ship at Hunington a gold Ring with a Table Diamond valued at £27 to procure a Coach, which deponent could not do and so left the ring with Fryer an Inkeeper of the White hart in Salisbury to pawn for hire of the Coach. As the Inkeeper did not get the Coach he gave the ring back to the Captain.

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46. Correspondence of Governor Nathaniel Butler concerning y^e^ Spanish wrack in Virginia.[1]

(1) Serjeant Major [Seymour].

I pray lett Jacobb be gone very early w^th^ the Shipp-bote the Towne, and lett his Gang be halfe Portugalls and halfe English: Lett all the rest of the Strangers be here at the Overplus house too morrowe by Eight of the Clock in the morning at the farthest, and bring the woemen to M^r^ Painter his bay by water, and lett the rest come by land on foote. I am determined to distribute and disperse them throughout the Tribes, unlesse onely such of the principall as goe w^th^ me to the Towne.

I conceave it fitt also, that all the money found amongst them be ratibly divided for their Generall expence, and that every Baylie have a quantity thereof putt into his hands for the same purpose, according to the nomber of the Guests his Tribe is to finde and to quarter, and for the laying out of this mony, he shall be answerable and accountable at their departure from him.

Bidd the Marshall call upon all such as brought up Armes w^th^ them from the Towne, to be ready to carry them back agayne to morrowe.

Remember yo^r^ cussion and carpett & forgett not to bring the mony w^th^ you, & lend me yo^r^ redd cloke.

(2) Serjeant Major

I am in distresse of a Pumpe at Towne, I understand that some in Sommerseat have the Pumpe belonging to the Spanish wrack: I pray enquire dilligently for it, and lett it be sent unto me by the returne of my Bote, for it will doe them small pleasure, but us at the Towne very great: for at the Shipping time, the Ships cannot water w^th^out one, and here is noe meanes in the Country to make a new one: In any case therefore lett it be sought out and conveyed to mee w^th^ all speede: for I keepe Boltwood with me untill I heare from yo^u^. I wish yo^u^ good successe in your endeavours about the Ordinance; . .

From Hernebay December 10th.

(3) Serjeant Major

I take it the winde will not suffer me to passe for St Georges

[1] State Papers, Colonial, 1622–3, vol. ii. No. 11.
The wreck was on the western reefs of Bermuda, and this original endorsement is one of the proofs how much the Somers Islands were at this time regarded as a part of the great Virginian settlement.

as yet, nor God knowes when, I am resolved therefore to passe ore by land, and will goe for John Duttons this night: I have taken one of my Negroes here to carry my box with me.

(4) Antient Seymor,

Remember to bring or send the Sheete I gave unto yo^{u}, unto mee at the Assize, and wishe yo^{r} Father to enquire dilligently for the Spanish Pumpe, w^{ch} Dick Hunnery tells mee, is certaynly among some of them of Sommerseat, I have especial use for it.

(5) A Proclamation concerning this Portugall wrack.

These are to give notes to all Inhabitants in these Ilandes in Generall, that they presume not to detayne any such Goods or parcells of Goods whatsoever, found either on the shore, or in the Sea, or halled out of the Sea, belonging or any way appertayning to the Portugall shipp now wracked on this our Coast, as being Goods belonging to the Hono^{ble} Company of Adventurers: But that any such Goods being found to restore it to the Bayliff of the Tribe, who shall see the Finders honestly satisfied their parts as the Statute doth allowe. But whosoever shalbe found to detayne any of these foresayd goods shalbe held punishable as he that doth ymbesell other mens Goods.

(Signed) Nath. Butler.

(6) Serjeant Major

. . . Nevertheless (by way of advice) lett mee tell yo^{u}, that yo^{u} shall doe providently, allwayes when yo^{u} goe thither to take some other honest men with yo^{u}, besids yo^{r} owne people: for the eye of all these Ilands are upon yo^{u} in this action: and since it is certaine, that there are things of good value in her, if hereafter none of them shalbe found, it will cause much rumor & suspicōn, especially because I forbidd all men to goe thither, but yo^{r} selfe. I have (as yo^{u} well knowe) beene at great charges wth these Portugalls: in consideracōn whereof, they have made a deed of Guift unto me (w^{ch} I have to shew) of all the goods they left behinde them: So that if any thing be ymbezelled from me, belonging to her, it is flatt Felony: yet shall I not bee unthankfull, nor unrequitfull to any that shall take paynes about the recovery of any things about her. As for Radfords clayme of a sayle, lett it rest untill I speake wth yo^{u}:

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he tells me, that he had onely the eight part of a sayle, w^{ch} yo^{u} gave amongst them: and both some others aswell as himselfe, say, that yo^{u} have more then one, for yo^{r} selfe alone: but I shall doe herein, as I finde reason hereafter.

(7) William Elie:

. . . I have beene at an hundred pounds charge wth these Portugalls: in recompense whereof they have given mee (as appeareth by a deed of Guift under their hands) all such Goods as they leave here behinde them:

. . . I am contented to give thee leave to go to the wrack, so thou doest it in thine own person; but it must be in this manner; First when you meane to goe, acquaint the Serjeant Major wth it, & tell him you intend to goe to the wrack, & wish him to send some of his people with you: the which if he will doe, goe together; if he will not goe nor send, then goe your selfe, and take some honest men of your Neighbours wth yo^{u}: All such things as yo^{u} finde, except silver or gold coyne, silver or gold plate & bullion, and the Ordinance and some choice Cordage, I give freely among yo^{u}: but the rest if yo^{u} gett any of them, as yo^{u} are honest men, & will answere it, I charge yo^{u} to give me an account of.

(8) Serjeant Major

. . . Suffer noe boats to passe wthout yo^{r} leave & knowledge. William Elie wrote unto me about his going thither, and sent me a note, wherein yo^{u} prohibited him to goe any more: He sent to me for leave to goe, the w^{ch} I graunted upon condic$\bar{o}$n that he allwayes acquaynt you first wth it when he goeth, and then you may be ready to use his helpe as you see cause; noe doubt but many things there are worth having. I heare of Two botizas cheyned together, so heavy as they cannot be stirred; it is likely that somewhat of worth may be in them: I should be glad to heare some newes of the Barrs of silver, but perhaps the Hides must be removed first. I hope it is Rockey ground whether the Ordinance lies, otherwise they may be endangered, by being swallowed up wth sand, and must therefore be dealt wthall quickly; I praye viewe the Ground well, and send me word accordingly: Have an eye thither continually & if yo^{u} knowe or can heare of any boats that passe thither (to the wrack I meane) wthout yo^{r} knowledge, emprison the Gange at their

returne, & examine them strictly, & if need be send them up to me.

Yo^{r} assured freind,

NATH: BUTLER.

To my Serjeant Major at Sommerseat give these.

(9) S^{r}jeant Major

You have halfe undone mee, if the shipp the wrack be floted away, and yo^{u} be not sure to finde the place agayne: I have therefore bidden Jacobb to finde out the place, & to boye it: I pray see it done, it concerneth me much. I rely upon yo^{u} also for the speedy sawing of my Planckes for the howse and boards for the flowre, and also boards for my boate: I aske nothing but that by yo^{r} authority w^{ch} yo^{u} have given yo^{u} by me, yo^{u} cause them to be done: and if this may be too much trouble unto yo^{u}, send me present word and I will take order. In haste, as having the ships still to trouble mee, I rest

Yo^{r} Loving freind

NATH: BUTLER.

(10) Serjeant Major

I am sorry to finde that yo^{u} have noe more comaund of yo^{r} people in Sommer-seat; that having prest them to serve in my Boat, they durst any of them run away, & hide themselves: I heare that Mannington was one of them: if it be true, I charge yo^{u} to give him his due, w^{ch} is, a whipping, for the example of others. Capt Felgate writes me word, that all the good rope yo^{u} have, was sent you out of England: soe that I perceave I have beene misinformed in that perticuler. Howsoever I hope yo^{u} may spare me some Thirty fadome for my new Boat, the w^{ch} I will pay yo^{u} for, and I pray tell Jacob, that I am allready proud of her in hope onely, & looke to have both her and himselfe here by the last day of February wthout fayle. Your stock of plancks was a very poore one and wanted bothe the slabbs w^{ch} I have occasion to use: [wishes for 1000 ft. of half inch boards by the end of February].

St Georges. Jan. 22, 1621.

(11) Serjeant Major

Yo^{u} did well to have a care of the Booyes at the Spanish shipp: and better to discover a new Anchor and a Cable: but had done best of all if you could have sent me some newes of

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the Silver barrs and chest of Rialls, w^{ch} certainly must needs lye thereabouts, unlesse some great Rock fish have conveyed them away: for the small boats could neither finde them nor weye them. In May wee may hope for some further discoveryes.

Yo^{r} Stock of boards is welcome and soe shall the Plankes whensoever they come be they never soe good: I desire to heare of my halfe inche boards, and in great doubt I am that yo^{u} will not sawe me inough; for my Carpenters tell I shall need Sixteene hundred foote of them.

St Georges Feb: 6. 1621.

I long to see Jacobb and my new delicate bote.

(12) Serjeant Major

Yo^{r} sonne Jacobb hath every way answered my expectacōn in my new Boate, yo^{r} approved Eagle, and he shall finde it so to his content.

St. Georges. March 3. 1621.

(13) Jacobb:

Yo^{u} are mine Enginier, I pray therefore goe on on Gods name as yo^{u} have begun: The first thing yo^{u} must doe, must be the fitting of these two Crazie botes: when yo^{u} have done what yo^{u} cann there, fayle not to come up to the Towne, and yo^{u} shall have the helpe of all my Negroes, and the whole Gang, to breake up the Treasure, and to gett yo^{u} yo^{r} Iron worke there, bring up wth yo^{u} also yo^{r} Engin, for wee will try what may be further done at the Warwick, and will scorne to leave any good worke behinde us in these kinds undone: forgett not also to bring your tooles, for yo^{u} knowe our Boates are to be repaired, & Oares are to be made for the new Boate, & the time runns away apace; yet not soe fast as I would have it.

St. Georges 24 Jun: 1622.
To my Loving Freind Jacobb the Ship-Carpenter at Sommerseate.

(14) S^{r}jeant Major

. . . I shall send yo^{u} your Sommer-seate ward, that hath told so many he hath found great Treasure: but will by noe meanes tell me, but saith he did belye himselfe in a bravery for w^{ch} I judge him worthy to be well whipt, the w^{ch} I pray you see done: Commend me to all o^{r} freinds In hast

Your assured freind

Nath: Butler.

St George's. Sep: 20: 1622.

47. A true note of the severall voyages made by me William Seymor by severall comaunds from Capt Nath: Butler then Governor of the Somer Ilandes: In the yeare 1622 from the 10th of Septemb in the said yeare untill his departure from the said Ilands wch was about the 25th of October.[1].

Inprimis myselfe my boat & 16 of Somersett to carry him & some of ye Counsell & other Officers to take order in ye mayne concerning the Spaniards then landed in Summersett upon a Rafter.

Item sent by ye Governor to the wrack to bring him true notice of the manner of her lying wch I did wth a full Gange & most of them of my owne people.

Item comaunded by the Governor to charge a Gange to man my boat to goe wth him to the wrack and another boat of mine & then weighed ij peeces.

Item comaunded by him to man my boat to carry himselfe & the chiefe of the Spaniards to St. Georges from Somersett wth a full Gang of Somersett men.

Item comanded by him to goe to the wrack to see to recover what Anchors and Cables wee could wth a full gange of Somersett men.

Item comaunded to goe boy the wrack, wch was done by my owne people and boat.

Item comaunded to man my boat to bring the Spanish woemen & the chiefe of the men to St Georges.

Item comaunded to goe see if the boyes did hold or not, if not, to boye them againe, wch was done wth myne owne boat & people.

Item comaunded to goe boye them agayne, the boyes being come home, all this done wth myne owne people these three tymes of boying.

All this above written was effected whilst the ships were in harbour by my selfe & Somersett people and my two Boats.

Item upon comaund sometimes for the waying of the Ordinance Anchors and Murderers, the chiefe in wch busines was Capt Felgate, myselfe, & Jacob Jacobson, Livetennt Buckley and my sonne: In wch voyages wee did recover these things hereunder written.

Inprimis 10 Cast peeces of Iron ordinance.

Item 4 Anchors vizt 1 of 4/ 1 of 8/ 1 of 10/ 1 of 12c &c.

Item 6 Murderrers wthout Chambers.

Item 1 whole new Cable of 14 Inches bought by Mr Soames.

[1] State Papers, Colonial, 1622–3, vol. ii. No. 13.

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Item 1 silver platter.
Item 1 silver double salt.
Item 1 silver Ewre.
Item 1 silver dish like a Porringer wth ij Eares.
Item 1 peece of Ordinance & 1 Murderer from y^{e} Seaventure.
Item 1 small silver bason.
Item John Carter brought up to S^{r}jeant Majors 1 bagg of peeces of 8 conteyning 150 peeces.

This Ingott of gold was found amongst the Spaniard by a search.—Somersett.

Item 1 *Ingott of gold &* 1 *gold chaine dd unto Capt Butler at Serjeant Majors.*

Concerning Tobacco the Divers cast it away as nothing worth, avouched by divers upon their Oathes.

The names of the men that were most employed in these affaires from Somersett.

M^{r} William Seymor.	Tho: Robinson.
M^{r} Jacob Jacobson.	Jn^{o} Bacon } Divers.
M^{r} William Seymor junio^{r}	Jn^{o} Beimond }
Jn^{o} Davis	
Henry Spatchurst	Humphrey Morley — 4 times.
Edward Plimly	Tho: Cranish. 3 times.
Reinold Edmondes.	Jn^{o} Plaire 5 times.
Edward Burgis — Diver.	Richard Jenninges 2 times.
George Younge.	Simon Oker 3 times.
Jn^{o} Ireland.	

Of my people	Of my Sonn Jacobs servants
Zachary Humpreys	William Russell
Richard Merett	Peter Molle.
Martin Heardman	
Jn^{o} Bacon	
Two negroes	
Myselfe & my sonne.	

These were employed here besides those that came from the towne wth Capt Felgate: whose clayme wth his Gange doth equall that of the Serjeant Major Seymor.

ROGER WOOD Secre.

S^{r}jeant Major Seymor demaunds for his owne person, his two sonnes, his boats & 8 servants that laboured in the wrack, and rowed too and agayne unto her 23 Jornies . . . 100lb.

	li		
More there was 20 men employed about this wrack, who made likewise 23 Jornies every man, & sometimes stayed 10 or 12 dayes upon one voyage to their great hinderance and dangers, for w^{ch} they required but 10^{s} a man for every Jornie we made, w^{ch} is	230		
The Enginier Jacob Jacobson requires for his Engine and labour in slinging the Ordinance, w^{ch} were 10 peeces at 10^{s} the peece is	5		
Will: Seimer. Jacob Jacobson.			
William Coxson who was the principall Diver aswell in the wrack as in y^{e} sea, & slung 10 peeces of Ordinance under water from the said wrack, for which he demaunds 20s sterling a peece is	10	0	0
Moreover he slung two great Anchors & one small anchor under water in y^{e} said wrack for which he demaunds	1	0	0
Moreover he slung 4 peeces of Iron Murtherers from ye said wrack for w^{ch} he demaunds		13	8
Also the sayd Coxson did sling 1 peece of Iron Ordinance from y^{e} Seaventure and 1 great Anchor for w^{ch} he demaunds	1	10	0
Also one Murtherer was slung from out the Warwick for w^{ch} the sayd Coxson demaunds		3	0
	13	6	8

W^{ch} 4 Anchors & 5 Murderers Capt Nath: Butler carryed away wth him in M^{r} Bennetts shipp.

The marke ┼ of William Coxson.

vera copia teste

Ed: Collingwood secre.

[Indorsed] The Complaint & demaundes of the People of Somersett and elsewhere, employed upon the wrack. 1622:

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48. Orders for the Churchwardens and Sidesmen.

20 Feb. 162½.

For as much as care and dilligence in the Church wardens and Sydemen to assist the minister in lookeing into the lives and conv.sacons of the people is a principall meanes to supp^{r}sse p^{r}phanenes and vngodlines Theis are therefore to will and require you the same churchwardens & sidemen carefully to looke into the lives and conuersacons of the people, and to goe vnto or send for such pson or psons as shall absent themselues from the Church in the tyme of divine Service, or refuse to receive the Lords supper, or any way to prophane the Sabaoth daye or be a Swearer or a Drunkard, a gamester, a railer, a sland^{r}er, an idle bodye, a makebate, by carrying of tales from one to another, or suspected of incontinency or any waye live offensively. And in loving & christian sorte admonishe and exhort them in the fear of God to refrayne from such vnchristian behavio^{r} If any be so graceles as not to regard yo^{r} Godly admoncons & exhortacons Theis are to will and command you the same Churchwardens & sidemen to inform me of suche. And alsoe at euerye assizes to p^{r}sent suche as contynue notorious and obstinate offenders, that then they maye receive such open punishmente as the quallity of their offenses shall deserve. Alsoe these are to will and require you to present all suche Readers as do not keep a true and perfect Register of all marriages, christenings and burials Or that doe not euerye Sabaoth teache such youth as are ignorant to saye the Lords prayer, the articles of the Christians faith, and the ten comandments of almightie God without booke And also such cheifes of familyes as refuse or neglect to send theire youthes at the tyme appointed for redresse to instruct them (*sic*) S^{t} Geo. 20 Feb. 1621.

49. A certificate from Capt Elfrey on behalfe of Walter Deane.

9 Apr. 1622.

To all xtian people to whom this prsent writing shall come greeting knowe ye that whereas I Captain Nicholas Elfrey under God m^{r} of the good Shippe called the Tygre being fraighte wth diverse Passengers and other goods and marchandize from London & bound for Virginia, by the waye was taken with the Turks men of warre and as the Turks were pillaging of vs, this poore man Walter Deane, (beeing miserably amongst them as a slaue) he made an escape from them aboard our Shippe and hid himselfe till they were gone and then discovered

himselfe Whereuppon passing still on our voiage to Virginia I gave him meanes among the rest of my men and goeing from Virginia to the Somer Islands and arriving there safely, the said Walter meeting with some of his country men was solicited to stay with them, w^ch^ he earnestly desired at my hands vnto w^ch^ petition of his I freely granted him his desire, in witness whereof I Capt. Nicholas Elford haue herevnto set my hand the 9th daye of Aprill Anno Dni 1622.

Nic. Elford.

50. Order touching a Spanish Wreck upon the Coast of Bermudas.[1]

At Starr Chamber the 11th of July 1622.

Present

L^d^ Arch Bpp of Canterbury

L^d^ Keeper	L^d^ Chamberlain
L^d^ Treār	L^d^ V. Wallingford
L^d^ President	L^d^ Bpp Winton
L^d^ Privy Seal	M^r^ Treār
L^d^ Steward	M^r^ Secr̄y Calvert
M. Hamilton	Master of the Rolls
E. Marshall	S^r^ John Suckling

S^r^ Edward Conway.

Some of the Virginia Company presenting themselves this day at the Board informed their Lo^ps^ That the Spanish Amb^r^ had sent unto them to acknowledge the speedy Justice they had done him touching the recovery of such goods as were saved upon a late wreck of a Spanish Ship upon the Summer Islands; and w^th^all to desire, that for the further recovery of such goods as were there lost, he might be permitted to send over a man of his own to the said Islands; w^th^ which Request the Company thought itt their Duty to acquaint the Board, themselves being very ready and willing to appoint some of their own people to goe over w^th^ full Authority to search for and discover, for y^e^ Amb^rs^ use, any goods lost as aforesaid, whereof their Lo^ps^ taking Consideration, as they held itt expedient to give the Amb^r^ all due content, so they were loath to put his Lo^p^ to y^e^ trouble of sending over a man of his own; And therefore resolved for his better satisfaction to appoint some meet pson themselves to go over to prosecute that busnes, who should give

[1] Colonial Entry Book, vol. lxxix. p. 202. Order of Privy Council.

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the Amb^r a just and true acc^t of the state thereof, and of what soever may be further recovered of the s^d Goods.

51. The comission for the Comissioners of the Somer Islands 5 Sept. 1622 (see *ante*, p. 220).

To all the inhabitants of the Som^r Islands and to others to whom these p^rsents may in anye wyse apptayne The Governor & Companie of the Cittye of London for plantation of the said Somer Islands send greeting. Whereas a principall pte of our Care next the seruice of almightie God and due obedience to our Soueraigne Lord the Kinge is that his Ma^ties subiects livinge in the Somer Islands may under a iust and equall Gouernment in peace and safetye w^th comfort & content enioye the fruits of their labor farr from wronge & oppression. To wch end by virtue of the authoritye derived to us from his Ma^tie by his Mat^s gratious ltres pattent under the great Seale wee haue from tyme to tyme sent Gouvernours and other officers under them furnished with instructions dyreccons and orders all tending to the good religious iust and myld Gouernm^t of the people there Inhabitinge togeather with the Securitie increase & psperitye of that plantatõn neuerthelesse for that sundrye complaints both heretofore and of late haue bene made under us by diuers of the said Inhabitants and others for wronges p.tended to haue bene done unto them, by some of the said Governors and officers for tryall and redresse thereof yf such cause appeare Wee the said Gouernor & Comp^ie by the authoritie aforesaide and in pursuit of the orders & constitutions lately made in one of our greate and generall Courts for better orderinge and governinge of the affayres of the said plantacon haue with unanimous consent in one of our said greate generall Courts vpon speciall trust and confidence of the Integritie good discretion & other sufficiencye of the psons hereafter named chosen nominated appointed and authorized and by these psents doe choose nominate appointe and authorize Captane John Bernard Esquire elect yr Gou^rno^r of the Som^r Islands John Harrison gent chosen Sherriffe of the saide Islands Mr. Nathan[1] Bernard and Mr. Joseph Wright clerks chosen to be ministers and preachers in the said Islands and Roger Wood Gent [1] chosen for Secretarie in the said Som^r Islands or any three of them whereof the Captaine John Bernard elect Gouerno^r to be one to be Commissioners for the

[1] See Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574–1660, p. 32, § 10, where these same persons are appointed Syndicators, to take a strict examination of the inhabitants of the Somer Islands, concerning the Spanish wreck. Exam. taken Jan. 1622–3.

hearinge and determininge of all Complaints heretofore made, or w^ch^ hereafter during the tyme of this commission shalbe made as well against the present Gouerno^r^ and other officers and Councellors nowe in the said Somers Islands as also against all other Gouerno^rs^ Comission^rs^ and officers wh haue bene there in former tymes since the first beginninge of the said Plantation accordinge to such instructions as they shall receave herebye and in defect thereof accordinge to iustice and equitie and wee hereby further graunt to the said Comission^rs^ that imediately upon theire first landinge upon the said Somer Islands they and euerye of them for there psons shalbe free and exempt from any jurisdiccions ouer them in the said Islands during the tyme of that Comission w^ch^ shall haue his continuance and be of force and validitie for and duringe the space of sixe months and noe longer from and after the daye of their saide first landinge in the said Somer Islands And wee doe hereby by virtue of the Authoritie aforesaid giue and graunt power to the said Comission^rs^ to convent and call before them from tyme to tyme duringe the said sixe monthes and incase they refuse to compell thereto by usuall and Lawfull meanes as well the p^r^sent Gouerno^r^ & other officers and Councillo^rs^ as also all such as haue there life places, there before them, and to examine them upon all such complaints and articles and matters as they doe or shall stand charged with And yf y^t^ hapen that they or any of them shall by goode & sufficient proofe and lawfull tryall be found delinquent then and in that case to p.ceed to the execution of justice against them, accordinge to the natures and qualities of the seuerall offenses whereof they shall stand convicted wherein the first and chiefe care to be taken that in case of wronge and oppressive restitution a valuable recompence be fullie made to the ptie greived And yf Justice shall require yet any further punishment that the same be inflicted agreeably to the lawes and customes of the Realme as neare as may be but where contrarywise yt shall fall out and that the accusation pr.eth false and that the complaint hath rather p.ceeded from pride or other malignancy of disposition in the Complaynant then from any iust cause given by the pson accused, the Commissioners shall inflict double punishment upon the false accuser unless by humblinge himselfe and publique acknowledginge his faults, together with the Intercession of the pson falselie accused they shall be moved to use mitigation of some pte of the punishm^t^ And wee will and Require the said Commissioners after the execution of this their Commission to make Cirtificate unto us of all there proceedinges togeather w^th^ the Coppie of the accusations answers defences interrogatories examinacons of witnesses pduced in each Generall Cause and

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seuall sentance or other decision thereupon wth there hands and seales unto each seuall cause affixed And Lastlie we charge and require all the Inhabitants of the said Somer Islands to be ayding and assistinge to the said Comissione^{rs} in the due execucon of this there Comission Given under the Comon and Legall seale of the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie in our generall Court held the fifthe day of September 1622 and in the yeare of the Raigne of our Souveraigne Lord James by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland Defender of the faythe &c (viz.) of England ffraunce and Ireland the Twentyeth and of Scotland the sixe and fiftyeth.

52. To Captain Ferdinando Shephard 1622

These are to Authorize Capt Ferdinando Shephard to call and gather togeather his company vpon Holy Thursday, and then and there to exercise and traine the said compa: in such order and forme as is vsuall in such affaires, and that euery souldier of the said compa: bee readie both at the said Time and place to obserue pforme and keepe all such orders discipline and direcons as hee the said Captain Ferdinando Shepheard shall proscribe vnto them, and this shall bee his sufficient warrant.

Nathan. Butler.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT OF MR. JOHN BERNARD, 1622—TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT OF MR. JOHN HARRISON, 1623—NICHOLAS FARRAR DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF THE BERMUDA COMPANY, LORD CAVENDISH TREASURER.

General narrative from Smith's 'Virginia.'

Master John Barnard sent to be Gouernor, 1622.

1. To supply [the Governor's] place was sent by the noble adventurers John Bernard, a Gentleman both of good meanes and quality, who arriued within eight daies after Butlers departure, with two ships, and about one hundred and forty passengers with Armes and all sorts of munition and other prouisions sufficient. During the time of his life which was but six weekes in reforming all things he found defective, he shewed himselfe so iudicial and industrious as gaue great satisfaction, and did generally promise vice was in great danger to be suppressed, and virtue and the Plantation much advanced; but so it happened that both he and his wife died in such short time they were both buried in one day and one grave, and Master John Harrison chosen Governor till further order came from England.

The Comission of Capt^{n} John Bernard Governor of the Summer Islands 1 Sept 1622 [1]

2. To all to whom thise presents shall come *to be seene or hard. Wee the Gou^{r}no^{r} and* Companye of the Cittie of London for the Plantacon *of the Somer Ilands* send greetinge, whereas 1622.

[1] The MS. is mutilated, a part of the page for 28 lines being wanting. The words in *italics* are necessary to complete these lines.

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we the said Gouernor and *Companie by the power* and authoritie of his Mat^ies Ltres Pattents to vs in *hand given* bearinge date the 29th day of Junij in the 13th yere *of his raigne as o^r sou^eaigne* of England ffraunce and Ireland, and of Scotland *the 48th, By and with* the assent and good liking of a Generall Court *duely assembled, and* by a writinge vnder our comon Seale dated the [*probably*] *the 1st September* in the yeare of our Lord God 1619 did for the Causes *consideracons* and respects therein menconed appoint constitute *and ordayne Nath Butler* Esq^re after his arrivall in the Somer Islands, to be Gouernor and Comaunder and Captayne Generall over the said Islands, and *People thereof, and him* the said Nathaniell Butler authorized to pforme and *do all things which* to the office and place of Gouerno^r Comander in chief *belongeth or* appertayneth accordinge to such direccons *and comandments as he had* received or should afterward receive *from vs the aforesaid* Gouerno^r and companie touchinge the buisnes *of the said Plantacon* To hold and exercise the said place and *office of Gouernor, comander* and Capt generall for and duringe the tearme of *three yeres in* the said writinge giuen and limited as aforesaid, and *which* thinges therein contayned more at large may appeare *now know ye* that we the said gouernor and companie takinge *into our consideracon* the important necessitye of supplyinge the place of Gouerno^r *and Captain Generall* and authorizing another able pson to succeed the said *Capt Nathanyell Butler* imediately vpon the expiration and determinacon of *the saide term of three yeres, or any* other determinacon of his comission, as well for the Gouernment of the said Islands and Plantacon, as also for the dyrectinge and orderinge of the people and affaires there And p^rceeding herein accordinge to his Mat^ies gracious power to vs deuised and giuen vnder the greate Seale of England and hauing received good and sufficient testimonie of the discretion valo^r Integritie and Industrie of Capt^n John Bernard Esq^re w^ch we nothinge doubt but is such as will [make] good our Confidence of his worth and much further and advance the good benefitt of the said Plantacon Wee therefore the said Gouernor and Companie w^th the full assent and good likinge of a greate and generall quarter court held for the said companie, the first daye of Febuarye 162½ haue appointed Constituted and chosen, and by these presents doe appointe constitute and choose him the said Captaine John Bernard to passe and take his voyage in the good shipp called the Darlinge, now ryding in the river of Thames and bound for the Sumer Islands, to be chief captaine and comaunder of all the people in the said voyage as well by Sea as by Land, and after his arrivall in the Somer Islands, and from and after the end and expiracõn

of the aforesaid tearme of three yeres government or other determinacon of the said Nathan Butlers Comission to be Chiefe Gouernor Comaunder and Captaine generall, over the people of the said Islands and Plantacon, alreadye planted or to be planted, and over all the p.sons buisines and affayres of the said plantacon, and to comaund and governe, and to administer, right and justice and due and rightfull sentances, and determinacōns in all causes civill and criminall to giue make and execute soe neare and agreable as may be in all points to the lawes and customes of the Realme of England with approbacōn neuertheles of all such lawes and constitutions as were finally enacted and established in a generall court held the 29 May 1622 As also to such rules constitucōns orders and direcōns as wee the said Gouernor and Companie haue now giuen vnto him vnder our Seale or shall hereafter giue vnto him, from tyme to tyme to be done and observed to the vtmost of his power To haue hould and exercise the said place and office of Gouernor and Capt^{n} Generall and all comaund authoritie power gouernment by these p^{r}sents giuen and limited as aforesaid, vnto the afores^{d} John Bernard for and duringe the tearme of three yeres from the . . day of September now next ensueinge Wee doe by these presents likewise from and after this p^{r}sent day of September, revoke recalle disavowe frustrate annighilate and make voyde the aforesaid comision power warrant and authoritye given to the said Nathan Butler and all manner of former Constitutions comissions orders ordinances warrants and authorityes by the Gouernor and Companie aforesaid or any of them in anywise heretofore giuen comaunded ordayned or appointed to the said Nathan. Butler, or to any other pson or psons whatsoeuer to be chiefe comaunder Governo^{r} or principal officer in the Somer Islands Inhibitinge and forbiddinge them and euerye of them from and Imediatly after the arrival of the said Capt^{n} John Bernard in the Som^{r} Islands, or notice of this comission giuen them to vse exercise or put in practize any authoritye or governmen^{t} by these p^{r}sents limited graunted & appointed to the said capt John Bernard. And wee do hereby further giue and graunt to the said Capt John Bernard accordinge to his Ma^{ts} authority derived vnto vs full power and authoritye, duringe the tyme of his governm^{t} ouer the said Islands and plantacon by virtue of this comission to encounter, expulse repell and resist by force of armes, and by all wayes and meanes whatsoeuer, all manner of psons that shall at any tyme either by Sea or land enterprize or attempt any distruccon Invasion hurt grievance or annoyance to the said Islands or plantacon or to any other shipp or people belongeing to the same whether they be those alreadye settled or at any tyme in

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their voyages to and fro And we doe further by virtue of his Mat^ies said ltres Pattents giue power and authoritie to the said Capt John Bernard, as Capt Generall of the said Plantacon, onlie in all cases of rebellion and mutinie either by land or Sea to vse exercise and put in execucōn martiall Lawe, as it is vsed, in such cases by the comission of Leiftenencye, in the seu^eall Countyes, of this realme of England, and we doe hereby in his Ma^ts name straightlie charge require and comaund all manner of officers & other pson or psons w^tsoeuer now inhabitinge, or w^ch shall hereafter inhabit w^thin the p^rcinckts of the said Islands and plantacon to yield & giue to the said Capt^n John Bernard as there Gouernor due obeysance and Respect, and willingly to obey & execute the comandm^ts and direccons of the said Capt^n John Bernard as there gouerno^r according to the authoritye by vs graunted vnto him And in all things and vpon all occasions to be ayding and assistinge vnto him, as they will answere the contrarye at there p^rills Giuen vnder the comon and legal seale of vs the said Governor & Companie in o^r generall court held the firste day of September in the yeares of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lord James by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland and ffraunce & Ireland, defende^r of the faythe &c (viz) of England Ffraunce and Ireland the 21st and of Scotland the 56th. Anno Dni 1622

3. A letter from John Baldwin, a settler in Virginia, probably to Roger Wood, being copied into a book kept by him as secretary. The writer had heard of the arrival of the 'Seaflower' in Bermuda, which occurred early in 1623. That vessel was blown up before March 20, and had not then fully discharged her cargo (see p. 287). This fixes the date of the letter as also early in 1623, and it was, therefore, written on the eve of that massacre of the white settlers by the Indians which occurred on Good Friday, 1623, and which had a great effect, both in suspending the progress of the plantation, and in encouraging the adventure of the Somers Islands. The picture drawn by the writer goes far to account for it.

My Love remembered vnto you and to your wife I hope you are in good health as I am at this tyme. Mr. Sandys hath dealt vnkindlie with vs he maketh vs serve him whether wee will or noe and how to helpe yt we doe not knowe for hee beareth all the sway, but I hope to doe well enough yf God

blesse me this yeare. I thank god I haue had my health very well here, all our company is livinge but three William Lanes Willm Smith w^ch^ weare killed with the Indians goeinge to worke in the wood. They lay in a tree that was newlie felled where they killed them. Thomas Knowles is dead; but I thinke he had bene livinge now but we had a base fellow to our overseer, w^ch^ was the occasion of his death: ffor he was sicke awhile and could not worke, and then he went to him and beate him that he fell downe presentlie and could not stand, and then they carryed him to bed, and there he lay sixe dayes and neither eate nor dranke Ffor the land it is a plentifull countrye. I like yt well yf the people were good that are in yt: but they are base all over for yf a man be sicke, putt them into a new house and there lett lie downe & starve, for noebody will come at him. I hard the Seafflower was come to the Bermudas. I pray you send me word yf I haue euer a kinsman in her. William Allen is here, come servant for five yeare Thomas Cole is here, but he liveth very poorlie. I pray you remember my love to John Harris and Thomas Wilkinson, and Hugh Wall, and Henry & Rowland Sheene and his mate Daniell, to Robert ffludd at Somersett, to Mr. Bagley and his wife and to Mr. Crosse Thus I rest yo^r^ euerlovinge JOHN BALDWIN.

Postscript

It hath been a verye hard tyme w^th^ all men they had like to all starve this yeare: there was them that paid fortye shillings a bushell for sheld Corne. But howsoeuer, they dye like rotten sheepe noe man dies, but he is as full of maggotts as he can hould. They rott aboue ground.

There is another letter entered, from the Rev. Robert Parker, dated June 16 (1622 or 1623), but it contains only condolences and pious sentiments on the death of some aged lady, mother to the person addressed. The writer speaks of his present doubts whether he should accept Deesborough or no (*qy.* the preferment of Desborough near Market Harbro').

4. A Proclamacon against the letting lose of swyne 21 Nov. 1622.

Whereas sundry complaints are made of the great damage doen by such swyne as are let lose and straggle throughout S^t^ Georges Island, to the offence annoyance and hindrance of

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diverse Inhabitants therein Theis are therefore to will and require you, and in his Mat^ts^ name straightly to charge and command you and euery of you, that w^th^in 48 hres after the date hereof you keepe vp yo^r^ Swyne as well small as great in yo^r^ sties bothe daye and night, and feed them with yo^r^ owne store and provision. Plucking nor causeing to be plucked vp no Potatoe slippes w^ch^ belong not proprely to yo^r^selues on payn of forfeiture and losse of such yo^r^ swyne to any pson that will kill and eate them and such further punishm^t^ to be inflicted vpon yo^r^ bodies, as vpon mature deliberacon shalbe thought fitting. S^t^ Georges xxj Nov. 1622.

Every man to warne his neighbo^r^ hereof.

5. A warrant to Serj. Maior Seymor &c. to restraine idle persons from euery Old Spanish Wrack 25 Nov. 1622

To his loving frends Capt Willm Seymo^r^ Serjeant Maior and Mr. Willm Ely of Som^r^set.[1]

Whereas there is a rumo^r^ spread abroad of an old wracke nowe newly discouered, soe that diuers vnsteady people are ready to leave their labors & callinge to prye and dive into the same to the preiudice of the kings p^r^rogative Royall and contempt of my authoritie as his Mat^ies^ Officer for theis Somer Islands Theis are to will and require you and either of you, and in his mat^s^ name streightly to charge and command you and either of you to carry a vigillant eye vpon the saide olde wrack, and suffer neither your selves nor any others to p^r^sume to saile or rowe with boat or shipp therevnto or enter the same vpon such perill and punishment as vpon mature deliberacon shalbe found due for contempners of my authoritie and command in theis affaires, and finding any such irregular carriage to send them prisoners to S^t^ Georges to answere for the same, and there to abide such further order herein: faile you not herein at your vtmost p.ills. S^t^ Georges 25th Nouemb. 1622

6. To the master of the good shippe called the successe of Barnstable 4 December 1622

A warrant against the exporting of Cedar wood

Theis are to will and require you and in his Ma name streightly to charge and comand you that you receive into yo^r^

[1] Elies Harbour, Somerset, still bears his name.

shippe no Planke of Chests or of Cedar wood full or emptye dureing yo^{r} aboad in any of theis Roads of the Somer Islands, wthoute my speciall warrant for the same And if there be any already shipped Then you doe wth all speed convenient, bring them on shoare at S^{t} Georges, whereof faile you not as you will answere the contrary at your vtmost p.ill.

St Georges 4 Decembr. A° 1622.

7. A warrant for an Assembly at S^{t} Georges 4 Decem. 1622

Whereas there are divers affaires of great importance to be handled for his Mat^{s} special service tending to the general good bothe of the state and country, w^{ch} of necessity must speedily be put in execution as well for satisfaction of the Hon. Company in England as the further settled estate of the Government here w^{ch} cannot be doen without the chief assistance of the whole country generally assembled to that purpose, w^{ch} hath been hitherto deferred by reason of the urgent occasion you haue had to be resident vpon yo^{r} seuerall charge at this division of Tobacco which nowe (I doubte not) is fully ended Theis are therefore to will and require you, and in his Ma^{ts} name streightly to charge and command you pa.tly to call the cheef Inhabitants of your Tribe at some convenient place before you and by the maior part of them, to make choice of two sufficient descreet and hable men, to make their appearance wth yo^{r}self at S^{t} Georges vpon Tewsday next the xth of this present moneth of December 1622. Then and there to speak and answere for the body of the whole Tribe as occasion shalbe offered & as the Lawe in such cases requireth whereof faile yo^{u} not as yo^{u} will answere the contrary &c.

Furthermore all such persons as can give any light to his Ma^{ts} comissioners concerning the late Spanish wreck are required vpon their alleageance to come in and make their apparance knowne at this next general assembly and they shall be heard

Moreouer you are to take notice and publish throughout yo^{r} Tribes that all such Tobacco as shall this yeare be transported into England must be shipped before the 10th of December nexte. Last of all yo^{u} shall signifie with theis, that noe man of what quality soeuer he be make vse of any cedar wood for chests or otherwise to transporte it wthout my speciall warrant Lest he for want thereof fynde his error too late December 4, 1622

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8. The forme of proceadinges at the generall assize

[The following rules of Court, although entered in the Somers Islands Records in 1622, are doubtless of earlier date. The introduction of the Custos Rotulorum, an officer who did not exist in Bermuda, is of itself sufficient proof that they must be borrowed from England; but their intrinsic interest will perhaps justify their insertion. *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare* was an axiom carried to their remotest homes by the emigrants of the seventeenth century.]

As soone as the courte is sett, first the cryer muste make an Oyes, three tymes. Then the Custos rotul. must call the counsell. Then proceed to the grand Jury and call them thus

The custos rotul. to geve the oath to the foreman, the Cryer holding the book bidding him laye his hande thereon, and when the oath is given bidd him kisse the booke

And then the Cryer saithe Juri the forman.

And when there is a full Jury (as xij is comonly) then the Custos rotul saithe to the Cryer, Conntes Then when he counteth to xij (w^{ch} worde he pronounceth aloude) then he saithe, good men and true stand together and heare your charge

And when the charge is geven, call all Recognizantes of Prisoners w^{ch} come in vpon baile, and those that are in the Gaole (if any be) and those that are to geve evidence, and tell them if they prosecute not by indictment they forfeite their recognizance And then preferr 3 or 4 indictments to the Graund Jury that they may finde against the Courte sitt agayne in the afternoone When the courte is sett call the Prisoners which are indicted and arraigne them thus.

A B come to the barr, then bid him hold vp his hand. Thou art here indicted by the name of A B &c, and read the indictment at length Then ask him thus, what saiest thou, art thou gilty of this felony whereof thou standest indicted yea or nae. If he will not answere directly but standeth mute, he is to be pressed to death.[1] In such case he loseth nothing to the prince, nor his blood is corrupt, because he is not condempned for a felon (Jure legis) But if he confesse the indictment vpon the arraingem^{te}, then he is put by, for there resteth

[1] There is no record of the *peine forte et dure* having been actually applied in the Somers Islands; but, according to Jonas Hanway, it was applied in England as late as 1720.

nothing but the Iudges sentance of the paynes of deathe If he plead not gilty w^{ch} is the generall plea though they confessed the facte vpon their former Examinacon, or though they were taken with the manner or howsoeuer it be If he plead not gilty then the clerke shall aske him, howe he wilbe tryed, and tell him he must saye by God and the country And if he put himselfe vpon the country, then the clerke goeth on sayeing. A. B. thou hast been here indicted of suche a cryme and Thou hast pleaded not gilty. And for thy triall haste put thyselfe on God and the countrye Nowe theis honest men that be come heare, are instead and place of thy country, and if thou hast any thing to saye to any of them Looke vpon them well and now speake for thyself, for thou standest vpon thy life and death

Then (if he saye nothing) the clerke calleth the firste Juror and biddeth him hold a booke and geves him an Oath to [deal] vprightly betweene the kinge [and the Prisoner] and then call another and so another vntill there be xij or more sworne, And when the Jury is full and the Prisoners haue objected nothing against any of them The clerke sayth to the Cryer Conntes, and soe namely all those that be impannelled on that inquest the Cryer as euery name [cometh] compting one – 2 – 3 till the nomber be full, then the Cryer saithe. Good men and true, and then maketh proclamacon aloude. If there be any that *can saye ought in euid*ence Let him come . . .

If noe man come in then he is quitt by pro*clamacon and* those w^{ch} were bounde over to geve in evidences against *him* forfeite their recognizances But if they come in, first read the exaiacon of the Prisoner then call the p.tie that can give testimony and heare what he saith and give him first an oathe to speake the truthe &c and as many as can saye anything againste the malefactor and let them stand where they may, see him right opposite if you can & he them & the Judge & the Enquest & heare & be heard of him well Then the Clerke asketh the accuser if he knowethe the Prisoner & biddeth him looke upon him, he will saye he knoweth him & the Prisoner denying it, he will sometymes replye I knowe thee well ynough thou brokest my house or didest thus & thus Then the rest geve what evidence they can Then the clerke asketh if they can saye any more againste the Prisoner. If they saye noe Then he turneth to the Iurye and saieth Good men. Ye of thes Enquest have heard what this man can saye against the Prisoner you have heard alsoe what the Prisoner can saye for himselfe have an eye to your Oath & to yo^{r} dutye and doe what God shall put into yo^{r} myndes to the discharge of yo^{r} conscience and rememb well what hath byn saide. At their depar-

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ture from the barr the clerk geveth them the indictm^{t} wth them & repeats the efecke thereof shewing that if they finde him gilty then they shall enquire what goods Lands or Ten^{ts} the prisoner had at the tyme of the offence com̄ytted yf they fynde any to bring it in, if noe, say soe If they fynde him not giltye they shall enquire if he fledd for the felonye or noe And they must have one wth them to see that noe man speake unto them & to see they have neither breade drink meate or fyer brought to them, but remayne in some house appointed for them vntill they be agreed And if they begin & doubte of ought they may speake wth any of the evidence to informe themselves better And when they are agreed and praye to be heard Then the Prison^{rs} are called agayne to the barr. Then the Jury are called agayne by name & counted *and he asketh if they be of* the one *mind*

Then they be demaunded who shall speake for them *whereuppon they* saying their Forman Then the Prisoner *must hold forth his* hand agayne

Then the Clerk saieth to him, thus A B thou art here indicted by the name of A B of &c (reading the indictment agayn) And being arraigned hast pleaded not giltye & being asked howe you wouldest be tryed saidest by God & the countrye Theis honest men were given to thee for thy countrye harken what they saye Then the Clerke saieth to the Jury, what saye yee. is A B gilty or not giltye If they saye gilty then the clerke asketh what Land ten^{ts} or goods the p.son had at the tyme of the felony com̄itted, or at any tyme after.

Then the Clerk asketh the Prisoner what he can saye for himselfe Then in some cases he demandeth his clergy then the ordinary giveth him a booke to read on, Then the clerk askith the ordinarye (*legit vt clerus?*) Then the Ordinary answereth *legit* or *non legit.* If he say *non legit* then there resteth nothing but the judges sentance of deathe. Then the clerke saieth

A B thou hast byn here indicted &c and thereof arraigned Thou hast pleaded not gilty & hast put thyself upon God & thy Country, they have found thee gilty. Now thou haste nothing to saye for thyselfe but to abide the sentance of Death Then the Judge saieth, the Law is thou shalt first reterne to the place from whence you camest & from thence thou shalt go to the place of execucon there thou shalt hang by neck till thou be dead Then he shall saye to the Marshall, Marshall doe execucon

And he that claimeth his clergye & readeth is burned forth-wth in prsence of the benche in the brawne of his hande wth a hot Iron marked wth the Ltre I if it be felony & for mans

slaughter wth an M in cases where Clergy is allowed, & downe vppon his knees prayeth for the king & the benche

And he whome the Jury findeth not gilty is acquited forthwith [and departeth] out of Prison paying his fees

The Oath of the greate Enqueste

You shall duely inquire & true pres^{t}mente make of all things w^{ch} shall be geven you in charge The Gouerno^{rs} counsell yo$_{r}$ fellowes and yo^{r} owne you shall not reveale, but keepe secret you shall not pute anything for malice or envye you owe vnto any person, nor conceale any thinge for favo^{r} or affeccon but you shall pute the truthe according to the vtmost of your power knowledge and skill so helpe you God

In causes criminall

You shall true tryall vse and true deliuerance make betweene o^{r} souagne Lord the king and the prisoner at the Barr accordinge to yo^{r} euidence soe helpe you God.

(4) The oath in civill causes.

You shall due tryall vse and true division make concerning the cause nowe depending in variance betweene ptie and ptie according to yo^{r} euidence soe help you God.

The names of euery the Grand Jurors.

By the Gouerno^{r} [Bernard].

9. A warrant to examyn what money Capt^{n} Butlers debtors haue paid vnto his Assignees for satisfaction of his poore workmen and creditors.[1]

Whereas their are diu^{r}se daily complaints of many poore people in theis Islands whoe have Specialties vnder the hand of Cap^{en} Nathaniel Butler for ways and workmanship and other painfull services doen vnto him for w^{ch} he desires as appeares vnder his hand to geve them satisfaction And whereas those men that are left his assignees, are bounde to paye noe farther then they receive, as appeares by an Instrum^{te} drawne vnto his

[1] Butler left the islands, without leave, about the 25th October, 1622, eight days before the arrival of Bernard.

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assignees, through w^ch^ many poore men are like to sitt downe in their losses to their great hindrance and vtter vndoeing Theis are therefore to will and require yo^u^ and in his ma^ts^ name streightly to charge and commaund you to publishe abroad throughout yo^r^ tribe and cause euery man that hath paid in Tobacco for the vse or behoof of Cap^en^ Nath Butler vnto any of his Assignees, to signify the quantity thereof vnto the Counsello^r^ of estate in the Tribe he lives in And that w^th^ expedicon whereby it maye appeare what is already received And thereby to satisfy if it be possible the great want of his poore creditors according to justice and equitye, fayle you not.

10. A Catalogue of diuers wrongs and Injuries comitted and done by Capt. Nathaniell Butler Gouernor of the Sumer Islands vnto the Comp in generall, and to diu^rs^ planters, as also of diuers extorcons and exacting vnlawfull fees taken and receiued by him or his ministers in the said Islands. [This appears to be a document transmitted to Captain Harrison by the Company, for enquiry.]

1. Hee hath made noe Act of Parliament or Lawe in his assembly either for the service of God, or for th' obseruacon of the Saboath w^ch^ ought to have beene done before all things.

[This charge is unfounded, as we have such a proclamation *ante*, p. 164.]

2. Hee hath confirmed no law made here in England at a quarter Court for the gouerm^t^ of the people in the Sommer Islands in Xtian peace and *love neith*er confirmed any former lawe made in the *Somer Islands* either for obseruacon of the Saboath, *or to promote the honor* of God, or for th' execution of Justice *and equitie* tweene the planters and the owners *of shares*.[1]

3. He sould this yere the caske *belonging vnto vs for the whale* fishing at vnreasonable rates for *only his* owne vse, as also the collonie Boates, *especially a* barge to one Roger fluellin for 140^lb^ *of tobacco which* he tooke to his owne vse

4. Hee keepeth a Dutch carpenter that *ran away* in a Dutch Pinnasse, to make boates for the publique, and sells them away for his owne *profit at vnreasonable rates.*

5. Hee caused this yeare by virtue of an act of parliament made in the Somer Islands, 1000^lb^ of Tobacco or more to bee

[1] Two leaves of the MS. have a piece torn out, rendering about 40 lines incomplete. The words in *italics* are introduced to make sense.

taken from the Planters and owners of the best Tobacco before any division was made towards the paiement of the men that built the mount, w^ch^ said Mount did neuer cost him 250^lb^ in all and formerly nothing. (See p. 177).

6. Hee caused this yeare collecons towards watch and warding to be made throughout all the Tribes. A thing never hard of before.

7. Hee caused a collection to be made for Mr. John Yates for the ferrie, the said Yates retourned about 900 lbs of Tobacco, and one John Dutton sent some and entered this yeare about 1700^lbs^ beeing but a Bayliffe and carrying over with him but one boy.

8. Hee sould cordage belonging to the whale fishing this yeare for Tobacco, and sailes and other Implements belonging to the Treasurer, and a frygatt that was cast away in Capt^n^ Kendalls yeare of Gou^r^m^t^ (1618) and still layeth the same vpon the said Capt Kendall.

9. Hee sent in the beginning of this harvest into all the Tribes the Provost Otwell and Mr. Woodward to collect his debts before any division was made, some of w^ch^ said debts were oweing for Tobacco lost at dice.

10. Hee tooke extraordinarie fines of some offenders this yeare, as also of one Nash 50lbs. of Tobacco who stood vpon the pillorie. Likewise of one Robert Tape and one Legge, and sequestered dead mens goods into his hands as due to him without giving any accompt for the same.

11. Hee hyred out the poore Duchmen formerly cast away, and tooke the profite for himselfe, as also the Treasurers men this yeare.

12. Hee makes such as haue warrants to goe for England vsuallie to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$^lb^ of Tobacco for his warrant.

13. *He causeth* the marshall to exact extraordinarie *fees from prisoners whe*n comitted: the fees being written in *a booke kept at* the Marshalls house, yf the offender *bee of the degree of* Capt. hee paies 20^lb^ of Tobacco fee *besides what he payeth* for his dyet. If an ancient 10^lb^ *of Tobacco and ij lbs* a day for dyet, for a common man *5lbs of Tobacco* and j^lb^ of Tobacco a day for his dyett *There was a* theft comitted by one crouder his man *of certain goodes* from one Woodfall, for w^ch^ hee was neuer *so much as* questioned.

15.[1] He furnished one Capt. Skouten a Dutchman with *prouisio*n and gaue him a boat of Capt. Hindes and *charged* nothing for it, and at his retourne from the West Indies victualled him to retourne home for Holland.

[1] There is no 14 in the MS.

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16. Hee gaue to one Capt[n] Baker a Pyrate or Dutch man of warre, a warrant vnder his hand to haue a free trade with a maggazin in the Somer Islands from the lowe countries who is gone this yeare againe to the Somer Ilands.

17. Hee tooke of John Powell another English Captne j chaine of gould, j wedge of gould, 2 silver candlesticks j silver eure, one Rapeir and dagger, the hilts all of silver, with some spanish Royals, and some velvet, silke grograme and silke stockings, with diu[rs] other things, in consideration whereof Powell sould his other comodities at excessive rates in the Island, watered and victualled.

18. He hath reported in the Sommer Islands that hee was his M[ties] Leiftenant and not the Compa[s] Gouernor, and that he scorned to serve so base a compa. as this is.

19. Hee made out severall warrts to the salters, to gather in old debts before any devision was made, and so seized the best Tobacco for the debt for his owne vse.

20. Hee hath taken sondry mens servants from their maisters land for his owne vse, and some hee hath sent home without order from the owners, contrarie to his first Act of Parliament.

21. He settleth the publique men vpon the overplusse and other mens Lands taking the profite of their labours to him and them; neglecting the planting of the publique Land, the absence of which people doth daily endanger the whole Islands, if any enemie should approach, there being few or none left to ply the ordinaunce or tend any other service whatsoever.

22. Hee letteth out boats to hier to bring downe Tobacco from the maine to the ship at extraordinarie rates, refused 20lb of Tobacco of M[r] Coxes man this yeare to bring downe but a Tunne of caske w[ch] is one pcent, and noe boat is lett for lesse then 10[lb].

23. Hee freed such men from publique worke as would giue him 10[lb] of Tobacco a man, but such as did *refuse the* great forte and other workes were of *them built*

24. Hee hath killed two of the oxen *in David's Island* and shot some of the Goats with [...] without order from hence.

25. Hee is a common dicer and given to [...] to any that will play in his Company [...] for Tobacco either in his owne house or elsewhere.

26. Hee beat old Needham and drew his *sword vpon* him at the Gou[r]nors owne house, Hee beate one Paine when hee was a prisoner, and one Robert ... and when hee had beaten him downe trod upon him till he was like to bee strangled, because hee would not kneele and aske forgiuenesse.

27. He suffered Otwell by exacting of fees this yeare to gaine 1000lb of Tobacco, and also a man and a boy to bee his bond

slaues, because they were not able to pay his fees, the one was Mr Scotts boy, th'other Mr Delaunes man.

28. Hee suffered at the coming in of the Joseph no man to goe aboard but otwell the marshall, to buy up the aquavitæ and oyle who keepes a Tap house and sells those things againe for money at extraordinarie rates.

29. He seazed Mr ffarrers pvisions and sould them away for his owne vse at extraordinarie rates.

30. He tooke this present yeare from Captn Hinde 100lb of Tobacco towards payment for skowring and keeping the armes and also for powder spent in exercising the men, a thing never knowne before

31. He tooke this present yeare of one Allen a planter on the publique land for a warrant for his passage for England 50lb of Tobacco and this man came without any warrant. And he tooke also of one Downham who had a warrant, likewise of 50lb of Tobacco.

Butler's high-handed and illegal proceedings did not prevent his being Governor of Providence Island in 1638.

It seems probable that we have in the next extract (11) a key to an order of Privy Council, dated April 17, 1623, conveying the King's pleasure that a commission be appointed to enquire into the true state of the Virginia and Somers Islands plantations; the monies that have been collected, how procured and expended; the abuses and grievances, and how they may be prevented hereafter (C. P. p. 44). I have therefore assigned it the date 1622. It is entered after orders of August 1623; but so is the Governor's Grievance (p. 230) the date of which must be 1620; and indeed the earlier entries having been written up after the events, probably on the receipt of suitable books from home, do not by any means follow a strict order of date.

11. Diuers and Sundrie greivances most humbly and in all dutifull maner prsented vnto yor Sacred Matie by yor most loyall Subiects the Inhabitants of the Somer Ilands [1622]

Imprs the Company of Adventurers and vndertakers of this plantacon (vnder wch title of adventurers notwithstanding wee

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are farre from meaning either the right honor^{ble} my lord the Gouernor of the Companie, or any of the earles, lords, or gentlemen, but only such adventurers of inferior ranke as by their multiplicitie of voyces doe beare down all good propositions, and motions and thereby carrie the greatest sway at the p^{r}sent in manageing y^{e} affaires of these Islands. These are the men that rob god of *His honour*, and vs of the meanes of o^{r} salvation, in that *they are so remise* in sending ministers of Gods word, Soe as *we haue but one* minister at the present, and neuer had *more than two* whereas wee haue need of one for *S^{t} Georges, and four* for the eight Tribes.

2. Likewise they haue cozened the ministers of their promised *entertainment So that* two, and for the most part but one *being here, he hath* been readie to forsake vs, and others terrified to come vnto vs.

3. The said Aduen^{rs} haue neglected the safetie of the Islands, and of the people, being his Ma^{ties} subiects, in that no allowance hath been made vnto vs towards fortifications, nor halfe so much municon guns powder and Shot as is needfull, nor such generall men furnished as are behouefull for the management of the greate ordinance and manning of the fortes. The kings castle and the fortes being eleaven in number, and where are 50 peces well mounted, haue but [blank in original] men and one gunner.

4. They lay yearly Impositions vpon your poore subiects Tobacco w^{ch} amount some yeares to no lesse than (blank) sterling, vnder pr.tence of supplying the Islands with necessarie men, and necessarie munition, w^{ch} yet wee neuer saw effected.

5. They cruelly oppresse vs your poore subjects, by excessiue rates of goods yearely sent over by them, and not suffered to be brought in by any others, valueing the natiue commodities at what height they please, being for the most part of such kinde of ware as lyeth on their hands in England and cannot be sould. As salt 6*s* the bushell, vineger at 3 pound of tobacco the gallon, Oyle 8s, aquavitæ 3 pound of tobacco a gallon, we bearinge the leakage by sea, and deliuering our Tobacco but at 2*s* 6*d* the pound weight, many haue had 2 gallons lost in 6 by leakage

* * *

[The rest of the MS. is wanting.]

Pass for a ship of John Delbridge.

12. To the Gouernor of Pagets ffort: the like to the Governo^{r} of Smiths ffort.

Theis are to will and require yo^{u} and in his Ma^{s} name

streightly to charge and comaund you to permitt and suffer Anthony ffacy m^r^ of the good shippe called the Successe of Barnstable, to passe forward w^th^ his saide shippe and Company on their intended vioage to Virginia (for w^ch^ place they are bounde) the first faier wynde that it shall please God to send them—withoute any lette or molestacons, Geveing vnto them yo^r^ best assistance and furtherance in that behalfe and for yo^r^ soe doeing this shalbe yo^r^ sufficient warrant and discharge, faile you not hereof at yo^r^ vtmost p.ills.

13. A Proclamacōn by Captain Bernard 7 December 1622.

A Proclamacon. to Shipp one 4th pte of the *Marmaduke's* ladinge in the *Darlinge* to secure the leuie of the Companies late charges.

Whereas the ho. Companie of the Somer Islands tendering the p.peritye and welfayre of this plantacon and the happines of euerye Inhabitant of the same both in their soules and bodyes, for the p.curinge thereof they haue latelie sett forth two well appointed shipps well furnished w^th^ all kinds of puis ions and necessaryes for a Christian Societye, sett forth ministers and other officers for theire peaceable and good beinge w^ch^ could not be effected w^th^ the greate costs and charges of the said Companye who haue leuied remarkable somes of money to defraye the same, and forasmuch as they are well assured the good shipp called the Darlinge intendeth by Gods assistance to make for her Porte of London and theire to deliuer all such ladinge and passengers as she shall take in here wherebye the honorable Companie shall receave some satisfaction and encouragem^t^ in leiu of their greate disbursements, and contra wise the good shipp called the Marmaduke hath giuen noe affirmacon that she intends for the same porte, w^ch^ is like to be piudiciall to the ho. Companie to be deprived of so greate a portion of this yeares Cropp w^ch^ may tend to a further euil consequence than can be suddenly Imagined besides the burden would lie upon the 'Darlinge' of freight alone, w^ch^ ought to be supported by them both.

Soe it is that through mature deliberacon and greate consideracon of the p.mises, the hono^rble^ companie in England haue consulted and concluded that the 4th p^te^ of euerye mans Tobacco who intends to ship theire croppe or any pte thereof, or any p.cell otherwise p.cured in the Marmaduke shalbe deducted that is to say three pts shipped in the Marmaduke and one 4th pte in the Darlinge w^ch^ 4th pte they may consigne to any frend they please in London but w^th^all giuing a true accompt of the weight thereof unto me the Gouerno^r^ or my assignes to thend I may be able to render my accompt unto

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the Company of the true p.portion shipped from thence and they by this 4th pte kept in deposite, may be assured to receave such duties as shall arise unto them Renderinge the same upon good securitye taken to that end unto all such psons to whome the same tobacco shall be assigned like as the hono^{ble} companie hath alreadye done with the good shipp called the Successe of Barnstable for whom her owner M^{r} Delbridge has putt in security to be accomptable to all for all tobacco she carries from the said Islands to any forreigne porte, as yf she carried the same to the Porte of London.

In due consideracon whereof theise are to will and requier you and in his Ma^{ties} name streightley to charge and comaund you and euery of you that no man p.sume to shipp any Tobacco in the Marmaduke until he haue made his true dividend (vizt) three pts to her and a fourth parte to the Darlinge And to signifye his p.porcon to the sherriffe accordingly. Whereof fayle you not as you will answer the contrary at your p.ills

S^{t} Georges the 7th of December 1622

14. Entries headed 'A collection and record of such p.ticulers as were handled in the time of Captain Bernards Governm^{t}' [1622].

To all councello^{rs} of Estate &c wthin the Somer Islands[1] and to all M^{rs} of Shipps and other officers on Shippbord to whome these shall come and doe appertayne 18 December 1622

A warrant to Ball and Wilson to review tobacco.

It is manifest to all that the stabilitye & tranquilitie of euerie state and contrye consists in the marchandize and traffique thereof and increases and diminishes according to the plentye and goodnes or scarcitye and badnes of the same as is apparent in the p.gres of this plantacon whose chiefe marchandize for the p.sent consistinge in Tobacco causeth some yeares the reputacon and some yeares the defamacon of yt according to the goodnes or badnes of the comoditie receaved from them which w^{ch} thorough the want of care in some in the cure and well handlinge thereof & Covetousnes in some others who desyre rather the quantitie than the qualitie thereof Causeth oftetymes a dislike of the croppe in generall and now being crediblie informed of great abuses this yeare practized and some store of base Tobacco brought up for the leavye such as is not current amongst marchants nor payable from one man to another but

[1] Councellors of State, or Estate, were officers of a higher rank than the Councellors of Tribes, who were at one time elective. See Act 17, 1623, p. 313.

to the great losse and hindrance of the Inhabitants whose Complaints, though I am weake in bodye yet am verye sensible of them [1] and takinge into consideracon how I might best p.cure and revive the hon[r] of these famous Islands in this behalfe and refresh the splendor of them now much obscured, by transportinge from them such refuse and tobacco w[ch] is scarce worth the freight but being taken up and the charges paid lyes upon the marchants hands to their greate hindrance and the planters greate discreditt, and in both to the greate reproach of this plantacon, wherein wee doe more hurt to ourselves by fraugd than we feare from our enemies by force, ffor Reformacon whereof I haue with mature deliberacon Chosen two sufficient and hable men (vzt) John Ball & John Wilson two ouerseers of Southampton tribe, and taken theire oathes for their fidelitye in this weightie busines Concerninge his Ma[ties] the hono[ble] Companie and contries service, willinge & charginge them to take a review and make diligent search amongst all such tobacco as this yeare is to be transported Aswell that w[ch] is already shipped as of that w[ch] is to shipped and that yf findinge amongst them any such unmarchantable tobacco (vzt) such as is not sufficient and worthie to passe Currently amonge marchants and in magazines, valuable after 2s 6d the pownd, accordinge to the true meaninge of the order therein That then they shall take the same base and counterfeite Rolls of Tobacco out of the p.cell or pcells either of chest or caske shipped or unshipped and Cutt them in pieces and burne them, w[ch] order (God willinge) I purpose yerely to observe to regaine as much as in me lyeth the lost hono[ble] estimation of these Islands These are therefore to will & requier you and in his Ma[ties] name strictly to Charge and Command you, that noe man of what qualitye soever he be p.sume to shipp any Tobacco either in cheste or caske or otherwise before yt be p.used by the said John Ball and John Wilson whome I have constituted and doe constitute by these psents, the generall overseers of these Islands in that behalfe and that you be readye to ayd and assist them. And by noe meanes any lett or hindrance to them or either in the execution of the p.[r]mises And for the surest speedyest and most Convenient effectinge hereof I doe further in his Ma[ties] name streightly charge and command you and euerye of you, that you bringe or cause to be brought all such tobacco as you intend to shipp or transporte either in chest or caske to S[t] Georges there to be reviewed and receave the ap.pbacon of the saide generall ouerseers and their speciall

[1] John Bernard is said by Smith to have only governed six weeks, when he and his wife 'died in such short time they were both buried in one day and one grave.' This must have occurred in December, 1622. See p. 282.

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marks w^ch^ shall be sufficient warrant for the shippinge & transportinge of the same where you shall finde all the assistance that may be had for the safest and speediest dispatching of your business whereof fayle you not as you shall answer it at your utmost p.ill. S^t^ Georges the 18th day of Decem. 1622

The Governo^r^ tendering the ease and benefitt of the Inhabitants of these Islands for shippinge the Croppe of Tobacco doth further give full power & authority to the said John Ball & John Wilson to make their residence either on shipp board or in any of the Contry and soe to remove to & againe as tyme & place best serves for the safest & speediest dispatch of their busines.

15. A Proclamacon by Capt. J. Harrison against the transportacōn of coyne 1 Jan. $162\frac{2}{3}$

Whereas it is made apparent by euident demonstracon that great hindrance doth accrewe unto these Islands and the welfayre and p.peritye of this plantacon by reason of such saylers and straingers as repayre hither and sell their liquo^rs^ and other commodityes at extreme rates and yet are not content w^th^ the Contreys payment in tobacco as it is rated at 2.6 the pound but they will haue readye money for theire liquor and other Comodities so high rated, whereby the land is kept in greate povertye, besides other inconveniences arisinge thereby to the greate p.iudice of this Plantacon. ffor redresse whereof the Gouerno^r^ & councell assembled (though late,) with an unanimous Consent, concluded that from henceforth noe strainger shall sell any wares Liquo^rs^ or other Commodities for readye money, but only for Tobacco as the countrye doth allowe & pay the same vizt 2^s^ 6^d^ the pownd, neither shall yt be lawfull for any inhabitant strainger or passenger from theise Islands to carrye forth of them in coyned money or gould aboue the quantitye of v^lb^ster on paine of forfeiture of the commoditie there sould or money soe transported, besides such exemplary punishmt as in discretion shalbe thought fittinge Ja the j° $162\frac{2}{3}$

16. A warrant to the tribes for the elecon & sendinge fitt men for the suplye of y^e^ castle 8 January $162\frac{2}{3}$

Theise are to will & requier you and in his Ma^ts^ name streightly to Charge you and euerye of you that Imediatly upon the receipt hereof you enquire and make diligent search w^th^in your tribe for one hable p.son that may best be spared

and him soe found to make ready & send to the Kinges Castle there to be p^r^sent the next monday being the 18th of Januarye w^th^out any further delay And that you cause to be deliuered to him 40^lb^ weight of shelled corne to serue him for one monthes p.uision Whereof fayle you not as you will answer the Contrarye at yo^r^ utmost p.ills Also you shall publish throughout yo^r^ Tribes that on monday next there is held a Colonie at S^t^ Georges and that all colonie p.sons are to appeare there on Monday next or Tuesday morning w^th^out fayle And all such negroes as are yet in question And not fully settled w^th^ theire lawfull M^rs^ are likewise to appeare upon the same day at S^t^Georges w^th^out any further delay This I praye you publish and helpe forward by all good meanes you can As you will answer the contrarye at y^r^ utmost p.ills S^t^ Georgs the 8th of Januarye 162$\frac{2}{3}$

17. To [Capt. Thos. Stokes] elected sheriff for the Somer Islands.

[Mr. John Harrison was sheriff under Bernard, and at his death succeeded him in the government This is addressed by him to his own successor.]

Whereas there hathe byn a cause determyned before the councell touching 14 negroes to be brought vpon the gen^r^allity & certen negroes to be brought in & reladed to Cap^tn^ Daniell Elfrey & the seamen of his Company. W^ch^ negroes are not yet disposed of according to the councells direcons in that behalfe Theise are therefore to require you that ymediatly after the receipt hereof you inquere and make dilligent searche for all those negroes that belonge vnto the Earle of Warwicke w^ch^ have byn brought into theis parts by Cap^t^ Kerby & Cap^tn^ Elfrey, and them found, to cause to be disposed accordinge to the councells said determynacon for the generallity & the seamen of Capt Elfreys said Company. Also to enquier & make dilligent search for all those boyes w^ch^ came ouer in the ij shipps the *Darling* and tne *Marmaduke* whose names are vnderwritten. And them found to bring vp vnto S^t^ Georges there to be distributed euerye one to his M^r^ W^th^ whome he is to contynue for his tyme whereof faile you not at your vtmost pill

18. A Proclamacon for a General Fast [by Governor John Harrison] January 29 162$\frac{2}{3}$

When I consider within myself as indeed all men ought to consider w^th^ feare and tremblinge how yt hath pleased God to

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shake his Rodd of Correction over the whole xtian world at this day and layd it heauily in sundrye. It begininge first after his accustomed manner w^th^ his owne ffamilye and houshold his deare Church and children in Fraunce, the Lowe Contries, Germanie, Bohemia, and other pts all now in Armes and combustion, and when our neighbours houses are all on ffyre round about us then high tyme to looke to our owne. But to come nearer home, when I consider I saye as indeed we all ought to consider w^th^ feare and tremblinge yt soe nearely concerninge the liues of euerye one of us, how yt hath pleased God to shake his rodd of correction also over this little Island Lyinge open to the assaults of the enemie who wayeth onlie his opportunitye and to take aduantage of our securitye as they haue threatned [1] God in his judgm^t^ hauinge alreadye broken our staffe of breade our croppe of corne beginninge to fayle us, but wh is more, beginninge to take from us the Angell of our Churches sent to breake unto us the bread of life, and last of all strikinge at the verye head our late worthye Governor and his wyfe, both buried in one day. Sensible also of my one p.ticular visitation at this tyme under w^ch^ I have long tyme groaned The true cause of those his judgements and visitacons being our sinnes, our cryinge sinnes, both publique and priuate, noe other waye to be remoued but by unfayned repentance and humiliacon w^ch^ hath bene the practize of Gods Church in all ages euen to this day to pclayme publique fasts upon all such occasions The onlie meanes I saye to remoue Gods Judgm^ts^ from us and drawe downe his blessings upon us. And w^ch^ euen Moores and Jewes most religiously obserue to this daye w^th^ publique thanks after benifits receiued, who shall one day rise in Judgm^t^ against us and Condemne us. I haue thought yt my dutye in all these respects and verye seasonable in respect of these tymes w^th^ the advise and approbation of the counsell, to p.claime a solempne publique fast to be obserued throughout these Islands to begin on the first sonday in Lent, and soe to continue euerye Sonday successive till Easter, hoping thereafter yt may please God to minister cause of publique praise and thanksgiuinge as he now doth of humiliation and mourninge, in respect of ourselues and the whole church of God neuer in greater danger As for Atheists Blasphemers Drunkards and such like inordinate liuers wherew^th^ this Island swarmeth, who phaps may scorne at these religious proceedinges as their manner is let them take warninge before hand at their p.ills and repent likewise and Reforme themselues acknowledging as the truth is, that they are the cheife cause of Gods visitation alreadye, and further vengeance

[1] It is not obvious what enemy is intended; probably Spain. But war was not declared.

like to light upon us yf they be not narrowlye looked unto and seuerlye punished accordinge to their deserts, w^ch^ yf God send life and health shalbe done w^th^out all p.tialitye my owne Brother in this case I will not knowe him, and soe let all make accompt as God willinge they shall finde w^th^ as little cause to p^r^sume of my lenitye to such miscreants as of any other that euer was or shalbe in the place w^ch^ resolution (Godwillinge) I will hould till the death and comend the successe to God, hoping the counsell and ouerseers in euerye tribe will doe the like w^th^ the aduice and assistants of their seueral ministers that both word and sword may goe together, and worke that good effect w^ch^ both God and the honourable Companie requireth at our hands, both by their publique lawes and priuate instructions, whereunto wee that are officers are Solempne Sworne. And as we will answer that heauie charge must see them executed without either feare or fauo^r^ of any whatsoeuer w^ch^ God graunt wee may to his glorye and the good of this Plantacon, otherwise like to come to confusion w^ch^ God forbidd.

Giuen at St Georges the
29th of Janu 1622/3

(Signed)

John Harrison

19. Captain Harrison to John Perencheife. 1 Feb $162\frac{2}{3}$

Good M^r^ Perencheife.

My loue remembered vnto you There hath byn formerly much question and controuersye concerning my Lord of Warwick and his Negroes And now thers some question betweene his assignes M^r^ Wolvaston John Hammer & Thomas Downham about their lande, I see firme Leases graunted & signed vnto Thomas Downeham & Hugh Wentworth to enioy theire lands for 7 yeares and againe I see certen Ltres to recall them But yet w^th^ this proviso, not to remove any tenants from his Lands, being honest and painfull men, for any body w^ch^ contrarieties makes me forbeare to give any peremptorie sentance betwixt them, rather desiringe that those 3 whome my Lo hath chosen to mediate all his busines and affaires in theis Islands shold accord among themselues about & concerning theis things w^ch^ wold be very pleasing to my Lo: & easefull to me & the councell w^c^ at this present cannot conveniently be called to sett vpon theis pticulers especially at this season when men should rather be plantinge then complayneing For redresse

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whereof I haue resolued to desire yo^{u} as councellor of that Tribe to see effected, first, in the behalfe of Downeham that he may not by any one be molested or hindered from the quiet enioying of his Land, and plantinge & manuring of the same And also that he may possesse & enioye his Negro servants Mingo and his wife, who was late servant to Henry Withersby vntil a further and cleerer interpretacon of the gen^{r}all assembly, or shall come from the Rt Hon the Earle of Warr: And also that Hugh Wentworth may quietly enioye his land accordinge to the tenor of his lease & the same speedily and carefully to manure and husband accordinge to the season vntil the generall assembly shall meet here, and advise herevpon with me, & soe neer as we can finde out and followe the noble Earle his true intent & meaning in theis occurrents. And whereas M^{r} Charles Wolvaston is by virtue of his L^{ps} Lres and of the councells order concurring therewth put into possession of the Land. My desire & charge vnto you is, that you shall take vnto you one discreet & hable pson whome I leave to yo^{r} discretion, to accompany you, to make yo^{r} repaire vnto the house of Hugh Wentworth aforesaid, then and there to viewe, estimate, prize and divide all such corne as you shall find there, in whose possession soeuer it be, leaving one moitye wth the saide Wentworthe and resigneing thoth^{r} to M^{r} Wolvaston for his maintenance & livelihood, together with the moitye of Potatoes and such other fruites as the Earth yeildeth to subsist withall for himself and familye vntill a further resolucon be taken by the consent of me the Gou^{r}ernor being assisted with the advise of the gen^{r}all Assembly, or by consent of all parties referred vnto the finall determinacon of the Rt Hon the Earle of Warr in his next ltres, to be constantly established &c. Lastly concerning those servants w^{ch} formerly did belong vnto M^{r} John Hutton, and were set free from him by the counsell and theire Indentures comanded to be deliured vnto John Hammers hands, & themselves to serve the rest of their tyme vnder my Lo. of Warr. theire true & proper m^{r}. It is my desire that those servants may neither be alienated from my Lo^{r} Land nor yet compelled to serve any pticular pson dwelling vpon the same, but left free to theire owne choice as it was first intended, or left vnto the discretion of the three assignes, to be disposed of soe as they may serve amongst my Lo^{r} tenants, whereby they may more cheerfully proceed vpon their labors for his hono^{rs} profitt & pformance of theire own duties, and all this I comend vnto yo^{r} care and dilligence to see p.formed, hoping there by I swerve not from the rule of Justice and equitye w^{ch} is the square I desire to try all my actions by, & if God send me

life & health shalbe more manifested hereafter Thus wishing you health I bid you heartily farewell From S^t^ Georges the 1st ffeb. $162\frac{2}{3}$

yo^r^ Loving frend

J H.

20. A Proclamacon against the exceedinge price of stronge liquo^r^ 6 Febuary $162\frac{2}{3}$

Such and soe greate are the inconveniences and miseries wch dayly arise and increase upon the Inhabitants of these Islands by reason of unreasonable and extorting prices sett upon the most usuall and necessary commodities belonging to the health and preservation of the Inhabitants and good being of this Plantacon, that it neede not to be declared openly by proclamacon seeing that every man can and may proclaime it to himselfe by a miserable experience that he rather feeles in his owne p.ticular or sees to be practised or endured by others which is more to be lamented than easye to be reformed yf wch goe on as they beginne will undoubtedly cause an uniuersal povertie amongst us and a Ruine of this hopefull plantacon which God forbidd. ffor Redresse whereof I haue for the present taken into serious consideration how to cause reformacon but in one p.ticuler till a more convenient season to advise upon the rest, and that is the unreasonable prices of ventinge and retaylinge of liquor now growne to be a comõn trade amongst us and yf wch be not p.vented will undoe us Therefore these are to give notice unto all and euerie Inhabitant of the Somer Islands, and to charge and comand them and euerye of them as they will answer it at their utmost p.ills that noe man of what ranke or condition soever he be p.sume to sell either by wholesale or retayle any liquo^r^ comõnly called aqua vitæ wth the seuerall compounds thereof or such comonly so called be yt of Malaga Madera Sherrie or Canarie above the rate of 8^d^ the pinte, and in greater measure so p.portionablye rated accordingly upon payne and forfeiture of euerye pinte so solde at a higher rate and quantitye directlye or indirectlye xl^lb^ of good and merchantable Tobacco (viz) xx lb to the generall companie and xx lb to the Informer and revealer of the same, to be paid unto him by the Sherriffe of the Somer Islands And in case of p.sistinge stubbornely in mayneteyning or abetting the higher price the ptie or pties so offendinge and taken in the thirde default shall suffer seuerall and exemplarye punishments as regrators forestallers & extortioners and disturbers of the comonweale. giv. S Georges the 6 Ffebr. 1622

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21. State Papers Colonial. Vol. 2. No. 19 I. 18 Feb. 162$\frac{2}{3}$

The Governour and Company of the Somer Islands, in all duty doe make knowne to the Lords and others of his Ma^{ts} most hon^{ble} privy Counsell: That wheareas the sayd Governour and Company according to their Lo^{pps} direction, had appointed certain Comissioners to enquire and to take strickt examinacōn of Captaine Butler then Governo^{r} of the Somer Islands, and other the Inhabitants there, touching the busines of the Spainish wreck: The said Captaine Butler (as they are credibly informed by tres from thence) secretly depted the Islands in a Shipp, not set out by the Company, eight dayes before the new Governour and other Comissioners sent by the Company arryved in the sayd Islands. Which flight of his was altogether wthout the privity or soe much as the imagination of the Company here, whoe did never doubt that without theire order hee would have soe abandoned the greate charge comitted to his trust; and the raither because it was by himself together with the generall consent of the Inhabitants in the Somer Islands, in theire solemne Assemblie enacted and concluded, that in case of the expiration and accomplishment of the Comissions of resident Governors, the said Governors shall notwithstanding be received and continued in theire full rule place and authority there amongst the Inhabitants, and soe accepted of by them, untill the arrivall of some one appointed and authorised from the said Company in England to succeede him in his sayd Governmen^{t} Which order hath bene ratifyed by the Company here, according to the forme prescribed in his Ma^{ts} Lres pattents.

W. Cavendysshe Governour of
the Summer Ilands Company

[Indorsed] A declaration to the Lords of his Ma^{ts} most hon^{ble} privy Counsell of Captaine Butlers departure from the Somer Islands. 18 Feb^{y} 1622.

22. March 4 162$\frac{2}{3}$ The Privy council renewed the order of 24 Oct 1621 against carrying the products of Virginia or the Somer's Islands to foreign countries until they had been first landed in England, and the king's customs paid C.P. p. 40.

23. To all councellors of estate and all others his Ma^ts^ officers in the Somer Islands and to all Captains of fforts & m^rs^ of shipps now resident in the same or in the sounds or hauens thereof 17 March 162$\frac{2}{3}$

Where(as) I am informed that diuers p.sons who haue giuen vp theire names in England and thereupon haue bene shipped in the good shipp the Seaflower of London for Virginia but doe now intend to stay here in the Somer Islands, and haue disposed of themselves and vnladen theire goods w^th^out shewinge themselves unto me or acquainting me therew^th^ all w^ch^ tends unto euerye euill consequence Theise are therefore to signifie unto all and euerye such passengers that here arrived and intend to settle themselves in this plantacon that they doe wi^th^in three dayes after notice giuen or taken of these p.mises, and from tyme to tyme hereafter make thiere repaire unto S^t^ Georges before me the Gou^r^no^r^ or in my absence the Secretarie to signifie the names ages and places of residence in these Islands thereby to take notice of them accordinge to the orders of the hon^ble^ Companie in England whereof fayle you not as you will answer the Contrarye at yo^r^ p.ill.

S^t^ Georges the 17 of March 162$\frac{2}{3}$.

24. A Proclamation against concealing the Seaflowers goods. 20 March 162$\frac{2}{3}$

Whereas of late we haue had a taste of the heavie Judgm^ts^ of God manifested in and upon the good shipp called the Seaflower in blowinge her up by Gunpowder to the loss of the said shipp and goodes as also the liues of sundrye passengers and Inhabitants of these Islands [1] All w^ch^ feareful Judgm^ts^ and lamentable spectacles are soe farr from makeing a feelinge sorrowe and greife in any ofus for our brethren and Contrymens miserryes That yt occasions, some of us through wickednes of oure owne hearts to add sorrowe to theire sorrowe by robbinge and oppressinge them whom God hath humbled to his greate dishono^r^ and the p.petuall shame of ourselues and as much as in us lyeth of the whole plantacon, ffor Reformacon whereof these are to signifie to all the inhabitants of the Somer Islands and to will and requier them and in his Ma^ts^

[1] Smith relates how this occurred. (See p. 329.)

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name streightly to charge and comand them and euerye of them whome these concernes that they doe within three dayes after the publicacon hereof and from tyme to tyme bring forth all such goods as they haue taken vp at sea or found on shore w^{ch} are p.cell & belong to this shipp and companie, or any passenger thereof And the same goods so taken vp or found to deliuer or cause to be deliuered to Captaine Thomas Stokes Sherriffe of the said Islands to be by him disposed for the benefitt of the Companie and owners who shall reward and giue reasonable satisfaction to the takers vp or finders of the same as shall be thought expedient, or in default thereof the takers up or finders and concealers of the same goods or pcells thereof are to be accompted as fellons and the Lawe to passe vpon them as purloyners and stealers of other mens goods, w^{ch} shalbe required at theire hands and followed to the utmost soe farr as Lawe and iustice will pmitt.

S^{t} Georges the 20 of March 1622/3.

Instructions 4 Aprill 1623 relative to the wreck of the 'Sea-flower.'

25. To all counsellors of estate ouerseers and all other his ma^{ts} officers to whome these psentes shall come or doe appertayne 4 April 1623

Whereas I am giuen to understand that there be diuers boats belonging to the mayne who use to scowt up and down the coast of S^{t} Dauids, Coopers Island, and other Islands neare adjoyning, to pillage such caske and chest as were driuen on shore by the 'Seaflower' or are found at Sea to the hurt and damage of such poore passengers as are left heare without apparel or p.vision and to the wronging of the Hon^{ble} Company whose caske are found in many places broken up and the goods felloneouslye embesselled and stolne away to the great p.dice and disreputation of the Plantacon generally. These are therefore to require charge and command all and euerye Boat and m^{r} and gange of the same, upon the Sight thereof and warning giuen them or any of them presentlye to make theire repayre to there houses or places of aboad and not to psume to come any more to the wracke or to coast to and againe nere any of the Islands aforesaid without my speciall warrant to them giuen in that behalfe upon paine of such punishm^{t} as shalbe thought fitt for such stubborne and irregular people of w^{ch} let all and euery pson and psons take warninge at there utmost peril.

S^{t} Geo : the 4th day of Aprill 1623

26. To all councellors of Estate These. 8 April 1623.

Fisheries

Whereas there are daylie complaints made of the greate want of salte, to saue fish for the p^r^seruation of the liues of the inhabitants of these Islands w^ch^ is absolute necessarie in this tyme of scarcitye w^ch^ cannott be p.cured unless paynes be presentlye imployed for the Boylinge thereof These are therefore to will and require you and in his M^ties^ name streightly to charge and command you, and euerye of you that imediately upon the receipt hereof you Inquire and make diligent search for the psons of Thomas Py of Brackish Pond and John Askew of Spanish Pointe carpente^r^ and them found to cause to make their present repayre unto the Craule Point w^th^ their tooles and instruments to fitt and furnish those two salte panns there in hand intended by the Right Honor^ble^ the Earle of Warwicke for the good of the Colonie, whose assignes will giue euerye man sufficient pay and wages for such labor as they shall pforme upon that worke or in case of refusal to serue the Colonie in soe acceptable business to send them up to S^t^Georges to answer the contrarye before me and receive such further order as in such case shalbe found expedient. Whereof fayle you not S^t^ Georges the 8th Aprill 1623

27. A Coppie of the Lre written by the Lords of his Majesties councell at Whitehall the 17th of April 1623

Present

Lord Bishopp of Canterburie

Lo: Keeper	Earle of Kellie
Lo: Treasurer	Lo: viscount Grandison
Lo: President	Lo: Carew
Lo: Privie Seale	M^r^ Treasurer
Lord Steward	M^r^ Comptroler
Earle Marshall	M^r^ Chauncler of the Exchequer

The M^r^ of the Rolls

Theire Lo^ps^ hauinge this day by order from his Ma^tie^ hard at large the Lord Cauendish wth others representinge the body both of the *Virginia* and Sōmer Islands Companie and diuers pticular adventurers & others who had complayned to his Ma^tie^ of some grievances, and hauing considered the allegations and answers on both parts, did order according to

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his Ma^{ts} pleasure in that behalfe, that there shalbe a comission under the greate seale of England directed under certain psons of knowledge and sinceritye, who shalbe thereby authorized to examine by oath or otherwise by all lawfull meanes and wayes to make enquiry into the true estate of the Plantacons of Virginia and the Somers Islands & incidents thereunto belonginge from the very beginninge of those Plantacons unto the present tyme As also what moneyes haue heretofore bene collected for those Plantacons, by whome and how they were p.cured As also in what manner those moneyes haue been spent, And after the expense of soe greate somes of money what the Estate and Condicons are of those plantacons now at this present: enquire and search unto all abuses and grievances concerninge the former pticulars and of all wronge and injuryes done to any aduenturers or planters and the grounds and causes thereof ppound after what sort the same may be better managed Also to enquire who they be that pray upon the Inhabitants and Planters sellinge and barteringe comodities or victualls at excessive & uniust rates: whether the magazine or priuate men and at what price [euerie] Comoditie is sould and to the end there may be no discouragement amongst those who are now in Virginia and the Somers Islands by reason of aduertizement that may pceed from any factious humo^{rs} or p.sons. Their Lo^{ps} did likewise further order that no pticuler Letters shalbe sent by any man for or about any other matter or Intelligence than this priuate buisines. That such as are written and deliuered allready wh are to any other effect shalbe taken backe And yf any be sent notwithstanding this the sendinge thereof shalbe taken as a contempt and infringing of this order and they who shall send the same shall stand lyable to such punishm^{t} as they shalbe found to deserve Lastly their Lordps did order that the said Companies shall write generall letters to those who are now in Virginia & Somers Islands to exhorte and admonish them to liue togeather in Concord & unitie And to employ theire endeauors ioyntly for the publique good of the Plantacons To w^{ch} purpose it was ordered that two of like tenor be written from the Board.

(Signed)
Jo Dickenson

28. Domestic Correspondence, James I., Addenda, Vol. 43, No. 10. 18 April, 1623.

M^{r} Secretary. Because I conceave His Ma^{t} expects to heare of the Lord's proceeding yesterday in Counsell, I have

thought fitt to give his Ma^te accompt therof by yo^u, when yo^u shall finde a fitt time to acquaint Him with it.

Concerning the differences of the two Companies of Virginia & the Somer Islands, though there were much heate & bitternes betweene them at first, fitter to perplexe then to settle the busines; yet at last we brought them to agree of two points, which we founde needfull for the mayne ende of His Ma^ts originall & most Graciouse contynued intention, & for the publique & generall good of both Plantacōns. First, because the State of the Colonies & the Accompts therof is diverslie reported by them, we have agreed of a Cōmission to be presently awarded to S^r William Jones, S^r Nicolas Fortescue, S^r Henry Bourchier, S^r Henry Spiller, S^r Fraunces Goston, S^r Richard Sutton, & S^r William Pytt, or anie foure of them, to examyne the cariage of the wholl busines, from the beginning of S^r Thomas Smithes govermen^t untill now: how it began with him, how he left it, & in what state it is at this present; what moneyes hath been collected or raised towards it, & when & by what meanes, eyther upon pryvate adventure, or otherwise; & how the same hath been husbanded & disposed: that upon retorne of this Cōmission, (which we have alredie given order for, to M^r Attorney) we may have some true grounds to worke upon, for directyng o^r future counsells & resolutions therein, to advance His Ma^ts endes. Secondlie, to prevent all misreports & underhand-workings of eyther side in the Colonies, in the meane tyme; we have appointed both Companies to meete this morning, to agree of one generall letter to goe from them all, upon the heads we have appointed them: & the same being so drawen by them, to be presented to the Lords and there approved, & so to be sent over with the shipps now in dispatch: & no pryvate lre besides to goe from any man, differing in anie point from the Generall. It being also resolved that another letter to both Plantacōns shall be written from the Board, to acquaint them with His Ma^ts Pious & Princely care of them, & the course in hande to provide better for them: whereby to unite their resolutions & give them incouragem^t & constancie, to goe on cheerfullie in the worke they have in hande. And soe have we left that busines for the present.

Yo^r faithfull & assured frende

Chelsey 18: Aprill: 1623. MIDDELSEX

M^r Secretary Conway

[Indorsed] Aprill 18, 1623 Lo: Treasurer concerninge the Virginia busines &c.

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29. A Proclamation by Harrison 24 April 1623

Whereas heretofore through negligence of some who have had musketts and callivers[1] comitted vnto their custody many such small peeces have byn spoiled and in short tyme become vtterly vnprofitable to the great hinderance of the ho: Company in generall and danger to vs all the inhabitants of theis Islands if their shold happen any suddayne alarme to be given by the enemy, w^ch^ is not to be neglected, for reforming whereof as I have caused sondry very good and seruicable peeces to be distributed as well through the mayne as in S^t^ Georges Island, w^th^ comand to keep them in good and serviceable order to be vsed on all good occasions. So to further w^ch^ I recommend to you the pson of Henry Long who is a man well approved for his sufficiency and integrity in that which he professeth, for the contryes seruice, and now is ready to vndertake the makeing a cleane mending and well underholding of all the shott in the mayne, and a monethly overviewing to maynteyn them in good order and seruiceable, and that for an easy salary from euery one that is willing to ymploy him even to their owne good consideracon of his paynes taken in this behalfe w^ch^ as I as thankfully accept myselfe, so I do referr vnto all the constables and other his mat^ies^ officers and loving subiects in the mayne, to comend vnto their Tribes and P.ishes, that his forwardnes for the publique benefitt may be imbraced and cherished wherein I pray you not to fayle.

Given at S^t^ Georges this 24th of Aprill 1623.

30. Order concerning an Imposition upon Tobacco by y^e^ Virginia Company.[2]

At Whitehall the 28th of Aprill 1623.

Present

Lord Arch Bpp of Canterbury

L^d^ Treasurer	L^d^ Bpp of Winton	M^r^ Comptroller
L^d^ President	M^r^ Treasurer	M^r^ Secry Calvert
		The M^r^ of y^e^ Rolls

There having been read this day at the Board a Peticõn presented by those Planters who came lately from the Summer Islands, wherein they humbly sue that they may be again

[1] Calliver, a lighter and shorter piece than the musquet, but of the same bore.
[2] Colonial Entry Book, vol. lxxix. pp. 204–5.

possessed of the Tobacco that was brought by them into England and seized by the Company upon their deniall to pay an Imposition of four pence upon every pound of the same Tobacco, w^ch^ would tend to their exceeding prejudice and almost undoing; by meâns of which seizure and detention, they are both barred from the enjoying and use of their own goods, and are also in hazard of susteining great loss by the spoil thereof lying thus under arrest: Their Lo^ps^ upon mature deliberation did think fitt and order, that the sd Tobacco shall be delivered unto them according to their humble sute. But whereas it appeareth that th'aforesaid Imposition is intended for the payment of a great summ of mony taken up upon the Creditt of some particular persons, for the generall service of the Company, and therefore in reason and equity to be generally born of all the Members and Adv^rs^ thereof, their Lo^ps^ did likewise think fitt and order that the Comm^rs^ who are to examine the estate and Condicõns both of that Company and of the Company of Virginia from the beginning untill the present, with all things incident and concerning the same, shall likewise take into their Consideracõn, and advise what proporcõn of Imposition may be fitt to bee levyed and continued untill th'aforesaid monies be fully repayed; That in the mean time the Imposition shall be suspended, and that after the advice given by th'aforesaid Comm̃rs, and the proporcõn sett down, the Pet^rs^ shall bee lyable to the payment of such a proporcõn as by them shall bee sett down, every man for his part, as well for y^e^ Tobacco w^ch^ shall now bee delivered unto them, as for that which they may hereafter bring or receive from the Summer Islands aforesaid untill this debt of y^e^ Company be fully discharged.

31. A coppie of the priuie counsells order at Whitehall the 28th April 1623

Present

Lord Arch Bishoppe of Canterburye

Lo. Treasurer	M^r^ Comptroller
Lo. President	M^r^ Secretary Calvurt
Lo. Bishoppe of Winton	M^r^ of the Rolls

M^r^ Treasurer [1]

The Ltres of the Virginia and Som^r^ Island Companie beinge this day prused were disallowed for that they did not p.sue the former direccons giuen by this Board w^ch^ was to certifye in

[1] The copy in the Record Office gives the names rather differently.

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theire generall Ltres to the Plantacons his ma^tles greate grace & fauor towards both the sayde Plantacons and whereas contract was formerlye made wherebye his ma^tie should have had one third pte of all the tobacco cominge therefr^m and also vj^d upon the pound of the other two pts ẇch diuers clauses in the said contract aforemenconed now that their L^ps upon full debate did find that yf the contracts did procede in that manner as was agreed, that it would tend to the utter ouerthrow and subuersion of the said Plantacon, they did therefore think fitt and accordinglye order that the contract aforesaid concerninge Tobacco should forthw^th be dissolued and for the better encouragement of the Planters yt was declared that although there was formerlye answered xij^d (12^d) upon the pound to the kinge yet his M^tie would be now pleased only with ix^d (9^d) upon the pownd to be answered to him for all charges whatsoeu^r belonginge to his M^tie and did also order that euerye of the Planters who had lately sent in Tobacco hither into England should haue the same deliuered unto them paying this ix^d the pownd to the kinge and moreouer thiere L^ps findinge that to graunte unto the said Companies the sole importacōn of tobaccoe into his M^ties dominions would greatelye aduance those Plantacons had accordinglye moued his Ma^tie therein who was graciously pleased therew^th soe that allwayes all the Tobacco of those Plantacons be brought directly hither into England To w^ch purpose an act of counsell was heretofore made of these thinges theire Lo^ps expected that publique notice should have been giuen to both the Companies here as alsoe to have aduertized the same by theire generall Ltres to the planters there for theire encouragement and comfort.

32. A coppie of the lke written from the lords of his Ma^ties councell.

After our hartie commendacons. His M^tie hauing upon diuers Informacons psented unto him taken into his gracious consideracon the present estate of the colonies & plantacons in Virginia and the Bermudas or Somers Islands hath soe farr extended his Royall care both for the redresse of that w^ch is amiss and for the establishinge of fitt directons and orders for the future wherebye all indirect courses misunderstandings and dissentions may be p.vented as we doubt not but the effects thereof will both advance the publique good and also redownd to the pticular contentment of euerye honest pson who is any way interested in that cause w^ch wee haue thought good to

signifye unto you to the end that there be no discouragement taken or apprehended by any loose aduertizement from any pson pceeding from factous humo^{rs} or priuate ends but that you comfort yo^{r}selues in attendinge the fruits of that good worke w^{ch} by his Ma^{ties} expresse comaund is now in hand And wee doe therefore require and in his ma^{ties} name streightly charge you to liue together in that united concord and ioynt care of the comon good of that plantacon wh becometh the undertakers of such an accon the subiects of such a kinge and the possess^{rs} of one Religion And whereas wee are informed by those who were not long since eye witnesses that neither yo^{r} fortificacons houses of habitacon nor puision of victualls are cared for in such sorte as they ought Wee cannot but lett you knowe how displeasing it is to his Ma^{tie} to heare of these thinges and wthall require you to be more carefull for yourselues and the good of the plantacon hereafter and soe wee bid you heartily farewell

from Whitehall this 28 Aprill 1623

yo^{r} louinge ffrends

G Cant Mandeuille

Middlesex

John Lincoln C S

La Wynton Jo Sucklinge Geo Caluert

J Edmonds Jul Ceasar

J Dickenson

To the Gouernor, Councell & Colonie
in the Somers Islands

33. A Letter from Lord Southampton; it follows a letter dated 21 May, 1623.

Whereas I am crediblie informed by divers here who have latelie come from the Somer Islands, as also by diuers ltres sent from thence that my land and people sent over some three yeares since haue susteyned much wronge by an over greedy desyre of gaine in M^{ris} Marye Ramsey wife of the late deceased M^{r} Robert ffawcett, to whome I lett the said land by Lease for seauen yeares under diuers Conditions and Couenants therein expressed all w^{ch} Couenants she hath broken & hath also felled and disposed of my timber to her owne use, and lett out my land & destroyed much of my Tobacco thereon growinge to her owne use w^{ch} should haue bene sent to me And whereas also I paid sixtie pounds for transportacon of diuers people and

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bestowed ffiftie pownds upon necessaryes of houshold & tooles to manure my said land, to be used and imployed there & not elswhere All w^ch she hath disposed and sould as yf they had bene her owne p.per goods And now after all this being desirous to haue leaue to come for England I am to intreate you notw^thstandinge all these wronges done me to pmitt her to come at here pleasure Leauinge all thinges that may appeare to belonge unto me and yet remaine, to the Custodie of one M^r Stephen Painter whome I haue authorized to receaue them. Also to be tenant to my said land duringe the rest of M^r ffawcetts lease w^ch I desyre also may be deluered ouer by M^ris Ramsey to the said M^r Painter without payinge anythinge to her for yt It beinge sufficient that I doe remitt unto her all the wronges I haue formerlie susteyned. And whereas greate complaint hath bene made unto me by one Charles Webb who I sent ouer at my charge that cunninglie he was drawne, and that by threats thereby to bynd himselfe an apprentice w^ch could not be done by him because he was my Couenant servant w^ch also hath bene Certified unto me by diuers others, my desyre is that he be released also of that apprenticeshipp and be turned ouer to M^r Painter to serue him upon my saide land for yerelie maintenane. Soe with my hartie comendacons I rest

Yo^r verye loueinge ffrend

H Southampton

To my verye louinge frends the Gouerno^r & Counsell of the Somer Islands

34. To the counsellors of Estate of Pembroke Tribe and the ou^rseers and other his Mat^ies officers there 14 May 1623. (The same to each other Tribe)

Where as there are now greate and weightie matters to be taken into consideration for his Ma^ties speciall service and establishment of the peace and prosperitie of these Islands, and reforming of sundry abuses crept in amongst vs, and now almost rooted and growen into a habite with vs by reason of my so long deferring to call a generall Assembly, or goale deliuerye for execucon of Justice, and reforming of evill customes so prone to icaze vpon vs w^ch hath hitherto been deferrd by the death of the late worthy Gou^rnor Cap. Bernard my predecesso^r And my great sicknesse following here vpon from w^ch I being now freed through the mercie of God, my desire is to show a testimonie of my thankfulnesse in p.forming all good duties w^ch may tend to the glory of God and good of this

plantacon w^ch^ I shall be the better enabled to doe, by knowing the state and grievances of the countrey These are therefore to will and requier you and in his Ma^ties^ name to charge and comand you that in conformance vnto the Lawes established for vs by the hon^ble^ compa yo^u^ doe elect and make choise of 4 . 3 or at least of two sufficient, discreet and hable men to make their appearance with yo^r^selfe at S^t^ Georges on Thursday the 26th day of May 1623 then and there to speake and answere for the body of yo^r^ whole tribe as occasion shall be offered and the Law in such cases requireth. Whereof faile you not as yo^u^ will answere it at yo^r^ p.lls bringing with you sufficient provisions for liuelyhood during your residence here, because of o^r^ scarcitie to releiue so great a compa: as then and there are to bee assembled w^ch^ I desire all and euery com^r^ to take notice of, vpō payne of fasting paynes w^th^ hard Lodging S^t^ Georges the 14 of may 1623

35. Copy of the generall Letter by the 'Gods-gifte.' 24 May 1623

After our heartie comendacons[1]

Wee have not thought fitt to omitt the opportunitie of this shippe touching at the Somers Islands to let you know that the 'Darling' and 'Marmaduke' are longe agoe safelie arriued and gaue us notice of the death of the late Gouernor Captain Barnard togeather with the choyce of Captain Harrison unto the place of Gouern^r^ w^ch^ choyce we approue of until you shall receave from us further order and aduice Wee doe uery much approue and thank you Secretary Wood for your greate paynes and care w^ch^ wee p.ceave you haue taken by the large letters and often aduices wee haue receaved from you, unto the p.ticularities whereof by reason of the suddayne dparture of the shippe and many weightye busines that now are upon us wee haue not the leisure to make answer but very shortlye Godwillinge by shippe purposely sent unto you you shall receave full answer and aduice: in the meane while wee desyre you to p.ceede in all points carefully accordinge to the instructions which wee gaue you and since wee understand that the *mulberrye leaues* doth soe well agree with the silke wormes Wee desyre you very carefully to followe the good beginninge w^ch^ you haue made. And although wee doubt not byt by the last supplie you are well stored with food yet will wee take order to supplye you with great quantityes before the next yeare. the

[1] This antiquated form is still used in H.M. Privy Council Office.

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same carefull diligence and endeavour we pray you to use for the planting of *vynes* and the *sugar canes* the good effect of w^ch^ worke are infinitely desyred to be accomplished both considering that upon Tobacco noe certayne foundation of the Plantacon can be established as also to giue his Ma^tie^ satisfaction who (as iustly the matter doth diserne) is much distasted w^th^ the neglect and delay of all other staple Commodities yet haue wee of late receaued not only from the lords of his M^tes^ privie Councill but from his owne Royall mouth such assurances not only of his tender loue and care But also his Royal intencon for the advancement of the Plantacon as wee cannot but exceedinglie reioyce and persuade you with much more comfort and alacritie to goe on w^th^ the greate Charge committed to you and that with that pfect loue and union amongst y^r^selues as may really demonstrate that your intencons are all one the aduancement of Gods church and the seruice of his Royall Ma^tie^ for the pticularities of his Ma^ties^ gracious intencons for you future good you may in part understand them by the course appoynted by the Lords whereof wee here inclosed send you the orders and wee are further to signifye unto you That the lords of his Ma^ties^ priuie Councell hauing by his Ma^ties^ order taken into there consideracon the Contract made last somer by the Companies haue dissolued the same, and signifyed that his Ma^tie^ out of his gracious & Royall intencon and princely fauo^r^ to the plantacon hath resolued to graunt a sole importacon of Tobacco to the two plantacons w^th^ an exception only of fortye thousand weighte of the best Spanish tobacco to be yearlie brought in And it hath also pleased his Ma^tie^ in fauo^r^ of the Plantacon to reduce Custome & imposition of tobacco to nyne pence the pownd And last of all wee are Commanded to signifye unto you that theire Lordships haue ordered that all the Tobacco shall be brought in from both the plantacons As by theire Lo^ps^ order whereof wee send you a coppie you may perceaue And soe comendinge you w^th^ all yo^r^ waightie affayres to the p.tection of God wee bid you hartily farewell

y^r^ louing friends

ROB WARWICKE EDW SACKVILE
WILL CAUENDISH Gou
EDW BENNETT GEORGE SCOTT
GAB. BARBER

This 24 of May 1623 deput

To our verie louinge frend Capt John Harrison Gouerno^r^ of the Som^r^ Island & to the rest of the Councell of State there these.

36. Acts of the Assemblie 28–30 Maye 1623.

(1) An Act for Authorizing of euerye Tribe to build a Church.

Whereas yt hath pleased the Hono^{ble} companie of aduenturers for this Plantacon at a quarter Court held on the 29 May 1622 Art 154 and 155. to order that 4 churches should be builded in certain places, by them sett downe as in the booke of Orders and lawes may appeare. Wherein we conceaue that the hono^{ble} companie being otherwise indifferent, did appointe the same buildings by aduice of some of the Inhabitants of these Islands beinge then and there p.sent, who endeauoured in such directions to theire owne ends, ffor w^{ch} cause we the said Inhabitants findinge those places not soe convenient for the p.ticular benefitt and ease of each seuerall tribe doe humblie desyre this worthy and graue Assemblie that you will be pleased to enact And be yt enacted by the authoritye of the same That yt shalbe in the choyce of the Inhabitants of each of the said Tribes to erect a Church in such a place as to them shall seeme best The same Inhabitants levying the residue of the charge, exceedinge the said hono^{ble} Companies allowance in the said order mencioned which they the said Inhabitants doubt not wilbe to the greate good likeinge of the said hono^{ble} Companie and that they for the furtherance of so Godlie a deede will also upon theire humble suite be pleased and contented to make rateable allowance towards the residue of the said Churches.

(2) An Act to enable the Churchwardens and Chiefe of the p.ishe to haue power to prouide for the necessities of the same.

Where as heretofore there hath not bene any such Lawe or p.uision established in these Islands for rateinge and levyinge the wages of the Readers and Parishe clerkes and other necessarie expenses and charges for Reparacons and prouiding thinges needful to be used in the churches as is meete and requisite

ffor redresse whereof wee doe humblye desyre that this worshipfull and grand assemblie wilbe pleased to ordeyne and enact

And be yt enacted by the authority of the same That from

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hence forth it shalbe lawfull for the ouerseers churchwardens constable and most ancient Inhabitants of euery P.ishe to meet euery yeare in Easter weeke, or at the discretion of the Minister churchwardens and sidesmen of the same and to sett downe what wages euerye Reader and P.ishe clarke shall haue and what reparacons and other charges & expenses are to be laid forth and disbursed for thinges needefull and usefull for the same Church and p.ishioners there to be used And upon such a valuation there to be made to taxe and assesse the same with indifference upon all the Parishioners and Inhabitants of the said P.ishe accordinge to the p.portion of land w^{ch} euerye man houldeth hauing a due respect of the pties charge and abilitie otherwise and yf any shall refuse or neglect to paye the some or somes as aforesaid to be assessed or taxed vpon him or them to the uses aforesaid Then it shalbe lawfull for the said Churchwardens and constable to levye the same by distresse and sale of the offenders goods and chattells restoreing to the owners the surplussage arisinge upon the appraisement or sale thereof (yf any shalbe) any former Lawe Custome or usage to the contrarye hereof in any wise notwthstandinge.

(3) An Act to redresse the Inequalitye of the former leuies.

Whereas the Inhabitants of the severall tribes haue heretofore complayned of some oppression and Injurie receiued by some Inequalitye used to the poorer sorte of people liuinge in these Islands, who hauing greate charge and little land haue been constreyned to pay as much in the leuies as those who haue small or noe charge at all and much Land and prouision to liue on Whose case being brought before this grand and worthie Assemblie and taken in theire consideracons It is for redresse hereof and prevention of the like hereafter enacted by the authoritye aforesaid that euery haluer in the three Upper Tribes (viz) Southampton Warwicke and Sandys tribe shall in euerye leuie pay one third pte more than the haluers in the ffive other tribes (viz) Pembr. Deuonsh. Pagett Harrington Hamb. and smiths Tribe That is when a halfer of any of the five lower tribes payes 2^{lb} a halfer of the three upper Tribes pays 3^{lb} of Tobacco hauinge a respective eye also to the charge and abilitye of the pties otherwise, either in goodes land or pfitts accrueing to them by meanes of this plantacon And for such psons as are giuen to Idleness pride gaming drunkenes or other unthriftines, that it shall be lawful to taxe them

double accordinge to the order received from the Honorable Companie Art 190 Provided alwaies that all non residents and seruants receauinge wages are to be reckoned and esteemed as sharers in what tribe soeue[r] they are found at the tyme of the deuision And that all sharers of the publique land are to be rated according as the five tribes aforesaid. Prouided also that yf the lower Tribes be in tyme to come improued That then they shall goe hand in hand with the upper tribes and pay share and share like.

(4) An Act that all Corne shall be sould paid and deliuered by weight or measure and not by tale of eares

Whereas great losses have growne and do daylie growe to diuers honest Inhabitants of theise Islands by the vnconcionable dealings of euill debtors in the payment of Corne borrowed or bargained for, who borrowinge and receiveinge good weightes and full corne in the Somer cropp, w[th] the like number of eares oftentymes soe light blasted and weevil eaten that 500 of those eares are not worth 100 of the eares of corne soe formerly neighbour like and charitably lent unto them, and in like manner pay theire debts for thinges bought to be paid for in corne w[th] verye deceiptfull bad corne, to the great injurye and hindrance of the Creditors

ffor redresse whereof We the Inhabitants humblie pray to enact and be yt enacted by authorie of this p[r]sent Assemblie that from hence forth no p.son or p.sons shalbe compellable to receive anye corne of the growthe of these Islands but only by waighte or measure either for debt or any other bargaine

And for the better performance hereof, be yt enacted by the authority aforesaid that there Shalbe prouided and kept p.petually by the overseers of euerye Tribe sufficient weights and measures accordinge to the Statute of England now in force The same to be viewed allowed and sealed by the sherriffes of these Islands for the tyme beinge, in euery his visitations of the same seuerall Tribes vpon payne that euery Tribe not hauing p.uided such sufficient weights and measures w[th]in 18 monthes next after the publishinge of this Act shall forfeit and loose 100[lb] of Tobacco, the one halfe of which forfeiture to be to our Soueraigne Lord the Kinge and the other halfe to the same Sherriff for the tyme beinge.

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(5) An Act against the uniust killing of Swyne.

(See p. 265.)

Whereas upon complaints made of greate damage done by such swyne as weare suffered to goe loose and straggle abroade to the offence and annoyancc of the Inhabitants of these Islands, for riformacon whereof yt was ordeyned That euerye p.son should keepe up their said Swyne and feede them wth their owne p.uision upon payne of forfeiture of such their Swyne to any p.son or p.sons who kill and eate them

By reason whereof diuers psons nothing dampnefyed, tooke the benefitt in season only due to the p.sons dampnifyed and the psons dampnified had no recompense at all for theire hurt and losses by the same swyne susteyned, ffor Redresse whereof we the Inhabitants of the said Islands do humble pray that yt may be enacted by the worthie and grand Assemblie, And be yt enacted by authoritye of the same That yt shall be lawfull only for such p.sons into or upon whose grounds any swyne or piggs shalbe or shalbe found to haue trespassed or their seruants to kill and eate the said swyne soe trespassinge or doing damage. giuinge notice thereof to the overseers or constables wthin sixe houres after the killing of them And be yt further enacted by the Authoritye aforesaid That yf the owner of the swyne soe as aforesaid killed Canbe knowen and will come to demande the body or meate of the said swyne within twelue houres after the killinge thereof and will make such recompense in value to the ptie grieved for the damage by him susteyned as by the ouerseers or constables there or two other sufficient men in theire absence shall be thought meet. Then such swyne so killed shall be restored to him, and that yf the pte grieved shall not giue notice as aforesaid to the ouerseers or constable of that Tribe, then he shall pay the double value of such swyne or piggs to the owner any Lawe vsage or prouision heretofore had or made to the contrary of this Act or any pte thereof in any wise not withstandinge

[This Act was renewed at the General Assembly of March $162\frac{6}{7}$.]

(6) An Act against the taking away of other men's Boats.

Whereas many intollerable abuses are daylie offered to the better sort of the Inhabitants of theise Islands by the saucines and ouer much bouldnes of sundrye Irregular p.sons, who at their owne pleasures vpon euerye slyght occasion take and rowe away

other mens boats to serve their own busines and often tymes do hurt and mischiefe either to the owners themselues or other honest men, and sometymes to the spoyle or losse of the said boate oares and sayles, and disappointinge the owners thereof upon what occasion so euer they shall haue to imploy them. ffor reformacon whereof Be yt enacted by the Authoritie of this Generall assemblie That yf any pson or psons shall from hencefourth take or rowe awaye any other mans boate without leave of the owner he soe offendinge forfeite and loose 20 lbs of Tobacco for the first offence, and for the second offence shalbe punished at the discretion of the Gouernor and Counsell besyds the like forfeiture of 20 lbs of Tobacco and constreyned to make restitution of double the value for losse and damages done either to boate, saile oare or anything thereunto belonginge Yf the ptie be a haluer or non resident and of abilitye thereto Yf not to be whipped on the naked backe until the blood come, or compelled to worke one month on publique worke vnlesse he be redeemed at the forfeiture and fine aforesaid. Except in cases of necessitye as savinge the life of any pson or rescueinge any other boate in danger of castinge away, or in other cases of urgent buisines for service of the Countrye, the owner of such boate beinge not there to vse them himselfe in that seruice The one halfe of w^{ch} fforfeitiores shalbe to the Kinge his heires and successors. And the other to the p.tie grieued, or such p.son as will sue for the same by accon bill plaint or information.

(7) An Act to repeale an Act made at a generall Assemblie in y^{e} time of the late Gouernment of Captain Butler concerninge the keepeinge in of Turkeys in settinge tyme, and to haue the abuse reformed by a more easie and indifferent course. (See p. 175.)

Whereas at the late Generall Assemblie in the late Gouernment of Capt^{n} Nath: Butler It was enacted that Turkeys and other tame foules should be kept up euerye settinge tyme of corne until the same corne should be halfe legg highe aboue the ground and that otherwise it should be lawfull for any Inhabitant to kill and vse them as his owne, and by the same Act more largely appeareth

Now the said Inhabitants finding the inconveniences which haue lately growne unto them in generall by the abundance of the wormes and Caterpillers wherewth their corne and other cropps haue bene wasted in these last yeares thorough the want of the said birds goinge abroad amongst them to divoure and

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distroye the said wormes and caterpillers haue humblie prayed this generall Assemblie for redresse thereof

Be it therefore enacted by the authoritye of the same, that the said recited act for killinge of Turkeyes be from henceforth vtterly voyd and repealed And that yf any person or persons shall from and after the publishinge of this Act kill or destroye any Turkeye or tame foules strayinge abroad though they doe some damage (either by poysoned corne or otherwise) the ptie or pties so offending shall forfeite to the owners of the foules or him that will sue for yt treble the value of the Turkeys or foules killed or otherwise destroyed, to be recovered by accōn or plaint, distress and sale of the offenders goods by the sherriffe constable or other officer of the place where the offence was comitted, provided nevertheless and be yt also ennacted by the authority hereof that the owners of such foules as shall in settinge tyme of corne indamage any man before the same corne shalbe half legg highe shall pay damage to the owner of said Corne at the discretion and judgement of two indifferent neighbours, and for want of paym^{t} thereof upon reasonable demand the constable shall leavye the same by distress and sale of the offenders goods and pay the p^{tye} in this behalf damaged rendering to the owner the Surplusage yf any shal be & it is further ennacted by the power and authority aforesaid that it shall not be lawfull for any inhabitant of this Countrie at any tyme hereafter to lay any poison either by corne or any other way whatsoever in feild ground or highway but only in theire owne houses upon pain of imprisonm^{t} and such fine as the Governo^{r} & counsel shall think fittinge

[This Act was renewed at the General Assembly of March 162$\frac{6}{7}$.]

(8) An Act against the Excessive Wages demanded by Artificers.

Whereas great extortion and oppression hath been and is daylie used by Carpenters, Sawyers Joyners Masons Plasterers Taylors Shoe makers Smithes and other artifficers handicrafts men & labourers upon the Inhabitants of theise Islands wh^{ch} artifficers will not work without extreame wages and dyett, and other exaction but will either tye the inhabitants to theire owne unreasonable demands or ell's they will loyter shifte and liue idley or fall to other labours w^{ch} seemeth verye apparentlye to be done by Combination and Confederacy amongst themselves the artifficers of the crafts and Sciences aforesaid, for speedy redress whereof and to cutt off the same oppressions idlenes

and drunkenes of such loyteringe and evill disposed p.sons, As also for encouragement of such workemen and artifficers as liue painfully amongst us, Be it ennacted by the authoritye of this generall assemblie that the rates hereafter ensewinge shall be tollerated, but not exceeded viz

For a p.fest Carpenter that is master of his trade by the day	2lb of tobacco
Item for his man by the day	1lb of tob
Item a carpenter trayned up to ordinary work by the day	1½lb of tob
Item for sawing by the 100 foot . . .	3lb of tob
Item for ioyners by the day	2lb of tob
Item for masons by the day	2lb of tob
Item for Taylors by the day	1lb of tob
Item for labourers by the day	1lb of tob

and forasmuch as the said generall Assemblie cannot soe well determine of smithes work to rate the severall things by them wrought, be yt also enacted by the authoritye aforesaid that if the said smithes or any of them shall exact or deale unconscionably with any member of this plantation for any works by them to be made Then yt shalbe lawfull for the pty soe wronged to proceed against the said Smithes as against extortioners and oppressors of the Country

And be it also enacted by the Authority aforesaid that if any artifficer of the Arte & Science aforesaid, or any other Artifficers within the said Islands not being in worke with any other upon buissines of his own faculty, shalbe by any inhabitant of theiss Islands required to work or doe any buissness touching his owne facultye shall refuse or neglect to doe same at the rates before sett downe & appointed, or shall leave or dept from his worke before the same be well and workmanlike done and finished, That then upon complaint thereoff to be made to the overseer or constable where such offender shalbe resident or found, the same overseer or constable shall comitt the ptie offendinge to the stocks or cage there to remain untill he shalbe conformable to the said Act. And that the overseer or Constable who shall be negligent in execution hereoff shall forfeite fortye shillings sterg for every tyme he shall neglect the execution of the same punishmt the one halfe whereof to be to our Sovereign Lord the Kinge, the other halfe to be to the ptye grieved or to him that will sue for the same by accon of debt Bill, plaint, or information

[This Act was renewed by the General Assembly of March $162\frac{6}{7}$.]

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(9) An Act against non residents.

Whereas divers psons resident in theise islands at theire coming hither, not placing themselves on any man's land as tenants or householders but shifte from place to place, hyringe peeces of land, makinge tobacco, and planting Potatoes and other comodities, to theire private benefitte and to mayntayn idleness and expenses keeping drunken and evill companie, of wh^h^ sorte of people there are soe many in theise islands who by this kind of carriage liue free from all taxes and levies; being only chargeable and noe waye beneficiall either to the Hon^ble^ Companie or to this plantation FFor reformation whereof be yt enacted by the authoritye of this generall assemblie that all psons not using or livinge upon any handicraft or trade beneficiall for this Plantacōn, not beinge already placed upon theire owne or other man's land as Tenants, shall before the first day of November next after the publishinge of this Act, make tender of themselves to the Governor to be by him placed as Tenants to the publique Lands or otherwise employed as shall be thought meete, accordinge to the orders of the Hon^ble^ Companie in England ordayned to that purpose, upon payne that every pson not disposing or presentinge himself accordinge to the true intent of this Act, shall be imprisoned at the Governor's discretion and shall forfeite 20^lbs^ of Tobacco for each month for soe neglectinge or makinge default the one half of all w^h^ tobacco to be to the use of our Soveraigne Lord the Kynge his heires and Successors and thother to him or them that will p.sent or discouer the offender and sue for the same by accōn bill plaint or information.

[This Act was renewed by the General Assembly of March $162\frac{6}{7}$.]

(10) An Act for altering the days formerly used for the Assizes. (See p. 172.)

Whereas heretofore yt was ennacted by a generall assemblie, that the Assizes should constantly beginne at two severall tymes of the yeare (viz) upon Tuesday in Whitson week and upon the 27^th^ day of December, yf yt were not the Sabath day as by the same Act more at large yt appeareth w^h^ wee the Inhabitants of theise Islands doe conceive not to be soe convenient in divers respects as other tymes would bee they beinge two solemyn feasts wherein we should giue o^r^selves to prayer, and thanksgivinge and the exercise of christian charitye and neigh-

bourhood one with another, and also in respect of our labo^{r} wh^{h} falleth out comonly to be of more importance in those tymes then in other wherein we may be better spared and this buisines as well serued.

In which respects we the said inhabitants of the several tribes doe desyre this wor^{l} and grave assemblie to take the p^{r}misses into your consideraccon, and to change the said p.fixed days into the 24th day of June and the third day of December Successively followinge (yf they be not the Saboth dayes) and to continue p.petually without alteracōn as aforesaid, unless in future tyme causes not now conceived may appeare unto their generall Assemblie to alter or change those days into any other.

Be yt therefore ennacted by the said general Assemblie and the authoritie of the same that the next assizes be houlden at S^{t} Georges the 24th of June next, and that from thenceforth the same assizes shalbe changed from the said Tuesday in Whitsonweeke and the 27th day of December into the 24th of June and the 3^{d} day of December yf they be not the Saboth dayes w^{h} yf they be then the said Assizes to be houlden at S^{t} Georges the next day followinge according to the request aforesaid.

(11) An Act to make the stealing of Tobacco plants a fellonie.

Whereas the cheife and greatest comoditie of theise Islands for the satisfaccōn of the hono^{ble} Companie and to make payment and returns for supplies of all necessarys brought to theise Islands either from our native Countrie or other parts, doth consist onlye in Tobacco, and we doing our utmost endeavours to plant and p^{r}serve the same, have yet much to doe to live by our continual labours therein bestowed by reason of worms and blastinges w^{ch} hinder the growth thereof wherein wee must referr ourselves to the pleasure of Almighty God. But these inconveniences beinge by our greate labo^{r} and industrie offentymes p^{r}vented and amended we find ourselues very often robbed and spoiled of our plants by night, and many tymes after we have replanted them upon our land, to the greate damage both of ourselues the planters and also of the hono^{ble} Companie who can haue no other satisfaccon for theire Rent supplies or other infinite charges but only this Comoditie. ffor Reformation whereof, wee the inhabitants of the severall tribes doe desyre that it may be ennacted by the wor^{ll} and grave assemblie, And be yt ennacted by the same, that if any p.son or p.sons shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter

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enter into or upon the lands or grounds of any other person or p.sons wthin the Island, aforesaid where any Tobacco or plants thereof shal be planted or growinge and shall there steale, drawe, plucke up gather or carrye away any Tobacco or Tobacco plants against the good will or without the special lycense and consent of the owner of the same land and be thereof lawfully convicted, that then every p.son soe offending shalbe held and reputed a fellon and shall suffer death for the same, as for any other fellonious deed, Any Act, law usage or Custom to the contrary thereof in any wise not withstanding.

And whereas the like practize hath been & now is by pilferinge and stealinge of other plants and fruits, as sugar Canes Grapes Corne Plantaines and Pynes Potatoes Pompians Oranges Limons and Pownegranads &c.[1] Be it also enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that yt shall not be lawfull for any p.son or p.sons of what degree or quallitie soever at any tyme after the publishinge hereof to imbessel purloyne steall gather or beare away from the grounds lands or gardens of any member of this plantacon without lycence or consent of the owner or Tenant of the ground land or gardens aforesaid, any fruits or plants of what qualitye or quantitie soever, upon pains to undergo the stricktest of punishment sett forth in Captaine Tuckers tyme and also agreable to the booke of orders now comended unto us by the hono^{ble} Companie from England w^{ch} are in all points to be imbraced and followed accordinglye

(12) An Act to restrayne the insolencies of the Negroes.

Wh^{as} the Inhabitants of the Somer Islands doe complaine and p^{r}sent unto this hono^{ble} and graue assemblie, that the negroes who are servents to divers p.sons inhabiting in theise Islands, having bene negligently looked unto, and suffered to goe abroad in the night and other unfitt tymes haue committed many trespasses against us the inhabitants aforesaid, as stealinge of piggs potatoes, poultrye and other fruit and thinges to the great losse and damage of several p.sons who cannott possible haue reccompence at theire hands who have nothing where wth to make them any satisfaccōn, and that diuers of them (to

[1] There is abundant evidence that pineapples were grown in the Somer Islands by the early settlers. Thus Governor Roger Wood writes to a correspondent: 'I am sorry for the contention betwixt yourself and Mr. Caswell about the pines. I wish I could send 1000 in their season to the Queene, and 500 more to such as desire them, for I can well spare them and eate enough myselfe. I sent 4 boats lading this yeare vnto the mayne, to giue them to those good dames that loue to eat them better than to plant them, and I assure yo^{u} I loue to plant and preserue them, and behould them in their beauty, more than to munch them alone without the companie of my friends.' Letter 31, Jan. 1633.

p.vent such as should pursue to apprehend them,) haue carried secretly cudgells and other weapons and working tools, very dangerous and not meete to be suffered to be carried by such vassalls. for Reform whereof be yt ennacted by the authority of this p.sent generall assemblie that if any negroe shall hereafter weare any weapon in the day tyme, or knowne to walke abroad at any undue houre in the night tyme or any other tyme or tymes go out of the way into any lands in the occupacōn of any other p.son then the land of his M^{r} that then the M^{r} or owner of such negroe shall from tyme to tyme make full recompense to the p.son grieued for the value of all such things as the said Negroes or any of them shall purloyne steale or grable, or any other hurt or damage by them done. And shall wthin three dayes after demand and due proof made thereof upon pains of forfeiture of treble damage to such ptie grieued to be recouered by accōn of debt, besides such corporall punishm^{t} to be inflicted upon such Negroes as the lawe in such case requireth, or as the officer to whom the complainte shalbe made shall thinke fitt. Last of all that it shall not be lawfull for any negroe to buy or Sell, barter or exchange for goods Tobacco or other thinges whatsoever, without the knowledge and consent of his M^{r} for the goods and Tobacco he tradeth for, upon pains of punishm^{t} aforesaid.

(13) An Act against unlawfull games and annighilatinge specialties concerning them.

Ffor as much as diuers lewd and deceiptful p.sons who have of late yeares comen into theise Islands and haue been suffered to liue for the most p.te idley neither following any good arts, or other labour whereby to liue honestly But p.curinge meetings as hogg eatinges and other drunken unruly and unlawfull assemblies at the houses of divers p.sons of like evill qualitie and condition, drawinge and alluringe honest and well meaning people in theire drincke to dycinge, cardinge and other unlawfull playes and games whereby they beinge unskillfull haue bene cheated of greate Somes of Money and quantities of Tobacco and other theire goods, and becominge oftentymes debtors by bond and bills to such Cheates and Coazeners, to the highe displeasure of Almyghtie God and the greate hindrance of the honester sorte of the inhabitants of theise islands and of theire landlords and creditors Theise Juglinge gamesters being for the most p.te served before them, and to the greate scandall of the present Government.

Ffor Reformation whereof be yt ennacted by authoritye of

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this generall assemblie that yf any p.son or p.sons shall at any tyme or tymes after the publishinge of this Act, suffer any play or gaminge in his house or other place or places wthin the precincts or Jurisdiccōn of his comand either at dyce, cards, tables, shoue groate, closh-quoyts or any other unlawfull game or games formerlie used, or to be invented, for any some or somes of money Tobacco or other thinge or things, except for honest and healthfull Recreacōn upon payne that every p.son or p.sons in whose house or ground any such play or gaminge shalbe used, shall forfeite and loose tenn pounds of Tobacoo for every tyme soe offendinge, and beinge once convicted thereof shall the second tyme be declared infamous, and all bonds, bills and other assurances heretofore made or hereafter to be made for any debt growing for, or by reason of any gaminge or play shalbe voyd to all intents and purposes in the lawe, the one halfe of all w^{ch} forfeitures shall be to our soueraigne Lord the Kinge, his heires and successors, and the other halfe to him that will sue for the same by accōn of debt, bill, plaint, or informacōn

(14) An Act prohibitinge the sale of goods on shipboard.

Whereas heretofore the greedines and unrulines of the inhabitants of theise islands in going abord the shipp beinge newlie arriued hath given occasion unto the passengers and Mariners of the same shipps to enhance and raise the prices of the victualls and comodities by them brought to such extreame and unconscionable rates as are in no wise to be suffered, and besides for strong liquors and diuers other thinges whereof they p.ceive the people to be most greedye, they will not sell them for Tobacco or any other thinge in exchange, but only for readye money, to the utter ransacke of theise islands of the small store of Coyn they formerlie had and the ouerthrow of commerce and trade amongst us the Inhabitants thorough want thereof, as wee feele by daylie and woefull experience.

For Redresse whereof be yt enacted by authority of this General Assemblie, that noe Mariner or Passenger arriving in theise Islands p^{r}sume to barter exchange deliver or make any bargaine to sell or put away any strong liquor victualls or marchandize or other theire wares or comodities any other where then at S^{t} Georges where there shalbe appointed to them convenient roometh[1] for that purpose and a Register kept of the names of the buyers and sellers and of the comodities and prices of the same for the better avoyding of the extreame

[1] Or 'roometys,' the *h* and *y* being much alike—a dissyllable.

extorcõn and oppression of such mariners and passengers, and the findinge out and discoveringe of such ingrocers forestallers regrators Who beinge for the most pte idle p.sons, moathes and cankers of this little comõn wealth haue alreadye thorough theire extreame auerice and odious practizes in this kinde almost wasted and consumed the whole thrifte of the Inhabitants And who by reason of their secrett tradinge on shipp bord and other private places, could not formerlie bee otherwise knowne and discovered, upon paine that euery p.son passenger or Mariner doing contrary to this Act in any point, shall forfeite and loose all such liquors, victualls wares or other comodities soe by them sould or offered or bought or the full value thereof, besids a corporal punishm^{t} to be inflicted upon everye of them at the Governor's pleasure, The one halfe of all such forfeitures shalbe to our Soueraigne Lord the Kinge his heires and Successors, and thother halfe to him that will sue for the same by accõn of debt bill plaint or information.

And to p^{r}vent all needles excuses of going abord of any the Inhabitants of theise Islands who couller theire Insolencies and other close and evill practizes comittẽd under p^{r}tence of going to look for lres. Be yt ennacted by authoritye aforesaid, that all letters whatsoever coming from England shalbe delivered into the custody of the Secretarye of the Somer Islands to be by him reserved and a Catalogue made of them to be fixed in some convenient place where euerye man may reade what lres are come ouer, and for whome, and receive them accordingly.

Also be yt ennacted by authority aforesaid that all passengers whatsoeuer cominge from any place or coast to theise Islands, shall at his or theire first arrivall come on shore at S^{t} Georges and there make tender of themselves to the Gouernor for the tyme beinge, and signifye to him the cause of theire cominge and for whome, accordinge to the laudable coustome heretofore used, upon paine of such punishm^{t} as the Gouernor shall appointe to be inflicted upon them.

[This Act was renewed by the Assembly of March $162\frac{6}{7}$.]

(15) An Act against the ill Keepinge of the fferrie.

Wee the Inhabitants of the Tribes in general doe complain that whereas heretofore in the tyme of shipps being here from England and other parts, the fferrie was substantially and constantly attended every day from the Sonne's rising to the fall thereof, and later (yf need required) for honest and knowne p.sons, and at all other tymes three dayes, certaine, in the

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weeke whereby the said Inhabitants were in greate certaintye for p.formance of theire buisines upon all occasions;

Nevertheless there hath bene of late and now is such slackness in the attendance there given that men have bene constreyned to attend there the whole day and sometymes longer before they could pass over, to theire greate charge and hindrance, and to the disappointmt of theire buisines both at whome and abroad and sometymes thereby runne into Contempte and forfeiture,

For the Redresse whereoff be yt ennacted by the authoritie of this generall Assemblie that from the publishinge of this Act, the same fferrye shalbe attended everye day in the weeke, except saboth day, and that yf any servent or rower at the said fferrye either directly or indirectly shall exact or take any money or other payment for the passage or expedicōn of any p.son or p.sons (not giving the same upon his or theire owne free will) and voluntarye disposition, the same servent or rower shall upon oath made thereof before the Governor or any of the Councill be whipped and punished as an extorcōner, for euerye tyme so offendinge, and make restitucōn of such money or other things as he shall soe have extorted or taken or the value thereof, And least the daylie attendance at the said fferrye should cause or emboulden idle p.sons, Boyes or Negroes to runne away from theire Mrs by reason of the readines of theire passage,—Be yt ennacted by the authoritye aforesaid that yt shall be lawfull for the keeper of the said fferrye to denye passage unto any Boyes or Negroes in any of the said sixe dayes of the week unless they bring a note in writinge from under theire Mrs hand signifyinge his consent for theire transportacōn. As also that yt shalbe lawfull for him upon the Saboth day to deneye passage unto all men, of what quality or condition soever they bee without impeachmt for any breach of order or ffree p.miss by him now made for his attendance thereupon.

(16) An Act for confirmation of all such Acts as have been formerlie made by a Generall Assembly or any precedinge Governrs wh be not repugnant to the Booke of orders latelye sent forth of England.

Whereas divers and sundrye good and necessarye lawes haue bene heretofore made by the late Generall Assemblie and Governors of theise Islands for the well Governinge of the People and affayres of the same, Aswell in the tyme of Goverment of Capt Daniell Tucker as of Capt Nathanl Butler, wch

for the most pte are found to be still uerye comodious and of greate utilitye. Be yt therefore enacted by the authority of this General Assemblie that all the said Acts and Articles soe formerlie made and established in the tymes of the Severall Goverm^t^ of the said Captaine Daniell Tucker and Cap^t^ Nathaniell Butler or such Acts and Articles of them and sundrye of them as be not repugnant to theise Acts and to the Booke of orders lately established and sent hither by the Governo^r^ and Companie in England, shall remayne and continue in full force and effect untill the next Generall Assembye to be held in these Islands and soe far forward as by them shalbe found expedient.

(17) An Act for continewinge the Inhabitants of thesse Islands in theire imunities for choosinge of officers.

Forasmuch as the hon^ble^ Court of Adventurers by theire order in Article 139 haue graunted power unto the Inhabitants of each Tribe to choose out Sixe men of theire owne choyce to serue at the generall Sessions. And by the article 166 that out of those sixe men the Governo^r^ and Counsell for the tyme beinge shall choose out two men to be in the office of ouerseers for the year ensewinge, And upon the humble request by way of peticõn of any Tribe to continue one or both of the said Overseers for longer tyme, and in article 172 the first of the said Overseers is to sitt at Counsell or in the Generall Sessions and upon especiall and other extraordinary occasions—In w^ch^ theire said priviledges the Inhabitants of theise Islands doe doubt of some ensewinge grievance that may redound unto them, For Remedie whereof yt is humblie prayed that this Wor^ll^ generall Assemblie would be pleased to enter into Consideracõn of the p.mises that forasmuch as the Hono^ble^ Court of Adventurers have left the elleccõn of such men to the choyce of the Inhabitants that are to see justice and right to be done towards the Adventurers in theire yearly renewels soe in like manner the inhabitants may have theire free voyce in the elleccõn of such other officers to whome next unto the p.sent Governo^r^ they ought to yield obedience—that livinge under the Goverment of such their choyce, theire rendering obedience to such subordinate authoritie may p.ceed rather of loue then otherwise, which they Conceive wilbe a greate meanes of yieldinge such obedience and preserve the publique peace.

This bill was p^r^sented by the Burgesses in the Assemblie and assented to by the Governo^r^ and Counsell as

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beinge Confirmed by the Booke of Orders and soe not required to be put to the question as the p^r^ceeding Acts were

The Orders lately made for the church goverment were established by this Generall Assemblye.

The following Acts of this session are also specified in and renewed by Act No. 18 of the General Assembly of March $162\frac{6}{7}$.

19. An Act for making and maintaining Public Bridges
20. An Act that no man shall enter other men's grounds
21. An Act for veiwe of the limitts and Bounds once a yeare in Rogation weake of each seuerall tribe and the comon lands thereunto belonging.

These are not found in the present copy. It appears by a subsequent entry that the new Governor, Capt. Henry Woodhouse, held his first Assizes in December 1623.

37. The Burgesses chosen and appointed by the contrye for the generall Assemblie takinge into theire consideracõns the ratinge of officers fees and other things comitted and comended vnto them by the hono^ble^ comp. in England, resolued and ordered them as followeth

Minister

(1) Inprimis that the ffowre Ministers should haue theire gleabe lands to be advanced to one hundred marke for each minister by the yeare [a mark was=13*s.* 4*d*]

Sheriff

(2) For the sheriffe of the Somer Islands.

ffor collecting all fynes amerciaments, yssues and seazinge of ffellons goods in euery 100^lb^	10^lb^ of Tobac in 100^lb^
ffor servinge of execucons 6^lb^ of tobacco in euery 100^lb^	6^lb^ of tobac in 100^lb^
ffor the execucon of euery p.son condemned to suffer death 20^lb^ of tob.	20^lb^ of tobacco
ffor comittment of a councello^r^ 4^lb^ of tobacco	4^lb^ of tob.
ffor impannelling of the jurye in euery cause tryed	1^lb^ of tob.
ffor servinge warrants vpon contempt 10^lb^ of tob.	10^lb^ of tob.

(3) For the Secretarie of the Somer Islands

ffor Recordinge wills and testaments	4lb of tob.	
ffor grauntinge Ltres of administracons and recordinge the inventoryes, bonds, and all therevnto belonginge	4lb of tob.	Secretarye
ffor speciall warrants	½lb of tob.	
ffor generall warrants	1lb of tob.	
ffor entringe and wthdrawinge of accons	1lb of tob.	
ffor euerye indictment makinge	1lb of tob.	
ffor each recognizance entringe and withdrawinge	2lb of tob.	
ffor cryer in euerye accon	½lb of tob.	Cryer

(4) For the muster master

ffor ffowre generall musters in the yeare by himselfe and once euerye month by his leiftenant, and for his paines in practizinge euerye able man to 1lb of tobacco at euerye devision, to be gathered by the ouerseers at the division	1lb of tobacco of euerye able pson to beare armes in the Somer Islands

(5) For the Prouost Marshall — Prouoste Marshall

ffor euery arrest done by him	½lb of tob
ffor a prisoners dyett by the weeke	4lb of tob
ffor a prisoners ffee vpon an arrest	1lb of tob
ffor comittment of euerye officer	2lb of tob
ffor comittment of euery comon man	1lb of tob
ffor taking of (off) Irons	6d

It is likewise ordered that the marshall shall haue and enioye one share of land in Davies Island to plant puision, and to be continued p.petually to that office and to enioy the house he dwells in. And to sell drinke wth p.hibition to all others, And what housinge he shall build yf he leave his place to annother, to haue restitucon for such his buildings

(6) For the Mount keeper — Mount Keeper.

To haue ½ a share of land laid out by the mount and 100lb of tobacco yearely

(7) For the kinges castle — Kinges Castle

Concerninge the Kinges castle It is thought fitt that the Garrison shall remayne as yt is for this yeare

And for any want of Repacons that Surveyors be appoynted to see what is needfull And that then the Gouernors see yt done viz Capt Tucker. Capt Kendall. Capt Felgate

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Tobacco

(8) For makinge vp Tobacco

That noe man p^rsume to require or to receive aboue 6^lb for making vp 100^lb of tobacco

Salte

(9) For salte made in the Somer Islands

That noe man require or receive aboue j^lb of Tobacco for one bushell of salte made in the Somer Islands.

(10) The Inhabitants of Sandys Tribe required a subdiuision of the Island called Ireland belonginge to that tribe w^ch is ordered to be done with all conueniencye

(11) Also yt was ordered that the spare land lyinge neare the water in euerye tribe shalbe diuided in pporcon to euerye share, accordinge to the Booke of Orders Art 106 for the better effectinge whereof the ouerseers of euerye Tribe are to joyne w^th the surveyo^rs in layinge forth that land belonginge to theire said tribes.[1]

Surveyor

Last of all the said generall assemblye w^th mature deliberacon ordered the said surveyor to haue for layinge forth of euerye entyre share of land the some of Two pownds of tobacco And also for measuringe and layinge forth small spotts and pieces of land, the some of viij*d* the acre.

(12) The names of all such as were prsent at this Generall Assembly (1623)

Captaine John Harrison elected Gouernor
Captaine Daniell Tucker
Capt Thomas Stokes elected sherriffe
Roger Wood Secretarye — Captaine Elfreth
Capt Myles Kendall — Capt Chadwicke
Capt ffelgate

Stephen Painter Councellor
Christopher Parker, Richard Lambert — Burgesses — outhampton Tribe

John Perencheffe Councellor
ffrancis Cuckow, Henerye Hughes — Burgesses — War. Tribe

Will^m Seymo^r Councellor
George Wells, Raph Annis — Burgesses — Sandys Tribe

John Jones Councellor
Robert Williams, Robert Hilliard — Burgesses — Pembroke Tribe

[1] This surveyor was J. Perenchiefe, not R. Norwood, who had gone to England, and complained afterwards of the great inaccuracy of his work.

Willm Baggerly Counc^{r}		Hamilton
Willm Smith, Rich Southworth	Burgesses	Tribe
Thomas Peniston Councellor		Smiths
Willm Grimston, Richard Middleton	Burgesses	Tribe
Anthony Jenour Councellor		Devonsh.
Willm Langton, George Stauers	Burgesses	Tribe
John Yates Councellor		Pagitts
Edward Atwood, Thomas Outerbridge	Burgesses	Tribe

The Ministers

M^{r} Nathaniell Bernard
M^{r} George Stirke
M^{r} Robert Staples
Captain Thomas Chadwicke, Lieftenant Buckley — Overseers of the publique land

The overseers for this year, chosen and sworne accordinge to the booke of Orders

Xpofer Parker & John Hanmer	John Perencheffe & ffraunces Cuckowe
William Eley & Jarvaise Inglesbye	John Jones & ffrancis Dawes
Anthonie Jenour & Willm Langton	William Baggerlye & William Smith
Edward Otwood & Thomas Sparke	Thomas Penniston & William Grimston

38. The Eleccon of the Churchwardens & Sidesmen

The Church wardens and Sidesmen are to be men fearinge God. Upright honest and sober in their carriage of good report amongst their neighbours and well esteemed for their wisdom and discretion deserving that dignity in the Church of God.

The Churchwardens and sidesmen in euery p.ishe shalbe chosen by the joynte consent of the minister and the prishioners yf yt may be, but yf they cannot agree upon such a choyce then the minister shall choose one and the p.ishioners another for the first yeare onlye It is thought expedient for diuers good causes that from thence forth they shall continue in these offices the space of two yeares complete (that is to say) after this manner

The Minister shall permit one of the Church wardens to resigne his place & the Minister & Pishioners together shall choose in his place one of the Sydesmen or some other that shalbe thought more fitt for the office and soe successivelye one removed and another elected

And in like manner sydesmen shalbe choosen and shall continue in there offices accordinglye.

The Election to be made in Easter weeke or as soone after as conveniently may be

Yf the Minister and pishioners cannot agree in the choice of the Churchwardens or sidesmen (wch unitye and concord is aboue all things to be desyred) then the minister shall p.pound two men whereof the Parishioners shall choose one for Church warden

In like manner sidesmen is to be chosen [1]

39. The office of Churchwarden and sidesmen.

(1) The churchwardens and sydesmen shall take care and puide that the churches be well and sufficientlye furnished wth all decent necessaryes as a comely Pulpitt with a cushion, a Readinge Pewe, wth convenient pewes and seats for the people to sitt on. a comunion Table wth a carpett of Linen cloth, a font, a fayre Byble of the new Translation,[2] a Booke of comon prayer of the last edition [3] Two flaggon potts for the communion wyne Two handsome pewter plates or dishes for the communion Breade a Bell to call the people together Two Register books a fayre chest to keep the church ornaments in, and a Beare for carryinge the dead to buriall

(2) The churchwardens and sidesmen shall be carefull that the church and all things thereto belonginge shall be sufficientlye repayred and from tyme to tyme kept and maynteyned

(3) The churchwardens of euerye pishe against the tyme of euerye communion shall at the charge of the Pishe with direccion of the minister puide a sufficient quantitye of fyne white Bread and of good & wholesome wyne for the number of communicants that shall from tyme to tyme receiue there

(4) They shall suffer noe playes Churchales temporall courts maskers quarrellinge or bawlinge or any other p.phane usage to be kept in the Church

[1] This paper comes at the reverse end of Book I., after an entry of 1626, but is followed by one of 14th May, 1623. It occurs also in B. which seems to be the original, being the more correctly written. There are verbal differences between the copies, but of no importance.

[2] King James's Bible, 1610, the present Authorized Version.

[3] Edition of 1604.

(5) The church wardens and sydesmen of euerie p.rishe shall diligently see that all the p.ishioners shall resort to there p.ishe church upon all Sundays and holydays and there continue the whole tyme of diuyne service sermon and catechisinge and shall suffer none to walke or stand idley or talke or sleepe or use any unreverend gesture in or about the church duringe that tyme

(6) And to pvent and detect such misdemeanours as are often practiced by those who absent themselves from Church The Churchwardens Constables and Sydesmen shall after the reading of the first lesson goe forth of the Church and search the worst and most suspected places and shall compell all such as they shall finde (hauing noe greate or urgent cause of absence) to come to the Church, and in case any shall denye theire entrance, or shall make any resistance it shall be lawfull for them to breake open the dores upon them, and to p.cede against them as common disturbers of the common peace

(7) The Churchwardens and Sydesmen shall place the p.ishioners in convenient seates accordinge to the degree of the p.son and in everye meeting of the p.ishioners[1] they shall see the peace to be well kept and that all p.sons excommunicated and soe denounced be kept out of the Church and that all infamous psons sit in the lowest places[2] according to the lawes

Presentments.

(8) The churchwardens and sydesmen shall dailie obserue the carriage and liues of the people, and shall forthwth informe the ministers of all such scandalous crymes as shalbe co̅mitted by any of them who accordinge to his discretion shall either see reformation by admonico̅n or shall ioyne with them in p.sentinge them to the Gouern^{r} and councell at the next Assizes

(9) The churchwardens and sydesmen shall psent all popishe recusants whether men women or children aboue the age of 13 yeares also all other heretiques, togeather with all schismatics as Brownists &c, also all such as refuse to be present and joyne wth the congregation in divyne seruice, or in receivinge the Sacram^{t} of the Lords supper at the least once a yeare

(10) Also all such as shall leaue theire owne p.ishe churches and shall refuse to haue theire children baptized at the hands of theire owne minister, or to receiue the co̅munion from him and shall goe to any other p.rishe to comunicate or to haue theire children baptized, except there be sufficient cause approved by the minister of his owne p.rishe

[1] Of the congregation (B).

[2] Of the church (B).

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(11) Itm all Sorcerers Inchanters Charmers Witches Figure casters or fortune tellers Coniurers or whosoeuer hath or seemeth to haue any familiar consultation with the Deuill

(12) Itm all comon swearers and Blasphemers of the name of God and those that are accustomed to cursinge

(13) Itm all Sabbath Breakers either by absenting themselues from church or by any unreuerend gesture in the Church or by going out of the Church in the tyme of diuyne seruice except some urgent and necessarye cause do constrayne them or by usinge any bodilie recreation by gaminge sportinge or by doing any seruile work as travellinge fyshinge cuttinge of woode digginge potatoes carryinge of burdens beatinge of corne &c or by meetinge purposelye to drinke and make merrye as they call yt

(14) Itm all raylers quarrellers and makebates or talebearers or other people contentious factious and seditious p.sons

(15) Itm all such as comitt adulterye fornication incest or any other uncleanes also all such as shall be suspected for incontenencye

(16) Itm all usual gamesters for monye tobacco &c and also all extorcōners assurers or oppressors of theire brethren

(17) Itm all drunkardes or keepinge of tipplinge houses or that p.mitt any drunkenes at any tyme in their houses

(18) Itm all cruell p.sons that shall exceede measure in correctinge of there seruants, but cheifely such as will abuse theire wives by strikinge them, whome they should loue and cherish as theire own bodye as the apostle teacheth

Churchwardens.

(1) The churchwardens and sydesmen shall faythfully collect all such leuies as shalbe agreed upon hereafter either by the generall assembly or the pishe for the use of the poore or officers belonging to the Church

(2) All churchwardens shall at the end of theire tyme or within a month after at the most before the minister and p.ishioners giue up a just accompt of all such money or Tobacco as they have receiued and what pticularly they haue disbursed in Repacons or otherwise for the use of the Church and shall truly giue up to the minister whatsoeuer is in theire hands belonginge to the Church or pishe that it may be deliuered over by them to the next church wardens

(3) To w^{ch} p^{r}pose they shall keep a booke of accompts of all their p.ticker receipts and disbursements and at the giveing vp of their accompts they shall deliver the saide booke to the next churchwardens.

The Oathe

You shall sweare to obserue and p.forme these and euerye of these Articles to the utmost of your power So help you God.

40. To the overseers and other his ma^{ts} officers of —— Tribe. [By Capt. John Harrison] July 10 1623

Whereas diuers great and heavie Taxes haue beene Imposed and levyed in theise Islands as well in Tobacco as corne in theise three foregoing yeares vnder the late gou^{r}nment of Captain Nathanyell Butler To the great hinderance of many particular inhabitants as also the Impoverishing of the Islands and prejudice of the Honorable company in generall who also for the better accommodating comforting and refreshing of the inhabitants did send over by way of a magazine in the yeare 1620 by the 'Joseph' and the 'George' 37 Hheads of meale of w^{ch} there hath beene no account given, neither of such men maydes, and Boyes as were sent over by the gennerall companie during the time of his Government, nor any thing left vpon record whereby the Honor^{ble} Compa may receiue satisfaction, or the p^{r}sent gou^{r}no^{r} Instruction how to proceed herein

These are therefore to will and require yo^{u} and in his Ma^{ts} name to charge and comand yo^{u} and either of you the overseers of the —— Tribe That vpon the receipt hereof, yo^{u} doe your vtmost endeavours to enforme your selues by all lawfull meanes in the aforesaid p^{r}mises as well what Taxes haue beene levyed within yo^{r} Tribe in the 3 former yeares, and by whom receaued, and how disbursed. As also to make diligent search and examinacon throughout your said Tribe, what number of persons belonginge to the Companies account from time to time Captain Butler hath had and employed to his owne behoof and benefite, and likewise what other advantages, fees, hires or sales of passingers, straungers or boates, men or maydes, or how the meale belonging to the gennerall compa^{ie} was converted or distributed, to whome and for what price. And lastly what other taxes hee hath any way levyed or collected directly or indirectly towards his maintenance as Gouerno^{r} during his residence in these Islands. In all and eu^{rie} of w^{ch} yo^{u} shall vse diligence and faithfulnesse in your places. Calling before you any person in your Tribe of whom yo^{u} may bee the better enformed. And in case of refusall or denyall to returne their names speedilie to S^{t} Georges That when I shall either come amongst yo^{u}, or send for yo^{u} (w^{ch} shall bee god

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willing within one month) The Businesse may bee so prepared that the country bee not charged by my aboad in the maine, or your business hindered by your assembling and stay at S^t^ Georges, but all may bee donne with convenience and expedition to discharge our severall callings to which wee are mutuallie bound by our Oathes in this behalfe taken

41. Secretary Conway to the Commissioners. State Papers, Colonial, Vol. 2, No. 41, 13 July, 1623.

May it please yo^u^ 13 July 1623.

This Bearer Captaine Baylie hath given an informacõn to his Ma^tie^ of certaine quantities of Amber gruece found in the Bermudoes, the true proprietie whereof, according to his relacõn must belonge either to his Ma^tie^ or to Cap^t^ Somers whom hee tearmes the first discoverer. Hee further complaines of some great wronge and miscarriage in that busines, whereof his Ma^tie^ prayes yo^u^ to take verie particular informacõn both for the equitie, and fairnes of the carriage This beinge all I have in charge, w^th^ offer of my respect, and service I remaine

Yo^r^

[Indorsed] Julie 13, 1623.

Commissioners for examininge the greivances in the Plantations of Virginia and Barmudoes.

42. Chamberlaine to Carleton. State Papers, Domestic, James I., 26 July, 1623, Vol. 149, No. 48.

My very goode Lord:

. . . . . The last weeke the earle of Warwick and the L Candish fell so fowle at a Virginia or Bermudaes court that the lie passed and repassed and they are got over to trie their fortune yet we do not heare that they are met, so that there is hope they may return safe: in the meane time their ladies forget not their old familiaritie but meet daylie to lament this misfortune. The factions in those two companies are growne so violent as Guelfs and Gibelines were not more animated one against the other, and they seldome meet upon the exchaunge or in the Streets but they brabble and quarrell. So that yf that societie be not dissolued the

sooner, or cast in a new mould, worse effects may follow then the whole busines is worth . . . . . .

Yo[r] Lo[ps] most assuredly at commaund

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

From London this 26[th] of July 1623.

43. To the Ouerseers of each Tribe. By the Gou[r]nor [Harrison]. 6 August 1623.

Forasmuch as the time is now expired that I limited to yo[u] to enfome yo[r]selues of those particulers mencoened in my warrant dated the 10[th] of July. To the end the Hon[ble] compa may vnderstand the readinesse of the Inhabitants of theise Islands in paying for such Taxes as haue beene imposed vpon them for the necessities of the country beeing therevnto by authoritie required, and that eu[r]ie man may receiue condigne thanks for his willingnesse therein according to his deservings And forasmuch as my desire is to avoyd all meanes whereby I may be burthensome or troublesome to the countrey in anything w[ch] by due foresight may be prevented These are to requier you or at least the principall of you to meet me on Tuesday morning next at 8 of the clocke at Capt Tuckers house at the overplusse, where I may vnderstand your proceedings concerning the former warrant and conferre w[th] yo[u] vpon other businesse of Importance necessarie to bee handled w[ch] upon this occasion may with one be concluded whereof I require yo[u] not to faile S[t] Georges the 6th August.

[This is followed by an order of the same date to one Thomas Herriott to appear at the same place 'to haue some businesse heard concerning the good of the Honor[ble] Compa. and his owne reputation in particular w[ch] hath been heretofore questioned and censured.']

44. Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 79, page 195.

Order for S[r] W[m] Jones & others to continue their Inspection of Virg[a] & y[e] Sumēr Islands.

At Whitehall Oct. 8. 1623.

Present

L[d] Keeper	L[d] Carew
L[d] President	L[d] Chichester
L[d] Visc[t] Grandison	M[r] Secr̄y Calvert

Master of the Rolls.

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Whereas S^r William Jones and others nominated by the Board, having entred into the Examination of the State of the Plantations both of Virginia and the Summer Islands with the Incidents thereunto belonging from the very beginning of these Plantations by virtue of a Commission directed unto them under the Great Seal of England, have likewise in the month of July last, made Report to their Lo^ps in writing how farr they had proceeded therein. Forasmuch as his Ma^ty out of His Royall Care of the good of those Plantations is pleased that the same examination and inquiry shall be continued by the sd S^r William Jones and his Collegues in that Imployment, Itt is therefore thought fitt and ordered, they shall accordingly prosecute the same, and att convenient time make report to the Board of their Proceedings.

45. Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 79, pages 208–10.

Order concerning the Summer Islands.

At Whitehall the 8^th Dec: 1623

Present

L^d Keeper	Earl Marshall	M^r Treaſ
L^d Treaſ	L. Chamberlain	M^r Secr̃y Calvert
L. President	E. of Kelly	M^r Chan^r of th' Exchеq^r
L. P. Seal	L. V. Grandison	Master of the Rolls
Lord Steward	L. Chichester	

There was this day read att the Board a Peticõn of the Dep^ty and Company of Adv^rs to the Summer Islands, shewing That whereas it had been oftentimes debated before this Board in the presence of divers of the Adv^rs & Planters of the said Islands, by what Course the Debts of the sd Company might be payd, and the publique Charges be hereafter born; And whereas by an Order of this Board of the 28^th of April last, the Comm^rs for that Plantation and that of Virginia were required to advise of a Course for the discharging of the s^d Debts & publique Charges of the Summer Islands; And that after great pains taken by the sd Comm^rs they did finally sett down and order under their hands of the 8^th of July last now shewed to their Lo^ps in these words following.

Whereas by an Order of the Lords of His Ma^ts Most Hon^ble Privy Councill bearing date the 28^th of April last certain differences arising between y^e Governor and Company of the Summer Islands, and the Adv^rs and Planters there, were referred to our consideration concerning a late Imposition of four pence layd upon every pound of tobacco that came from thence, towards the payment of publique charges. for w^ch some

private men are already engaged for the use of the Company, wee have endeavoured to sett an end to the Controversy and upon full hearing of the same, and the reasons on each part, It is agreed before us by Consent, That whereas itt appeareth that the Seal of the sd Company, hath been given for about 1400 lb four hundred pound whereof shall be born by an Imposition to that value to be laid upon all the Tobacco that came from the Summer Islands this year into England; The residue of the sd debt and all other Debts and Duties and all other future Charges to be layd for the Publique, they shall be born equally by the Advrs according to the number of each man's share: And for the more ease of Advrs it is likewise thought fitt that two pence upon the pound shall bee lay'd upon the Tobacco of the Planters towards publique charges and six pence upon the pound of all the Tobacco that shall bee brought in from the Summer Islands, by such as are neither Planters nor Freemen of the Company. And if any man hath already sent in more than the rateable part amounteth unto according to ye proposition aforesaid, It is thought fitt & just that he be satisfyed out of the thousand pounds to be levyed. Which said Order of the 8th of July was likewise agreed and consented unto upon the 26th of the last month by a Generall Quarter Court of the sd Plantations of the Summer Islands.

It was therefore Ordered by their Lops this day that the sd Order of the Commrs of the 8th of July shall accordingly be put in execution and stand ratified and confirmed by an act of this Board; And that whosoever shall hereafter oppose the same or shall refuse to pay such assessmt as by virtue of the said Order shall be laid upon them, shall be proceeded against as Contemners of the Authority of the Board, and compelled to satisfy the same by such Course as by their Lops upon Complaint thereof shall be thought fitt and convenient.

46. Reference concerning the Debts of ye Virginia Company. Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 79.

Whereas divers of the Company of the Summer Islands did this day complain, that a Peticōn had been delivered to this Board by Nicholas Farrar Deputy of the Compa of Virginia (whereby some Order did ensue from the Board) affirming that the Commrs for the examining of the State of the Affairs of the Compas of Virga and the Summer Islands, had not sett an Order for the payment of the Debts and publique Charges of ye said Company of the Summer Islands according as had been referred unto them from the Board, and that all they whose

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names were used to y^e^ said Peticõn were consenting thereunto; In both w^ch^ points hee had misinformed the Board their Lo^ps^ did this day order, that the sd Peticõn should bee sent to M^r^ Attorny Generall together w^th^ the Order underwritten to examine and report to the Board, whether itt be true as is affirmed in y^e^ said Peticõn, That the Comm^rs^ in the Peticõn mencõned have not sett any Course for paying the Debts of the sd Company as was by this Board referred unto them; As also whether all the Parties to the sd Peticõn gave their Consent thereunto. And such other particulars as were then complained of against the Carriage of the sd Nicholas Farrar.

47. What hapned in the gouernment of Mr. John Harrison 1623. (Smith's 'Virginia.')

They are still much troubled with a great short worme that devours their Plants in the night, but all the day they lie hid in ground, and though early in the morning they kill so many, they would think there were no more, yet the next morning you shall finde as many. The Caterpillers to their fruits are also as pernicious, and the land Crabs in some places are as thicke in their Borrowes as Conies in a Warren, and doe much hurt; besides all this, there happened this yeere a very heauy disaster, for a ship wherein there had beene much swearing and blaspheming vsed all the voyage, and landed what she had to leave in those Isles, iovially frolicking in their Cups and Tobacco, by accident fired the powder, that at the very instant blew up the great Cabin and some one way and some another, it is a wonder to thinke how they could be so blowne out of the gunroom into the sea, where some were taken up living, so pitifully burned, their lives were worse than so many deaths, some died, some lived, but eighteene were lost at this fatal blast, the ship also immediately sunke with threescore barrels of meale sent for Virginia, and all the other provisions in her was thus lost.[1]

Now to consider how the Spaniards, French, and Dutch, haue been lost and preserved in those invincible Iles, yet neuer regarded them but as monuments of miseries though at this present they all desire them; How Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers being ready to sinke in the Sea were saved, what an incredible abundance of victual they found, how it was first planted by the English, the strange increase of Rats, and their sudden departure, the five men came from England in a

[1] See *ante*, p. 288.

Boat, the escape of Hilliard, and the rest of those accidents there hapned, a man would think it a tabernacle of miracles, and the worlds wonder, that from such a Paradise of admiration who would think should spring such wonders of afflictions as are onely fit to be sacrificed upon the highest alters of sorrow, thus to be set vpon the highest Pinacles of content, and presently thrown down to the lowest degree of extremity, as you see haue been the yeerely succeedings of those Plantations; the which to ouercome, as it is an incomparable honor, so it can be no dishonor if a man doe miscarry by vnfortunate accidents in such honourable actions, the which renowne and virtue to attaine hath caused so many attempts by diuers Nations besides ours, euer to passe through the very amazement of adventures vpon the relation of this newes the company hath sent one Captaine Woodhouse, a Gentleman of good repute and great experience in the warres, and no less provident than industrious and valiant; then returned report, all goeth well there. It is too true, in the absence of the noble Treasurer, Sir Edward Sackvill, now Earle of Dorset, there haue beene such complaints betwixt the Planters and the Company, that by command the Lords appointed Sir Thomas Smith againe Treasurer, that since then according to their order of Court he is also elected, where now we must leaue them all to their good fortune and successe, till we hear further of their fortunate proceedings.

48. Of the progress of industry and the aspect of the Settlement in 1623, we have a picture drawn by Captain John Smith in his Introduction of that date. He precedes it by some observations, which are remarkably correct, on the soils and physical features of the Islands.

It [he says] (the surface) is very vneuen, distributed into hills and dales; the mold is of diuers colours, neither clay nor sand, but a meane betweene; the red which resembleth clay is the worst, the whitest resembling sand and the blackest is good, but the browne betwixt them both which they call white, because there is mingled with it a white meale, is the best; vnder the mould two or three feet deep, and sometimes lesse, is a kind of white hard substance which they call Rocke; the trees vsually fasten their roots in it; neither is it indeed rocke or Stone, or so hard, though for most part more harder then chalke; nor so white, but pumish-like and spungy, easily

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receiving and containing much water. In some places Clay is found under it, it seems to be ingendered with raine water, draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance vnto a certaine depth where it congeales; the hardest kinde of it lies vnder the red ground like quarries, as it were thicke slates one vpon another, through which the water hath a passage, so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water, for all or the most part of the fresh water commeth out of the Sea draining through the sand, or that substance called the Rocke, leauing the salt behinde, it becomes fresh: sometimes wee digged wells of fresh water which we finde in most places, and but three or foure paces from the Sea side, some further, the most part of them would ebbe and flow as the Sea did, and be leuell or little higher than the superficies of the Sea, and in some places verye strange, darke and cumbersome Caues.

The aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, moist, with a moderate heat, very healthfull and apt for the generation and nourishing of all things, so as many things transported from hence yeeld a farre greater increase, and if it be any liuing thing it becomes fatter and better; by this meanes the country is so replenished with Hens and Turkies, within the space of three or foure yeers, that many of them being neglected, forsake the houses and become wilde, and so lieu in great abundance; the like increase there is in Hogs, tame Conies, and other Cattle according to their kindes. There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause some things come not to that maturity and perfection as were requisite; and though the trees shed their leaues, yet they are alwaies full of greene; the Corne is the same they haue in Virginia, and the West Indies; of this and many other things without plowing or much labour, they haue two Haruests euery yeere, for they set about March, which they gather in July; and againe in August, which they reape in December; and little slips of Fig-trees and Vines doe vsually beare fruit within the yeere, and sometimes in lesse; but *we* find not the grapes as yet come to any perfection; the like fertility it hath in Oranges and Limons Pomgranates, and other things. Concerning the serenity and beauty of the skie, it may as truly be said of those Ilands as euer it was said of the Rhodes, that there is no one day throughout the 12. moneths, but that in some houre thereof, the sun lookes singularly and cleere vpon them: no cold there is beyond an English Aprill, nor heat much greater than an ordinary July in France, so that frost and snow is neuer seene here, nor stinking and infectious mists very seldome; by reason of the maine Ocean, there is some wind

stirring that cooles the aire: the winter they haue obserues the time with ours, but the longest daies and nights are shorter then ours almost by two houres.

We found it at first all ouergrowne with weeds, and plants of seuerall kinds, as many tall and goodly Cedars, infinite store of Palmetoes numbers of Mulberies, wild Oliue-trees store, with diuers other vnknowne both by name and nature, so that as yet they become lost to many vsefull imployments, which time and industry no doubt will one day discouer, and euen already certaine of the most notorious of them haue gotten them appellations from their apparent effects, as the Prickell-peare which growes like a shrub by the ground, with broad thick leaues, all ouer armed with long and sharpe dangerous thornes, the fruit being in forme not much vnlike a small greene Peare, and on the outside of the same colour, but within blood red, and exceeding full of iuice; with grains not much vnlike the Pomgranat, and colouring after its nature. The poysoned weed (*Rhus toxicodendron*) is much in shape like our English Ivy, but being touched, causeth rednesse, itching; and lastly blisters, the which howsoeuer after a while passe away of themselues without further harme, yet because for the time they are somewhat painfull, it hath got itselfe an ill name, although questionlesse of no ill nature. Here is also frequently growing a certaine tall Plant, whose stalke being all ouer couered with a red rinde, is thereupon termed the red weed, the root whereof being soaked in any liquor, or but a small quantity of the Juice drunke alone, procures a very forcible vomit, and yet is generally vsed by the people, and found very effectuall against the paines and distempers of the stomache. (No doubt the Castor-oil Plant, *Ricinus communis*.)

A kind of Wood-bind there is likewise by the Sea very commonly to be found, which runnes vpon trees twining itselfe like a Vine: the fruit somewhat resembles a Beane, but somewhat flatter, the which any way eaten worketh excellently in the nature of a purge and though very vehemently, yet without all perill (*Canavalia obtusifolia*). Contrary to this, another small tree there is, which causeth costiuenesse; there is also a certaine Plant like a bramble bush, which bears a long yellow fruit, hauing the shell very hard, and within it a hard berry, that beaten and taken inwardly purgeth gently. There is another fruit much like our Barberries, which being beaten or bruised betweene the teeth, sets all the mouth on an extreme heat very terrible for the time, to avoid which they are swallowed downe hole, and found of the same or better operation then the red Pepper, and thence borroweth the name. In the bottome of the Sea there is growing vpon the Rocks a

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large kind of Plant in the forme of a Vine leafe but far more spread with veines in colour of a pale red, very strangely interlaced and wouen one into another, which we call the feather, but the virtue thereof is altogether vnknowne, but only regarded for the rarity (Probably the Sea Fan or Gorgonia) Now besides these naturall productions, prouidences and paines since the Plantation, haue offered diuers other seeds and plants, which the soil hath greedily imbraced and cherished, so that at this present 1623, there are great abundance of white, red and yellow coloured Potatoes, Tobacco, Sugarcanes, Indicos (Indigo?), Parsnips, exceeding large Radishes, the American bread, the Cassado root, the Indian Pumpian, the Water-millon, Musk-millon, and the most delicate Pine-apples, Plantans, and Papaives, also the English Artichoke, Pease &c, briefly whatsoeuer else may be expected for the satisfaction either of curiosity, necessity or delight.

Neither hath the Aire for her part been wanting with due supplies of many sorts of Fowles, as the gray and white Hearne,[1] the gray and green Plouer, some wilde Ducks and Malards, Coots and Red-shanks, Sea-wigions, Gray-bitterns, Cormorants, numbers of small birds like Sparrowes and Robins, which haue lately beene destroyed by the wilde Cats, Wood-pickars, very many Crowes, which since this Plantation are killed, the rest fled or seldome seene except in the most vninhabited places, from whence they are obserued to take their flight about sunset, directing their course towards the North-west, which makes many coniecture there are some more Ilands not far off that way. Sometimes are also seene Falcons and Jar-falcons, Ospraies, a bird like a Hobby, but because they come seldome, they are held but as passengers; but aboue all these, most deseruing obseruation and respect are those two sorts of Birds, the one for the tune of his voice, the other for the effect; called the Cahow, and Egge bird, which on the first of May, a day constantly obserued, fall a laying infinite store of Eggs neere as big as Hens, vpon certaine small sandie baies especially in Coupers Ile; and although men sit down amongst them when hundreds haue been gathered in a morning, yet there is hath stayed amongst them till they haue gathered as many more; they continue this course till Midsummer, and so tame and fearlesse, you must thrust them off from their Eggs with your hand; then they grow so faint with laying, they suffer them to breed and take infinite numbers of their young to eat, which are very excellent meat.

The Cahow is a bird of the night, for all the day she lies

[1] See note p. 333 for the identifications of these birds.

hid in holes in the Rocks, where they and their young are also taken with as much ease as may be, but in the night if you but whoop and hollow, they will light vpon you, that with your hands you may chuse the fat and leaue the leane; those they haue only in winter: their Eggs are as big as hens, but they are speckled, the other white. Mr. Norwood hath taken twenty dozen of them in three or foure houres, and since there hath beene such hauocke made of them, they were neere all destroyed, till there was a strict inhibition for their preservation. The Tropicke bird is white, as large as a Pullett, with one onely long Feather in her Taile, and is seldome seene far distant from other of the Tropicks: another small bird there is, because she cries Pemblyco they call her so, she is seldome seene in the day but when she sings, as too she doth very clamorously; too true a Prophet she proues of huge winds and boysterous weather: there were a kinde of small Owles in great abundance, but they are now all slaine or fled: some tame Ducks, Geese, and Pigeons there are but the two latter prosper not.

Concerning vermine and noisome creatures, there are not many, but onely Rats and Cats, there increased since the Plantation, but how they agree together you shall heare hereafter. The Musketas and Flies are also too busie, with a certaine India Bug, called by the Spaniards a Cacarootch, the which creeping into chests they eat and defile with ill-scented dung. Also the little Ants in Summer time are so troublesome, they are forced to dry their figs vpon high frames, and anoint their feet with tar, wherein they sticke, else they would spoile them all ere they could be dryed: Wormes in the earth also there are, but too many, so that to keep them from destroying their Corne and Tobacco, they are forced to worme them euery morning, which is a great labour, else all would be destroyed. Lizards there were many and very large, but now none, and it is said they were destroyed by the Cat. Certaine Spiders also of very large size are found hanging vpon trees, but instead of being any way dangerous as in other places, they are here of a most pleasing aspect, all ouer drest as it were with Silver, Gold, and Pearle, and their Webs in the Summer woven from tree to tree, are generally a perfect raw silke, and that as well in regard of substance as colour, and so strong withall, that diuers Birds bigger than Blackbirds, being like Snipes, are often taken and snared in them as a Net: then what would the Silk-worme doe were shee there to feed upon the continuall greene Mulbery?

But above all the rest of the Elements, the Sea is found most abundantly liberall, hence haue they as much excellent

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Fish, and as much variety as need be desired. The most of which being vnknown to our Northern parts, get there new names, either for their shapes or conditions; as the large Rocke-fish from his like hew, and haunting amongst the Rocks, the fat Hog-fish, from his swinelike shape and snout; for this is not the old knowne Hog-fish with brussels on his backe; the delicate Amber-fish from his taste and smell, Angell-fish, Cony-fish, the small yellow taile, from that naturall painting; the great Growper, from his odde and strange grunting, some of them yet knowne to the Americans, as the Purgoose, the Cauallo, the Gar-fish, Flying Fish and Morrayes; the rest are common to other Continents; as the Whale in great numbers, the Sharke, the Pilot-fish, the Sea-Breame, the Oyster and Lobster, with diuers others; twenty Tortoises haue been taken in a day, and some of them will affoord half a bushell of Eggs, and suffice to feede forty men at a meale.[1] And thus haue you briefly epitomized Mother Natures benefits to this little, yet dainty spot of earth, neither were it ingenuity to conceale wherein shee inclineth to the Stepdame, especially since the particulars are so few, as rather requisite Antidotes against idlenesse to rouse vp industry, then any great cause of much distaste, much lesse dispaire; and of those to speak troth, there are onely two: viz. the Winds and the Wormes, especially in the Spring and Autumne; and thus conditioned as yet we will let rest these small Islands, in the midst of this mightie and maine Ocean, so inuironed on euery side, by infinite numbers of vncertaine scattered Rocks, lying shallowly hid vnder the surface of the water, a league, two, three, foure, or fiue, to Sea, to the which advantages added by art, as hereafter you shall heare at large, and finde described in the Map. It may well be concluded to be the most impregnable place in the world, and although the Amber Greece, Pearles, nor Tobacco, are of that quantity and certainty to be relied vpon to gaine wealth; yet by practise and experience they find, by Silke, Saffron, Indico, Madar, Sugar-canes, Wine, Oile, and such like great profit may be expected; yet were those hopelesse in regard of their conueniency to nourish and maintaine themselues, and relieve them shall visit them with wood, water, and other necessaries, besides what an eye-sore they are already becommed to them that haue them not, and how deare and precious to them that haue them, I thinke none will deny but they are well worth the keeping: and so we will proceed to the accidents that befel the first finders: also the proceedings of

[1] An excellent account of the fish of the Bermudas, by Prof. G. Brown Goode, M.A., has been published (1876) as a bulletin of the U.S. National Museum, No. 5, Washington.

the first Planters and their successors, Master Norrod,[1] Thomas Sparks and diuers others. CHAP. V. 1622–1623.

[The Editor is indebted to Lieut. Saville Reed, Royal Engineers, for the following further identifications of many of the birds referred to in the preceding accounts. As the majority of them are only occasional visitors, and now at least, in no great numbers, a great degree of intelligent observation is shown by the enumeration. The muskets and calivers of the day were ill calculated to help the sportsman, and no mention occurs anywhere of the bow or sling. They were probably, therefore, trapped or snared. The reader is referred to the 'Naturalist in Bermuda,' by J. Matthew Jones, for fuller accounts.

Birds alluded to in Smith's 'Virginia.'

'*White and Grey Hearnes.*'—The American Egret, *Ardea egretta*, and the Great Blue Heron, *Ardea herodias*, possibly also the smaller Snowy Heron, *Ardea candidissima*. The young of *A. herodias* are quite grey when seen from a distance.

'*Gray and Greene Plover.*'—The American Golden Plover, *Charadrius marmoratus* in its various phases of plumage, and perhaps the Grey Plover, *C. helveticus*. The former still visits the Bermudas in the autumn, at times in considerable numbers, but *C. helveticus* is a rarity.

There is no 'Greene' Plover in the North American lists. The *Green* Plover, or Lapwing, *Vanellus cristatus*, belongs to the Old World.

'*Wild Ducks and Mallards.*'—Ducks visit the Bermudas every autumn and winter, but none are resident. The most common species is the magnificent Dusky Duck, *Anas obscura*.

The Mallard, *A. boschas*, Blue-winged Teal, *A. discors*, Green-winged Teal, *A. Carolinensis*, Pintail, *A. acuta*, Golden-Eye, *Fuligula clangula*, and several other species, are occasionally met with.

'*Coots.*'—The American Coot, *Fulica Americana*, is an autumnal visitor. The Moorhen, *Gallinula chloropus*, is common and resident.

'*Red-shanks.*'—The 'Mudians call the Terns, *S. hirundo* and *S. tongallii*, 'Red-shanks,' from the colour of their legs, but this probably refers to the two species of yellow-shanks, *Totanus flavipes* and *T. vociferus*, which visit the islands in considerable numbers in August and September.

'*Sea Wigions.*'—The American Wigeon, *A. americana*, frequently appears in the creeks and shallows of the islands. The name might also include the Golden-Eye, *F. clangula*, and the Surf Scoter, *Oidemia perspicillata*, the latter a sea duck essentially, and occasionally visiting us.

'*Grey Bitterns.*'—The American Bittern, *Botaurus lentiginosus*; the Night Heron, *Ardea nycticorax*; and the Yellow-crowned Night Heron, *A. violacea*, all of which are regular visitors, might be included under this title.

'*Small birds like Sparrowes and Robins.*'—This might refer to any of the smaller residents and visitors. The true Sparrow, *Passer domesticus*, has only recently been introduced into the large towns of North America, but there are numerous American allied genera of the family *Fringillidæ*, and species of these are not uncommon in the autumn in the Bermudas. The Blue Bird, *Sialia Wilsonii*, has much the manners and something of the appearance of our English *Robin*, though differing in the colour of the upper parts.

Possibly the Ground Dove, *Columba passerina*, and White-eyed Vireo, *Vireo noveboracensis*, are included in the somewhat elastic description of the author.

'*Wood Pickars.*'—The Yellow-bellied Woodpecker, *Picus varius*, is not uncommon, and occasionally breeds in the Bermudas. One specimen only of another species, the Golden-winged, *Colaptes auratus*, has been observed of late years.

'*Very many Crowes.*'—Not the birds that still hold their own in the islands, in spite of rewards given for their destruction, and breed in considerable numbers

[1] Norrod is Norwood, phonetically written. These accounts have been already

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in the cedar groves, the American Crow, *Corvus americanus*. These are of modern introduction; it is said, from Nova Scotia, by Admiral Sir Charles Ogle.—J.H.D.

'*Falcons and Jar Falcons.*'—It is hardly probable that the Jar or Jer Falcon of America, *Falco grœnlandicus*, has ever paid a visit to Bermuda. The birds referred to are doubtless the Peregrine, *F. peregrinus*, the *Buzzards*, which appear to have been not uncommon years ago, the Harrier, *C. hudsonius*, and others. A large female Peregrine would possibly have been mistaken for a 'Jer.'

'*Osprais.*'—The Osprey, *Pandion haliaëtus*, still a frequent visitor, and not improbably found breeding at the date of this history.

'*A bird like a Hobby.*'—Must have been the American Pigeon Falcon, *Falco columbarius*, visiting the Bermudas annually in the autumn.

'*The Cahow*'—Or Dusky Shearwater, *Puffinus obscurus*, still resident and breeding in reduced numbers in the islands.

'*The Eggebird.*'—Probably includes the two species of Tern, *hirundo* and *tongallii*, which, until quite recently, bred in numbers on Cooper's Island and elsewhere in Castle Harbour.

The statement that these birds commence to lay every year on the 1st May is quite credible. Many species are surprisingly regular in their nidification, and there are well-authenticated instances of eggs being laid year after year on precisely the same day of the year.

The Terns lay four eggs, which are somewhat smaller than those of a domestic hen.

'*Tropicke Bird.*'—*Phaëton æthereus* (flavirostris) still visits Bermuda in numbers, arriving the first week in March, and departing with its young early in October.

'*Pemblyco*'—Can this be the Virginian Partridge or Colin, *Ortyx virginiana* (not uncommon probably at that time), which is seldom seen, and the male of which makes a tremendous noise in spring and summer, shouting 'Bob White' most unmusically, chiefly in the early morning and towards dusk?

'Bob White' is not much like 'Pemblyco,' but our forefathers were not very clever at call-notes, at the best of times.

'*Small owles.*'—Probably the Virginian Night Hawk, *Chordeiles virginianus*, a bird of the 'Goatsucker' family, which visits us in numbers every autumn, and much resembles a small owl in flight.

The only true small owl observed is the Acadian Owl, *Nyctale acadica*, but this is a rare straggler.]

S. G. R.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNMENT OF CAPTAIN HENRY WOODHOUSE.

A.D. 1623—1626.

THE precise date of Captain Woodhouse's arrival is not stated; but it is shown by a minute of 1627 to have been in October 1623. This minute provides that a new Governor is to receive over from his predecessor apparel, tools of iron, provisions, &c., furnished to the latter officially, and enumerates those actually handed over on this occasion. (Minute of Council Oct. 24, 1623, quoted in an entry of 1 March, $162\frac{6}{7}$.)

1. A note of the provisions that Captain Woodhouse received of Captain Harrison.

Imprimis 2 h.heads of meale & 4 bushels
It. 6 thousand eares of corne
It. Two 2 hogges valued at 50 lb of Tobaco
It. Half a dozen of greene cushions valued at 3 lb of Tobaco
It. One milking Pail at 2 lb of Tobacco
It. Two boates valued at 120 lb of Tobaco
It. Two pieces of ordnance valued at 80 lb of Tobaco
It. Left with F Spauling j pott j kettle in the kitchen

Owing to the Governor for his part of meale 181lb of Tobaco

more for Oatmeale	48
more for Salt	32
One H.head of flour	14
13 Gallons of salad oyl . . .	31
8 Gallons of Aqua vitæ . . .	16
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For Rice 0„0
37lb of Sugar
16lb of Loafe Sugar
13 Gallons of vinegar

A note of what apparell fals short for the Boyes
Inprs 7 paires of Sheetes
It 3 Bed ticks and boulsters
It 17 pairs of shoes
It 18 hooes (hose)
It j kettle

In consideration of those particulars above said being unreceived Captain Woodhouse tooke a Bond of Captain Harrison for £50 12 shillings to be paid in England

2. Lunæ 26° Aprilis. 23° Iacobi [1624]

A Petition for Virginia read

Sir Rob. Phillips: To respite the Debate of this Petition, at this time. Moveth, Thursday next, to hear them.

Jovis 29° Aprilis, 22° Jacobi

Mr Speaker delivereth and readeth, a letter from the King, concerning the Virginia Petition. The Petition by general Resolution is withdrawn[1]

3. Letter of James I. to the Commons, April 28, 1624.

Trusty &c

Whereas wee have taken notice that some of the Virginia Compagnie have presented a Petition to our House of Commons, and doubting it might occasion the repetition, and renewing of those Discords, and Contentions, which have been amongst them, and which by our great care, and the Directions of our Counsell are in a good way to bee composed. We doe signify to our House of Commons. That wee hold it very unfitt for the Parliamt to trouble themselves with those Matters, which can produce nothing, but a further increase Schisme, and Faction, and disturbe the happy and peaceable proceeding of the Parliamt which wee hope your cares (as hitherto they have done) shall concurr with ours to bring to a good issue. As for these businesses of Virginia, and the Barmudoes, ourself have taken them to heart, and will make it our own worke to settle the quiet, and wellfare of those Plantations, and will bee ready to doe anything that may bee for the reall benefitt, and advancemt of them. This wee thought good to intimate to our House of

[1] Journals of the Commons, vol. 1.

Commons, not out of favour, respect or mediation of any party, but of our own Princely love, and regard to our House of Commons, And wee earnestly desire to remove all occasion, that might disturbe the peace of it, or hinder you from your more great, and weighty occasions, and assure ourself our house of Commons will take in good part and correspond with us herein, as they have done in all things else during this Session. Given at Windsor, Aprill 28, 1624.[1]

4. Chamberlain to Carleton; State Papers, Domestic, James I. 1624. Vol. 163.

My very goode Lord

. . . The Parlement holdes on very orderly and there is hope yt will end so, though peradventure not so soon as was expected for there remaines much to be don about continuance of Statutes and such like, the king wrote a letter yesterday to the lower house, to rid them of a thornie busines touching Virginia and the Summer Ylands w^{ch} was like enough to have bred much faction and distraction among them, being followed on both sides wth much eagerness and animositie; w^{ch} to prevent the K. hath resumed and reserved the whole cause to his owne hearing, w^{ch} is the best course could have ben taken, and no doubt most pleasing to the major part. . .

From London this last of Aprill 1624

Yo^{r} Lo^{ps} most assuredly at commaund

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

5. To the Overseers, &c. 26 July, 1624.

Theise are to will and require yo^{u} and either of yo^{u} That vpon complaint, or yo^{r} suspition of the hard vsage of any maisters towards their servants in your Tribe yo^{u} doe forthwith repaire vnto their Houses, or cabbens and make due enquirie and search concerning their behaviour towards their said servants as well as their allowance of victuall, apparell, lodgeing and necessaries convenient for them, and as yo^{u} find juste cause of complaint in any to certifie vnto mee the Governo^{r} their names and deserts in everie kinde That I may goe on with an even hand betwixt M^{r} and servant free from partiallitie to any, and prove hereby if it be possible a mutuall Law to either,

[1] State Papers, Domestic, vol. clxiii. No 71.

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whereby they may proceed more comfortably in their affaires both in serving God and following their lawfull employm^ts^ in this Plantacon, for performance of which these shall be yo^r^ sufficient warrant

(Signed) HEN. WOODHOUSE

St. George's the 26th of Julij 1624.

Proclamations. Charles I. 1625–42. No. 6.

¶ By the King.

6. A Proclamation touching Tobacco. 9 April 1625.

Whereas Our most deare Father, of blessed memorie, deceased, for many weighty and important Reasons of State, and at the humble suit of His Commons in Parliament, did lately publish two severall Proclamations, the one dated the nine and twentieth day of September, now last past, and the other the second of March following, for the utter prohibiting of the importation, and use of all Tobacco, which is not of the proper growth of the Colonies of Virginia and the Sommer Islands, or one of them, with such Cautions, and under such Paines and Penalties, as are in those Proclamations at large expressed:

Wee, tendring the prosperity of those Colonies and Plantations, and holding it to bee a matter of great consequence unto Us, and to the honour of Our Crowne, not to desert, or neglect those Colonies, whereof the foundations, with hopefull successe, have been so happily layd by our Father, being given to understand, that divers persons intending onely their private gaine, and neglecting all considerations of the publique, in this short time, whilest Wee have been necessarily taken up in ordering of the great affaires of Our Kingdomes and State, have taken the boldeness, secretly, and by stealth, to import and utter great quantities of Tobacco, which is not of the growth of the Plantations aforesaid, to the utter destruction of those Plantations, as much as in them lieth; Wee have thought fit, for the preventing of those inconveniences, which may otherwise ensue, to the irrecoverable dammage of those Plantations, and of Our service, to publish and declare Our Royall pleasure for the present, touching the premisses, untill upon more mature deliberation Wee shall see cause to alter, or adde unto the same, in any part.

And Wee doe therefore straitly charge and command, that no person whatsoever, of what degree or qualitie soever, doe at any time hereafter, either directly or indirectly, im-

port, buy, sell, or utter, plant, cherish, or use, or cause to bee imported, sold, or uttered, cherished, planted, or used, in Our Realmes of England, or Ireland, or Dominion of Wales, or in any Isles or places thereunto belonging, any Tobacco, of any sort whatsoever, which is not of the proper growth of the said Colonies, or one of them; And that no person whatsoever, by any shift or device whatsoever, doe receive, or conceale, or colour the Tobacco of any other, so imported, planted, bought, sold, uttered, or used within Our sayd Realmes, or Dominions, or the Isles or places aforesaid, or any part thereof, upon paine of forfeiture unto Us, of all such Tobacco so to be imported, bought, sold, planted, uttered, or used, contrary to the meaning of these presents, in whose hands soever the same shall be found, and upon such further paines and penalties, as by the Lawes and Statutes of these Our Realms, or by the Censure of Our Courts of Star-Chamber, in either of Our said Kingdomes respectively, can or may be inflicted upon the offenders, for contempt of this Our Royall Command; and to be reputed and taken as enemies to Our proceedings, and to those Plantations, which so much concerne Our honour, and the honour and profit of Our State.

And Our further will and command is, that all the forreigne Tobacco, of what sort soever, which is not of the proper growth of those Plantations, or one of them, shall before the fourth day of May, now next ensuing, bee transported out of Our Realmes and Dominions, as by the sayd former Proclamations it was directed and commanded, upon paine of forfeiture thereof, and upon the other paines and penalties aforesayd to be inflicted upon the offenders.

And Our pleasure is, That all such forreigne Tobacco may bee freely exported by any person whatsoever, without paying to Us, or to Our use, any Subsidie, or other dutie for the same.

Given at Our Court at White-Hall, this ninth day of April, in the first yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

God Save the King.

¶ Printed at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. MDCXXV.

Proclamations. Charles I. 1625–42. No. 10.

¶ By the King.

7. A Proclamation for setling the Plantation of Virginia [and the Somer Islands.]

. . . . . And lastly, whereas it is agreed on all sides, that the Tobacco of those plantations of Virginia and the Som-

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mer Islands (which is the onely present meanes for their subsisting) cannot be managed for the good of the Plantations, unlesse it be brought into one hand, whereby the forreigne Tobacco may be carefully kept out, and the Tobacco of those Plantations may yeeld a certaine and ready price to the owners thereof; Wee doe hereby declare, That to avoid all differences and contrariety of opinions, which will hardly be reconciled amongst the Planters and Adventurers themselves, We are resolved to take the same into Our owne hands, and by Our servants or Agents for us, to give such prices to the Planters and Adventurers for the same, as may give them reasonable satisfaction and encouragement; but of the maner thereof, Wee will determine hereafter at better leisure: And when wee shall have concluded the same, We shall expect, that all Our loving Subjects will readily conforme themselves thereunto.

And in the meane time, because the importation and use of forreigne Tobacco, which is not of the growth of those Plantations, or one of them, will visibly & assuredly undermine and destroy those Plantations, by taking away the meanes of their subsistence, We doe hereby strictly charge and command, That Our late Proclamation, bearing date the ninth day of April last, intituled, (A Proclamation touching Tobacco) shall in all points and parts thereof, be duely and strictly observed, upon paine of Our high displeasure, and such further penalties and punishments, as by the sayd Proclamation are to be inflicted upon the offenders. And We doe hereby advise all Our loving Subjects, and all others whom it may concerne, not to adventure the breach of our Royall Commandement in any of the premisses, We being fully resolved, upon no importunitie or intercession whatsoever, to release or remit the deserved punishment of such, as shall dare to offend against the same, seeing We holde not Our selfe onely, but Our people interessed therein.

Given at Our Court at White-Hall, the thirteenth day of May, in the first yere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

God save the King.

¶ Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno Dom. M.DC.XXV.

8. Letter from Capt^{n} Hy Woodhouse, [without date, but probably June 1625].

Hono^{ble} Companie

It was vpon the 4th of ffebuarie [162$\frac{4}{5}$] last when the Thomas of Bristoll set saile from our harbo^{r} for her Port in

Ireland, by whose conveyance I trust you haue receaued our letters and vnderstand all the affaires of the Plantacon vntill that tyme, desyringe they may be soe acceptable w^th^ you as they haue bene faythfully intended by me for yo^r^ hono^rs^ and benefitt and good of this plantacon

And on the 11th March arrived the good shipp the 'George' and all her passengers and companie in good health & safetye for which God be thanked, and the same day Toby ffolgate came in with the 'James' to refreshe himselfe and people, havinge lost 25 of his Companye & diuers others sicke, who beinge recouered he on the 7th of Aprill weighed Anch^or^ & sett sayle for Virginia being furnished w^th^ sundrye Plants and foules such as the Somer Islands yeilds, for the benefitt of that plantacon

There is also come into the store and possession of the sherriffe in safetye and well condiconed all that cordage and furniture for whale fishinge Provisons for the Companies servants and munition for the fforts and Islands, as they are menconed in the Invoice sent vnto vs, of w^ch^ I will haue a good care and render a due accompt of them. A duplicate of such thinges formerly sent by Capt Woodward in the Thomas of Bristoll you shall now receive from the Secretarye w^th^ some addition of such things as then were not readye (viz) the names of all the people now in the Islands and of those that haue taken the oathe of alleagiance to his M^tie^ [1] As also a catalogue of their names, who haue refused to take the oath for the diuision of Tobacco w^th^ theire vndertakers, as of those haue taken yt, and are dispized of the rest. The greater number bandinge themselues against yt thinkinge by theire multitude to outface and overbeare yt At least to make yt so generall that yt should be passed ouer without inquisition and renderinge satisfaction for their soe doinge and all this is but for the moyetye of tobacco only, if you should require a pte of their fruits corne or hogges &c as some now beginne to signifie, what thinke you the opposition then would be.

I haue in my former proceedinges endeavoured the best course I could divize for yo^r^ profitt and the Islands benefitt It rests now in the honorable companies acceptation and construction either to maintayne my authoritye in commandinge, or theire disobedience in refusinge to be commanded, if you approve of my proceedings, it may please you to qualifye (if you will) but not whollye to remitt those fynes sett vpon them who haue refused to conforme themselues vnto my order, for they esteeme them not much in that pticular, and togeather they (the fines?) will do some memorable worke for the

[1] List not found.

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strengtheninge or bewtifyinge of the Islands, or furnishe yt w^th^ munition

Mr. Bernard [1] p.sistinge still in his opinion, and refusing to subscribe to the acknowledgement formerlie certifyed to the Companie, continued in prison vntill these shipps came into the harbour since when I have confined him to his chamber and house, vntill a further resolucon I know not how the hon^ble^ companie will apprehend my proceedinges herein towards the ministers whose p.sons I love for their callinge and euer haue honored such whose actions and doctrine haue concurred and gone togeather, but I doe conceive myselfe to be affronted with theise two in opposinge my just proceedinges w^ch^ I haue with a cleare conscience before god & man vndertaken and p.formed, that if they were my brethren or my children I would not doe lesse then I haue done in the p.mises. May I assure the hono^ble^ compa but that I would not leaue the Islands utterly destitute of a preacher I would restrayne their blynd guide M^r^ Staples from his vnwarrantable courses either by fyne or Restraynt of libertye in these respects. He pleadinge a debt due to him from Jerome Ewer of 12 ^lb^ of Tobacco w^ch^ the said Ewer denyinge to be a debt M^r^ Staples denyes to administer the Sacraments vnto him unlesse he will graunt him payment of his said p^r^tended debt

Besides his oppression of the people in contractinge for such a Some of money for marriages and Christinings is not to be borne withall. Also of late here hath been a question among us concerninge the lawfullnes of an adulteresse who defyled her husbands bed, and after would haue married w^th^ the Companion that she played the w—— withall, w^ch^ by some was thought lawfull, but I would not suffer the said woman to marrye neither that p.son, nor any other in these Islands, but determined to send her ouer for England, for although the Cannon law may tollerate such a marriage, yet I would not open such a gapp among theise people, for hereby it might come to pass that if a knave should seduce a man's wife, and lye with her, and thereby they cause a divorce, it were but undergoing the whipp to enioy her thereby for his owne To put them out of this hope I would not suffer this woman to marrye againe here, and soe resolued and he knewe yt notwithstanding w^ch^ M^r^ Staples p.ceeded to aske the banns of matrimonye betwixt her and one Wolfer Marshe being the ptie she offended withall. w^ch^ I forbadd and charged him not to marrye her and yet since these shipps came in he hath married the same pties contrarye to my commandment and knowledge.

[1] Rev. Nathaniel Bernard; the other was the Rev. George Stirke.

And that in Lent affirminge he had power to giue a lycence to marrye, and soe would doe, if the pte would pay thereafter for yt, for which he tooke 16s in readye money and refused to marrye another couple because they could not giue 16s in readye money—and tooke since this shipp came in 10s for baptizinge M^r^ Leicrafts child who was borne at sea, and more like theise might be found yf they were enquired after ffor w^ch^ if I pettyed not his blyndnes in euery way I would make him an example to all his successors, and yet I will not hould him innocent.

The honorable compa. haue cause I confesse to taxe vs for not sendinge the 1000 ^lb^ of tobacco levyed last yeare w^ch^ I p.test I conceaved to be sent accordinge to your order, the same 1000 ^lb^ with the rest of the levyes beinge comitted vnto the Custodye of the sherriffe as Treasurer vnto the Compa who neglecting that opportunitye to send y^t^ for the p.sent, it was afterwards thorough many other busines quite put out of mynd vntill this letter revived y^t^ agayne, but that tobacco beinge otherwise disbursed by the sherriffe I haue borrowed 1000^lb^ to supplye yt at this tyme vntill the next division, and then yt must be paid either from the Compa. tobacco or from the fynes, for yt cannot be iustly levyed from the contrye any more

And whereas the hono^ble^ compa makes a question whether the office of a sherriffe be of vse in these Islands, yea or noe, and comend yt to the Generall Assemblye to enquire of I aṅswer, the honorable Companie haue in theire booke of orders appointed such an officer and made him an eminent p.son in theise Islands and appointed him to such and such vses as are in the said booke expressed The most of w^ch^ are not necessaryely to be done by a sherriffe but may as well be done by other officers in theire seuerall Tribes as formerlye they haue bene. But for matter of trust it is of necessitie that the Companie should haue an honest man to receive their pffitts to returne and disburse them, and to render a true accompt of his pceedings when he shalbe soe required This is his place call his person by what name you please. And this must be done by you only for we haue no power to make Officers for the Companie nor to contradict what they haue comended and comanded vs to observe, if we should in this one p.ticular infringe the booke of orders. The contrye would take libertye to disorder it in the rest, w^th^out scruple or feare. And if you should resolve to make a nullitye of the sherriffes office yet yt may please you to continue yt to this gent for this 3 years least yt should be obiected hereafter that he was cashiered for his misdemeanours w^ch^ would turne to his reproache of w^ch^ there is no cause, he hauing behaued himselfe as an honest man.

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I haue called Capt^{n} Stoks into question for his debts due to the compa. who hath (before the ships came) paid the Sherriffe all the tobacco due from him to the Compa as you shall see further by the sherriffes accompts And whereas you charged him to pay for the prouision for his tennants. He wth the rest of the officers and ministers understand not that they are to pay such, they havinge not received them for their pticular accompt^{s} but as prouisions for theire servants, for theire first yere, as euerye one of them will signifie vnto the Compa in there owne behalfes.

But if Capt Stokes had not paid his debt vnto the sherriffe for the Compa vse, and thereby had bene subiect to y^{r} censure of removinge from his place and councell, I assure you I knowe none in the Island that I could haue comitted the charge of the kings castle vnto, w^{ch} are not alreadye imployed for the compa and countries service and requires a continuall attendance in theire seuerall places Concerninge the levye for armes and munitions the hono^{ble} Compa may be pleased to vnderstand that I neuer had order vntil now to pay for them w^{ch} must be done by a generall levye the next diuision, togeather with that 1200 lb of tobacco for the hono^{ble} Sir Thomas Smith the Gouernor, theise shipps coming so longe after our diuision this yere Howbeyt if you will confirme our censures for the fynes of those seuerall psons who haue refused to take the oath for the true diuision of tobacco &c It will serue as a leuye for both theise purposes and make the offenders sensible of theire fault by payinge soe much Tobacco for theire fynes, w^{ch} if you do remitt yet they must pay a like quantitye in the nature of a levye, w^{ch} they will more repyne at then for theire fynes justly required w^{ch} I haue begunn wth all and taken from euerye that comes for England, or securitie for the same at the next diuision w^{ch} shalbe demanded and received if you acquitt them not. W^{ch} if you doe I haue small hope of doing you that honest service w^{ch} I aymed at, for the generall.

Capt. Chadwicke is put in possession of his Island and fforte accordinge to yo^{r} order. And Captain Woodward being now in England, It may please you to dispose as well concerning his placing here (if soe you please) As also in answeringe vnto the petition preferred against him by the widdow Maskerell

I haue acquainted Mr. Yates with yo^{r} offerr of the fferrye to him before another for an annual rent who thinks 100 ^{lb} of Tobacco p ann to be a reasonable rate for yt, in regard of the charge of keepinge two men and a boate thereat. Where it may please you to conceave that whosoeuer farmes yt, will rather depend vpon the benevolence of the Inhabitants then vpon a knowne salarye from euerye planter. But the next generall assemblye shall establish both together when I will endeavour soe

much as lyes in me to reforme our lawes to the good satisfaction of the hono^ble Compa and the Contrye

I haue made assay in chasinge the whales 3 or 4 dayes together but without good successe they were so shie that they will not abide our boats to come vp with them. Yet I have hope to pay the hono^ble companie out of the pfitts obteyned thereby, w^ch if I cannott doe I will p.forme my p.mise, to pay for the roaps w^ch I haue written for intreating by the next shipp to know the charge

Concerninge the ffortifficacons for the defence of the Islands (If I had meanes to pforme yt) the trayninge of the people and directons whither they shall repayre vpon an allarme as order of disciplyne if occasion be of an invasion etc. I desyre the hono^ble compa to be persuaded that I will endeavour to showe myselfe an honest man, and shalbe readye to expresse what I can doe for the hono^ble compa and for my Countryes service, of w^ch I hope you make no doubt vpon my mocon to the hono^ble comp. to vnderstand how to entertain such shippes, as should by adventure make for o^r harbors.

It pleased you to referr me to a letter written to Capt. Butler [1] w^ch forbidds vs to receive or giue harbour to any shipp that hath comission from the Prince of Orange [2] I will not gainsay but obey comand, yet take leaue to replye If Capt^n ffeminge, who discouered the Spanish Armado in 88 should haue had no better acceptance in his ma^ts Ports of England, her Ma^ts shipps (then beinge) had bene in danger of fyeringe in their harbors & will so stand vpon my Guard as if the enemie should assault vs daylie But yet I could be content if a shipp should bringe intelligence of an enemies approach to admit him entrance and giue him thanks But his Ma^ts pleasure herein shall be my rule for men of warr. And the Compa^s instructions for such Strangers as come w^thout comission shalbe obserued The Passengers that went in M^r Dalbridge's shipp are not yet returned, soe that nothinge can be done in relieuinge the Compa. about the 2^d in the pound, w^ch I will put in execution when they are again settled amongst vs It pleased the hono^ble compa to graunt me a lease of Long Bird Island. vpon the condicons menconed in yo^r letter all which I accept and need not be bound vnto (the house of stone excepted) w^ch I will not medle with. my intent is to bestowe 3 or 400 lb of Tobacco in buildinge a convenient house and to manure and plant the Island w^th such roots and fruits as the contrye yeilds, or as I can otherwise p.cure, and leaue my labor for posteritye, but for me or yo^r tenants to be bound to

[1] Governor Oct. 1619 to October 1622.

[2] The Dutch massacred the English at Amboyna Feb. 1624. War with Spain was declared 1625.

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build houses of stone vpon the publique land, it is a taske too hard to be vndertaken and pformed by vs for diuers respects w^ch^ I will not here relate, nor can I receive w^th^out much p^r^uidice to myselfe and noe benefitt vnto you, or *savinge of good timber* thereby.

The right hono^ble^ the Earle of Pembroke hath bene much abused in theise complaynts made against the widdowe of Mr. Robert ffawcett and her now husband Ramsey. ffor yt is certayne that the said ffawcett came not ouer w^th^ the supplye then received, but was lefte behind with M^r^ Pollard that yere, and the next yere he marryed this gentlewoman & brought her ouer And then Mr Pollard and he comminge togeather he resigned all his interest of that land and supplies vnto the said Pollard, who yt seemes had orders from the right hono^ble^ the Earle of Pembroke to receive them. But certaine it is that the relict of ffawcett nor her p^r^sent husband Ramsey are inriched by any of those goods soe sent over I haue in the absence of M^r^ Pollard, who was lefte ashore in England gone soe farr as I can in examininge and disposing Richard ffawcett, George Wells and Solomon Stubbs and humble comend my service herein w^th^all vnto the right hono^ble^ the Earle of Pembroke Cravinge his good acceptance hereof. And when Mr. Pollard comes ouer if he be wellgrounded in his buisines, I doubt not to give the hono^ble^ Compa good satisfaccon in the premises.

I haue questioned Danyell Elfrith and John Croft who were two principall men belonginge to the good shipp the *Treasurer*, concerninge her munition and furniture who doe declare that all wch belonged vnto you came vnto the possession of Capt. Butler, as by an attestacon vnder theire hands and vnder Capt Kendalls it doth appeare and may suffice for Sir Samuel Argol's sattisfaction The waight of the ordinance belonginge to the Treasurer and of such other as haue bene waighed from the seuerall wrackes you shall receiue in a note axte amongst other things now sent ouer [1]

At my first cominge hither, the said John Crofts Gunner complayned of his deteynment in the Islands, and want of maynteinance whome I answered that I would keepe noe man against his will, and gaue him libertye either to returne or take his course to better his estate w^ch^ he hath done by complaint vnto the Compa I have called him before me and find that Capt Wood, being desirous to hould him, gives him one of his two shares allowed by the Compa for his Capt place of Pagett's fforte, and 50 lb of tobacco or the labour of a servant w is a large allowance from his meanes The said Crofts hyres two

[1] Argoll was Captain of the *Treasurer*. The word axte is plain; perhaps an abbreviation.

shares of land in Dauids Island for 50 lb of tobacco the two first yeres and 60 lb afterwards: if yt please the hono^{ble} Companie to giue him this land rent free for the three first yeres he will by that tyme haue brought yt into soe good estate that he need not hereafter complaine of want vnless he want will to labor seeinge all our estate and meanes must be fetched out of the earth by o^{r} owne Endeavours, or wee must sitt downe in want and losse And when he shall vndertake to make a butt and place to instruct young men in his Gunners art, I will give him my best assistance therevnto.

It is now an vnreasonable tyme of the yeare to p.cure Plantaines, notwthstandinge I haue sought the Islands ouer and sent such as can be gotten for the present But now Somer approachinge, I will lay out for some store against the next shipping And thinke my selfe happie if I can serve his excellent Ma^{tie} in anythinge to please him, howsoeuer I am traduced by my prdecessor Harrison concerninge whose malicious false proceding against me I have sent Captain Woods wth M^{r} Bernards attestacons and I doo ptest that I did neuer speake any words in contempt of his Ma^{tie}, or that I loued the Dutch nation better than his most excellent Ma^{tie}, and the truth is, I am questioned for a buisines that was neuer so much as imagined by myselfe. If you think me cleare I pray you to protect my reputacon, and lett his Ma^{tie} vnderstand the truth. If you doubt of me send me an order to come home, and I will justifye myselfe.

The hono^{ble} compa contract wth his Ma^{tie} concerninge tobacco beinge made knowne in these Islands doth cause a wonderfull dejectednes generally thoroughout the contrye not that they grudge his Ma^{tie} any benefitt he shall reape therebye. Ay they desire that his Ma^{tie} would take rather 12^{d} in the pownd of tobacco soe that they may haue the sale of theire owne tobacco, and not be hindred to consigne their comodities to their friends to furnishe them with supplyes, w^{ch} now they are out of hope for, and are fearefull to send their tobacco ouer least exceedinge the weight of 80,000 lb p.porconed from these Islands, the tobacco of 2^{s} 4^{d} be vndervalued to xxj^{d} and that of xxj^{d} be nought esteemed and sent for Turkey, and soe past recouerye [1] Seeinge such as contract with his Ma^{tie} for yt are alsoe the choosers and refusers of our goods to like and dislike

[1] It appears that the House of Commons petitioned James I. in 1624 against the importation of foreign tobacco. The planters and adventurers in Virginia and the Somers Islands also petitioned to the same effect, upon which Solicitor-General Heath, with Secretary Conway and Sir Richard Weston, were ordered to draw up a contract with the latter for all their tobacco to be delivered for the king's use, the king undertaking to prohibit the import of foreign tobacco as requested, and the planting of any considerable quantity in England, but to be

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as they shall thinke good (for such is the report amongst vs) hence it is that the petty magazines and saylors comodities are soe extreamely raised by reason of the contryes wants at this p.sent and the vnder valuinge of Tobacco that we are verye much opprest thereby Insomuch that if I would haue given way vnto theire petitions the hono^{ble} companie would haue had 40 more passengers and solicitors then are now returned Nay I assure you if the hono^{ble} compa will giue way vnto them, one third pte of the Inhabitants of the Island would willinglie goe for Virginia to settle themselues there, whereby though they cannot avoyd the prizes alreadye contracted for, yet they hauing thereall the benefitt of their labour to themselues, though wth much difficultye they would aduenture theire liues to better theire estate. And whereas verye good tobacco is made in the Somer Islands, more may be, as any in the West Indyes or other pts of the world, besids these poore prizes dishartens all planters for spendinge theire tymes to worke vpon such a weede, much lesse to be curious to make choyce tobacco as Els they would do for theire creditts and reputacon of the Plantacon Yf now it would please God to send vs this Indico[1] we here of, or any other subiect to imploy our tyme and labors vpon whereby we could subsist, how acceptable would yt be; how much imbraced and followed. I take Bouldness to acquainte the hono^{ble} compa wth the state of the contreye at this tyme whom I labor to perswade in the best manner that I can and encourage to make good tobacco, not doubtinge but if his Mat^{ie} be pleased to tender his poor remote subiects in theise his dominions of the Somer Islands and Virginia soe farr as that he will not suffer any forreigne tobacco to be transported into England to theire preiudice They will endeavour to gaine honor to this plantacon by theire labors in that kind for the p^{r}sent, and in others when they shall be revealed, of which silke is a mayne one, and noe place of the world is more likely to advance that comoditie if it were practiced by an vnderstandinge vndertaker who had meanes of his owne to subsist vpon whyle he followed that worke w^{ch} now none in the Island are bent vnto Save only for the tryall and pleasure, and losse wilbe by theise discouragements

supplied with 400,000 lbs. weight from the two plantations yearly, of two sorts, the better at 15*l.* the cwt. (2*s.* 8*d.* the lb.) the worser at 10*l.* the cwt. (1*s.* 9*d.* the lb.) The Companies were to be allowed to export to foreign countries all above that quantity. 'Domestic Corresp. Jac I.' vol. clxix.

[1] Indico—probably the correct spelling of indigo, being Spanish for 'Indian.' The indigo was introduced into Bermuda very early; but seems to have never been a source of profit. *I. tinctoria* is still abundant as a naturalised plant growing wild, often in very barren places. This is the East Indian, not the West Indian, species.

I haue done my endeauo^{r} to relieue the widdowe Jacob by restoration of her goods accordinge to the Invoyce received from the hono^{ble} compa but can by noe meanes here of any such chest or goods taken vp from that shipp The first thinge in the Inventorye is a blacke gowne lyned with furr and there is no man that can testifye the findinge of any such gowne, or euer saw such a one, There are some who affirme that a greate chest was brought vp by the divers w^{ch} could not for the waight of it be taken into the boats, which whyle they laboured to doe the lidd broke open, and such massie goods as are here spoken of as pewter household stuffe and Iron tooles fell out of yt into the Sea and the chest sunke with them, and was neuer seene more nor sought after. I enquired of the caldron that Captain Chadwicke bought, and Capt^{n} Stokes affirmes that M^{r} Girdiner (the M^{r} of the 'Seaflower') claymed yt to be his owne, and said he had another such in the shipp The nether part of this cauldron is of copper, and it hath a band of brasse vpon the topp of yt. The caldron contayning 40 gallons by estimacon of w^{ch} be M^{ris} Jacobs, then there is 20 ^{lb} of tob in Capt Stokes his hand w^{ch} is valued to be the owners pte of the same, but yet it proves not the takinge vp the rest of her goods And it is certayne that all such goods then taken vp found owners ashoare who were passengers in that shipp, and claymed them by good testimonye and received them accordinglye.

Katherine Parkers petition to the Hono^{ble} Companie in the behalfe of John Riggs hath bene handled and the said Riggs found to belonge to Capt Stokes and was by the said Katherine Parker put to him for 7 yeres, notwithstandinge w^{ch} he gave him halfe his labour for this yere before the shipp came in and will set him free at the next diuision, to labour for himselfe, and soe would haue done if there had bene no mencon concerninge him from the companie

Concerning M^{r} Lewis Hughes[1] petition for redresse of his losses by removinge the saltpann &c. I haue examined two that were lefte here as his seruants to worke vpon yt and find that that they were not such as he could lett out for 100 ^{lb} or 200 ^{lb} of tobacco a yeare as he alledges in his peticon, but the one forced against Justice to stay vpon yt, the other lefte to make what benefitt he could of the saltpann for the arearages of his wages then behind and vnpaid as by theire examinacons yt appears vnder the names of Lucas van Halst and Peeter Vrooss The pann was fetched away by Captain Harrisons order, and placed at Dauids Island more conveniently for the Colonye and Contrye then at Crowe lane and hath bene little vsed since my

[1] Rev. Lewis Hughes.

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tyme, nor is it worth the remouinge, if the tyme Mr Heues employed yt hath not satisfied for his charges hereupon bestowed wth advantage, the honoble companie may be pleased to let him haue the benefitt of yt at Dauids Island he placinge servants for the work as before he did or the pann ytselfe to dispose for his owne vse otherwise in respect of the tobacco he paid for yt, if you allow the sale for good

I haue called vpon such workmen as haue felled or sawed any timber from off Mr Webbs land and haue taken theire declaracons vpon theire oathes wch you shall receive from the Secretary herewithall And I haue questioned Mr Yates for giuing way to haue soe much timber carried of the said land who answered that all the said timber was disposed of as belonging (in his vnderstandinge) to Mr Canninge for the subdiuision of yt was but last yere And since it was knowne to be Mr Webbs he hath done no damage vnto the said land Mr Mansfield is not yet arriued, so that I can p.ceed noe further concerninge the said petition There are some p.sons come over haue bought land of Mr John Chamberlaine in Somersett, and elsewhere wch lands are leased out to Mr Will Seymor Mr Richard Chamberlaine his assignes in those pts and ptlie by his order. The Tenants in possession clayme the benefitt of theire leases, and are willing to pay their rent unto the true owner whosoeuer he shalbe Some pties whose frends haue purchased theise lands desire the possession and removinge of the Tenants therevpon dwellinge but I do deferr the execucon thereof vntil I haue further order from the honoble companie I send a coppye of Mr Seymors assignacon and a letter written by Mr Cuffe whose attestacon beinge called wilbe effectuall for the honoble companyes further satisfaction, I cannot discearne but that the leases are good for theire tymes, I desyre therefore the honoble compa to take it into theire consideracon, and giue me a direct order how I shall prcede in this affayre that I be not hereafter taxed by the one ptie for the other of iniustice.

I have called Stephen Bowyer before me concerninge the peticon of Nicholas Heath who doth acknowledge no such debt due from him to the said Heath whom I have appointed to write vnto some frend to speake with Heath and pay or compound with him That there be no further complaint vnto the honobl compa. or order me to cause payment of yt, wch could not haue bene this yere, his tobacco being all disburced before the receipt of this order.

But by the way it may please the honobl Compa to consider well of this case whether yt be convenient to comand the payment of a debt made before the ptie came into theise

Islands, and not acknowledged by the Defendant, noe specialye for yt, neither hath there bene a formal tryall hereof in any of his Ma^ties courts of Justice.

Yf this be comanded by the power and prærogatiue w^h the hono^ble compa haue ouer vs in this place &c Then to consider what a preiudice this will make amongst vs, where Soe manye of his ma^ties subiects, are met togeather in this remote place, diuers of them beinge forced through want to adventure theire liues many wayes for the betteringe theire Estates Choosinge theise Islands as their Sanctuarye to that end, in which if yet they should not be free from molestacon in this kind, how will it discourage poore men from coming to this Plantacon, Againe how many aduenturers and vndertakers in this Plantacon will hereby be frustrate of theire expectacon of receivinge sattisfaction from theire tenants for theire supplyes and debts due from them where soe many amongst us are lyable to the like imputacon . . . .

[Conclusion of the letter wanting]

9. A coppie of Robert Day his Indenture 25 July 1625.

This indenture witnesseth that Robert Day the sonne of Richard Day of Ratcliffe marriner dec^d for diuers causes him therevnto moving hath put himselfe apprentice vnto Will^m Spatehurst of Somersett in the Somers Islands Planter, to be instructed in such workes and affayres as the said Will. Spatehurst or his assignes shall cause him to be employed in And with him or his assignes to dwell and serue from this present fiue and twentyeth of July 1625 vnto the end and tearme of Thirteene yeares fully to be compleate and ended, during all which said tearme the said apprentice, the said Will Spatehurst or his assignes well and faithfully shall serve, his and their precepts and commandments being just and lawfull, he shall not neglect, his and their secrets he shall faithfully keepe. Hurt to his said master or his assignes he shall not doe or suffer to be done, but the same to the vttermost of his power shall [hinder and] lett. The goods of his said m^r or his assignes wastfully he shall not use, nor them to any pson vnlawfully shall lend, purloyne, or deliuer away: ffornication or matrimony he shall neither comitt nor contract.[1] At the Tables, dice or any other unlawfull game he shall not play neither with his owne p.per goods nor any others ffrom his service aforesaid he shall not

[1] The former part of this clause came to be omitted in course of time. *Vide* indentures of Abraham Smith, 1669 MS.

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vnlawfully goe, nor depte, but in all things as a good and fayth-full apprentice towards his said m^r^ and his assignes shall vse beare and behave himselfe during the said tearme. And the said Willm Spatehurst or his assignes the said apprentice in such works and busines he or they shall employ him in, shall teach and instruct or cause to be instructed or taught after a due manner of correction, finding or puiding for him all things necessary, as meate, drinke, app^r^ell lodging washing linnen woollen hoes, shoes, and all other necessaryes during the said tearme and shall make him free of the company of the Tallow-chaundlers. And to this Indenture both the said pties haue sett there hands and seales dated this present day being the 25th of July A° 1625

10. Sedition of Captain Elfrey.

(1) The Declaracon of Symon Oker, taken before the Governo^r^ the 2nd of September 1625 upon oath.

Who saith, that vpon the 25 or 26 of August last, hee being sent vp to John Willes his house for to fetch the serjeant and by the way hee met Capt Elfrey who spake vnto him and desyred this examinant to resolue him of 2 or 3 questions that he would aske him. This examinant said he would if he could. Then Capt Elfrey demanded yf their Boat were a ferrie boat still or noe? to goe to Cowpers Island as shee was wont to doe who answered noe. The boat did not now goe thither so oft as it was wont to doe for it was wont to goe thither to fetch the Capt cloathes w^ch^ were then washed there, but now the Boat had not beene there this three weeks or a month. Then Capt Elfrey demaunded if the flagge did not hang out in Coopers Island as it was wont to doe To which this examinant answered that the flagge did never hang out but once since he came to the Castle, beeing about a month and then it did hang out to have us come to them to know if wee could tell any newes of their boat which had been out a fishing almost 2 dayes and a night. Then the said Capt Elfrey demaunded if Capt folgate had a boy serving at the Castell or not, to which this examinant replyed hee had. Hee then demanded of what bignesse hee was and whether he was able to vse his peece or noe. This examinant replyed that hee was if his peece were according. Capt^n^ Elfrey demaunded what power was at the castle. This examinant answered that he could not tell. Capt. Elfrey demaunded how much powder was spent that day the Governo^r^ was at the castle. To which this examinant replyed hee thought about a Barrell and a halfe. Capt Elfrey then demaunded what men

were at the Castle. This examinant answered that there were 7 which came downe at the last beside them which were there before. Capt Elfrey then demaunded how the castle was fitted for axes, and caske to fetch water in. This examinant answered hee thought it was never worse fitted for axes than nowe, but that there was 6 new Terses (Tierces?) made since wee came thither w^{ch} the sergeant said wee must pay for. To w^{ch} Capt Elfrey replyed that you need not pay for them except you will for hee said the countrey must pay for them to w^{ch} this examinant answered that he was gladd of that Then Capt Elfrey said, You need not doe any thing but for the Capt. and the kings service and to fetch wood and water but yo^{u} need not doe any thing for any p.ticular officer of the castle besides.

Capt Elfrey demaunded further how the ordinance was kept. To w^{ch} this examinant replyed How they should be kept. Capt^{n} Elfrey answered, whether with their Tampkins or noe This examinant replyed they were kept well enough with such lyke as they had.

(2) The examination of William Watlington provost Marshall vpon his oath.

Who saith, that he said to Capt. Elfrey: hee heard that the assemblie intended to haue a heaue at him to put him beside his place if they could, who answered yo^{u} may charge one or twoe particular men therewith: but take heed how you charge a generall assembly. The said William Watlington further saith that they fell into discourse about leases, w^{ch} the Gouernor had let to himselfe and others. Concerning w^{ch} Capt. Elfrey replyed wee can make those leases not worth two pence This examinant then said But there are copies of them gone to England how if they confirm them? Capt Elfrey replyed Yea but the Compa hath by the Booke of orders referred them to be let out for the fourths to be layd out vpon publique vses, but now by these leases the Tobacco must come to the sheriffe. And further Capt^{n} Elfrey replyed I cannot tell you how the generall assembly will proceed, but it may bee it may breake off and said further that it was in their power to adde vnto the officers fees or to lessen them as they pleased

Also William Watlington added: by those leases that are let I am bound to build so much vpon the land, that I will giue yo^{u} a thousand pound of Tobacco to excuse mee, and they Judge yo^{u} whether the compa haue more benefite by our rentes and buildings then by the fourths

(signed) William Watlington

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(3) Upon these informacons aforesaid Capt^{n} Elfrey was examined and bound over to answere it at the assizes, where hee beeing called made his appearance, and after this examinacon read, a declaracon was made against him in wryting as followeth.

1. Capt. Elfrey. The governo^{r} vpon serious consideration for the better managing and planting the publicke land wth sufficient buildings and able Tenants, having with y^{e} Sheriffe and prime overseer (not without due respect vnto the booke of Orders) let certaine leases of the publique land in the behalfe of the compa and presented them to the honor^{ble} compa pleasures for further consideracon By what authoritie do you contrarie to due obedience publiquely question his actions and oppose his proceedings by this your pluralitie of speech Wee can make those leases not worth two pence—pretending some seditious faction, disabling the power of your lawfull governoor and disparageing his place and authoritie, against the quiet of this plantacon?

2. Yo^{u} are questioned that being demanded as appears by attestacon How if the Compa. confirme those leases yo^{u} answered with a factious observacon yea, but the Compa haue signified by their orders vnto vs to let only for the fourths to bee layd out vpon publicke vses But now the Tobaco must come vnto the Sheriffe wherein you suspiciously accuse the Governor of a pretence to convert the rent to some private vse And deny the Honuor^{ble} Compa power to dispose the benifite of their publique land otherwise than by your approbacon, wasting the booke of orders at your pleasure to the abuse of the Honuor^{ble} compa.

3. You are questioned vpon what ground you did vtter those speeches that you could not tell whether the generall assembly will proceed; but it may bee it will breake vpp: expressing your foreknowledge of some p.tended plott to oppose and hinder the orderly proceeding of that weightie businesse concerning the plantacon

4. You are questioned what power or authoritie you haue to question a p^{r}vate souldier of the kings castle, of the state and strength thereof it beeing a speciall point of the Governo^{rs} charge to haue a vigilant eye and care as well of the fortes, as vpon all other occasions, for the strength and safeguard of the Islands

5. As a preface to your further proceedings you examine the souldier whether their boate be a ferrie boate still, or their flagge did not hang out in Coopers Island as it was wont. Then whether capt Folgate had not a boy at the castle and what bignesse hee was, and whether hee was able to vse his armes, to all which you were answered as by attestacons doth appeare Though the power of examining belongeth vnto the Gouernor

to whom the comander of the place next vnder him is to giue an accompt if hee performe not his dutie in the charge comitted to his Trust .

6. The Gouernor beeing at the Kings Castle and having vpon some reasons knowen to himselfe given leaue to the Capt. to discharge certaine peeces of Ordinance vpon what warrant did you examine a priuate Souldier how much powder was spent? or what did it concerne your calling to take an account of the Gouernors accons? But indeed your former prtended plot against your late Gouernor Capt Butler to lay hands on him and by force to deteyne him doth somewhat manifest your vnreuert respect to the place and authoritie

7. Yo haue examined what powder was at the castle, you haue examined what men were at the castle. How the castle was off for axes and caske to fetch water yo examined how the ordinance was kept, and how the musketts were kept, and you have anymated the souldiers of the castle against their due obedience to their officers. All particulars considered a just suspicon may be grounded vpon some vnfaithfull object or plott against the state of these Islands in whose safegard from forreigne invasion depends the liues of many soules

(4) Capt. Elfrey having awhile pleaded to this declaracon The Bench proceeded to a censure as followeth

1. Thomas Downham doth hold it fitt that Capt Elfrith should acknowledge that hee had committed an error in his discourses &c

2. Mr Harford doth hould it fitt that Captn Elfrith should in wrytinge vnder his hand acknowledge hee hath comitted an error, and for further censure referred him to the governor

3. Captn Jennings That Capt Elfrith shall demand pardon of the Governor for his error and so goe free. The same Richard Carter.

4. Mr Jenour: for that Captn Elfrith hath made enquirie of such things as apperteyns to the Governor, and not to a private man, doth censure him that he shall subscribe in wrytinge his error

5. Lewes foord for that Capt Elfrith hath exceeded his bounds (hee censured him) to craue pardon of the Governor before the countrey now assembled and to goe free Capt Stauers the same

6. Lieut Buckley That Captn Elfrith shall make an acknowledgement vnder his hand, and to suffer imprisonment during the gouernors pleasure

7. John Devenish Doth hold Captn Elfriths intent to be

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honest; but in regard of his words to a priuate souldier hee shall ingeniously acknowledge his fault to the Governo[r] and desire his p.don

8. [Rev[d]] Mr Staples doth not hould it fitt for one private man to commune with another about publique affaires, and therefore that he shall with all submission acknowledge his error. And in time to come he shall live orderly for conscience sake

9. The Secretary said. In regard that Capt Elfrey did question Symon Oker about any publique businesse, he shall acknowledge his error in open court and bee free.

10. Capt[n] Disney That hee shall be bound to his good behaviour and to be fyned 500 [lb] to be levyed the next yere if the honor[ble] Compa thinke fittinge

11. Capt Kindall that he shall acknowledge his fault openly before the whole bench and be freed.

The Governors censure is That he shall subscribe to his submission, and endure imprisonment during the governo[rs] pleasure

(5) Capt. Elfrey's submission To which hee subscribed in open Court

Worthy Governor. I heare publiquely confesse that most vnadvisedly I haue arrogantly presumed to question your power in granting leases of the publique land to the vse of the Honorable companie vsing these and such like speeches Wee can make these leases not worth two pence And that the compa hath by the book of orders referred them to be let out for the fourths, by which speeches I acknowledge I haue both abused the honor[ble] Compa in England and disparaged your place and power here

I also confesse that I haue most vnadvisedly comitted a mayne error by examining a private souldier of the kings castle of the state and strength thereof As what strength of men there was. What powder there was. How the Ordinance weare kep[te], how the musquetts were kept, what water caske there was, and such like questions altogeather vnlawfull for me to demand for these my errors I confesse I haue received a favourable censure And doe intreat yo[u] my worthy Governor to accept this my humble submission, beeing most heartily sorrie that I haue comitted these vnanswerable actions

Subscribed

[The signature is defaced, with the note 'annihilated by the Generall Assembly,' and we subsequently find the entry following.]

(6) Vpon Capt. Elfriths Petition vnto the Assembly for redresse of his grievances and former sufferings

The answere and opinions of the Burgesses now assembled and w^ch^ were some of them present at the assizes when Capt Elfrith was censured, were as followeth.

They agreed now that what enquirie was made by Capt^n^ Elfrith of Symon Oker they hold it lawfull, to the end reformacon may be had in such cases beeing at an assembly then to be houlden at S^t^ Georges And also they affirme that it was not done by him alone, but by them also that were Burgesses at that former assembly

And so they now agree and declare publiquely that what proceedings were against him are irregular and vnjust, and that his subscription ought to be annihilated and rased from the record which is effected the 16 day of March 162

11. Portion of the reply of the Company to Capt. Hy. Woodhouse, Sept. 1625. The beginning is wanting, and the edges very ragged.

. . . The Somer Islands, we take to be noe comon-wealth but a private Inheritance inclosed to the use of the Purchasers, Yet we graunt that if a Virginia shipp be driven distressed indeed vpon those Islands as sometymes it soe falls out It ought in reason to be relieved But this case is farr otherwise, ffor if shippes of Holland or of our owne coast townes w^ch^ haue noe interest nor inheritance here, under couller of distresse to be relieved, shall observe there tymes to *p^r^vent* us in bringinge p.^r^uisions, and driving a trade w^th^ our Tennants and Servants bearing away our Cropp, and taking the pryme of our marketts here, whereby (as the proverbe is) we fish after there netts, as this late shipp of Bristol, w^ch^ returned w^th^ as much tobacco as of that kind furnished halfe this kingdome for one whole yeare for what case are wee if you suffer these thinges. Wee plant and they reape, there is noe grievance whereof we can be more sensible than of this, we vnderstand that both that shipp and others are p.paring to come thither againe. We pray and require you stricktlie to denye them trade or entertaynment, that others may knowe what to trust to attempting the like, yett soe that you using such care and p.uidence by all meanes, as not to suffer that Bristoll shipp to dep.te y^r^ ports vntill you haue caused them to pay those ffoure pence vpon a pownde to the compa use. According to order for all that w^ch^ they formerlie tooke away, and should then haue bene paid The greater

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pte of this our tobacco now come is found to be *very* base and stincking and good for nothing w^ch^ we marvell you *did* not there cause to be burned, according to a former order *It is* said that a Scotchysh man there did teach our people how to spoyle it. But howsoever it may fall out, we are sure *in* the meane while it hath gotten an ill name. We *like not* of there making vp Bashaw Tobacco, w^ch^ is there *wor*st Wee pray you cause them to forbeare that labo^r^ *and* to imploy it some way ells, for wee feare there best will *pro*ve bad enough

You mencon peeces of ground in two seuerall tribes fitt to *plan*t sugar Canes we shalbe very glad to here when by y^r^ *mean*es they shalbe planted, fitter men than you haue there *al-r*eadye *wee* cannott send you. It is a worthye imployment *if you* could *chan*ce cause it to be effected. Wee know that many *yeares ago* some *were* planted. But their eagirnes about *their tobaco causeth them* to neglect both that and all things ells *so that they clear*ed their canes soe soone as they came *to be fit for swyne before they* came to ripenes.

Surelie your clymate w^ch^ ripens figgs and other fruits can nott choose but ripen grapes exceeding well. We haue formerlie sent Curron vynes of all sorts As for ants and wormes that distroy the fruits It is a comon thing in all the Spannyshe and Canary vyneyards that flyes and vermine would destroye all if painfull and diligent p.vencon were not used wherefore we pray you be not discouraged in that. Yo^r^ desire of such mulberye trees to be sent you as beare fruite, and also silke seeds, to further that work we much comend, as for such trees as you mencon they are here very deare and not easilye to be gotten and the season vnfitting to remove them, but in the meane tyme we haue sent you a box of new seeds of that kind, being the greate black and best sort of mulberrye, the leafe strong and hartye for the silkwormes the fruit very wholesome and good, and it is the same fruit as whereof in Spayne they make there greate quantities of Alegant [Alicant] wyne w^ch^ they send into *England* and other p^ts^ of the world, the seeds must be sowne in very thinn in grounds well cleansed. And though they be *slowe* to be nourished up of seeds, yet in tyme they will growe w^th^ attendance well weeded and watered to be the greatest be*arers* of all other plants We will (if it be possible to gett them) send you some store of the trees ready growne and well roo*ted* and for the silke seeds though they be also rare to be had in *England* by reason there use is not yet *grow*ne amongst us *and that the* vsuall tyme to receave them from Spayne would *be too late* to send them for Somer Islands We haue made ex*periment of* meanes to further yo^r^ good desires therein, and *we herewith* sent you by . . . a little box of good *silke* seeds w^ch^

came of this last yeares Spannish wormes *which we* hope will safely come to yo^{r} hands to be disposed *of without* such defect as the former, wee suppose yo^{r} clym*ate to be* ordinarye good and fitting for this worke inasmuch *as the Summer* is earely and brings forth food, whereby you may *bring forward* wormes betymes in the yeare which is the only *sure helpe* to that busines, and that they may haue finished *their spinning* before the middest of may, we pray *you to* be no *ways discouraged* with any ill successe at the first but *follow* this *vp, and have a* care for that infinite future *w^{ch} is before those Islands, whose* p^{r}sent reputacon *&* what pl*entiful store for all men you* haue there we would gladly *see magnifyed.*

If you haue but one or two *knowing of this busines* they may easily watch a thousand both to nourish the wormes and to wynde the silke, but the first year multiply your seeds all you can, and send us over some few of your seeds and also of your silk bottomes though they be such as be eaten out, that we may see but the manner and goodnes of them. If you want wheeles or skillfull men to spin your silke when you haue it vpon notice given to vs thereof we will supply your wants therein or in anything ells that may further it to make it a generall work for those Islands It cannott be denyed but that the wrongs done unto vs by our Tennants in those Islands hath soe discouraged the most of vs that wee were ready to give over the Plantacon And it is, too apparent that many of them had those ends by their vniust dealings to weary us that themselves might become the owners, we greatly approve and comend your judicious foresight and puidence to p^{r}vent their devices, and to see justice done to vs by administering an oath. The course to those that were euill and of a corrupt mynde could not be very distastefull and it giues cause of great admiracon that any that doe carry the showe of true dealing and would be reputed honest and vnderstanding men should so much as bend their thoughts, much less combyne themselues with others against the consent of the counsell, and your p.ceeding in excepting against an oathe for true diuision, and you doe rightly apprehend it to be consonant both to the Lawe of God and our nation and all Christian nay and heathen nations too And therefore they were much mistaken being blinded wth auerice and selfe love that opposed it. And wee are very gladd to vnderstand both from M^{r} Stirke his own mouth here, as also by the peticon exhibited to you by M^{r} Bernard that they did acknowledge the oath not to be derogatarye to Gods lawe, that was sufficient to settle all the Lakes to take it And their opinion that the Companie's orders doe not admitt it is weake for where one fourth pte is to be forfeited the means

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to trye the falshood is not soe p^rscribed that the Gouernors power by all lawfull meanes should be abridged And as you doe rightly conceave there appeale would haue been soone enough after the wrong done them, if you had exceeded the bounds of our lawes But we find that both M^r Bernard and M^r Stirke doe both acknowledge there error herein also, and are sorrye for it, and we are p.swaded that there was no malitious or mutinous intent in them to disturbe the peace of those Islands, and this we are the rather induced to belieue ptlee by there acknowledgement of their error to vs now vpon better aduisement and thereby M^r Bernard to y^rselfe as we see by the coppie of his petition presented by M^r Symon Day, and another before that In truth we could wish you had proceeded in a more milder manner w^th them both. It would haue given us all much more content, and that you had rather p.ceeded in that manner against other delinquents whose neither p.sons nor calling is so precious vnto vs, and their office and labor in no comparrison soe vseful to yourselues and the rest of the Inhabitants. We doe assure you that it striketh such terro^r into all ministers here that are worthye sending thither that we shall hardly p.cure any Wee should be loath that any should take heart to oppose yo^r just pr.ceedings by the dissent of any one or more of your counsell, but that one of yo^r councell and he soe qualifyed that by his restraint soe many must suffer especially in there soules, and only for difference of opinion, and whose answer was extracted by interrogation we cannot well approve of. And we pray you hereafter in the like case to be more cautious.

We hope that before now you haue accepted his acknowlegement and restored him, we meane M^r Bernard, both to you favo^r and to yo^r counsell. But if you deferred it till you heard from us, we pray you forthwith to let it be effected, that he may be encouraged to stay with you, and we hope, setting aside the error of his judgement in that p.ticular he is soe qualifyed of w^ch we haue had sufficient testimony, that we think it will be very difficult to fitt you with the like. And for the fyne of 1000 lbs of Tobacco, w^ch we conceave had bene punishment enough for a difference of Judgement because of his restraynt and expulcon from the Counsell we shall be content to remitt it. And we doubt not but by our letters to him, a coppie of which we send you, but we shall satisffye his conscience in the p^rmises and p.swade him in the future to further your just p^rceedings

Wee haue sent you a coppie of the right hono^ble the Earle of Warwicke's Ltre written to our late Gourno^r Sir Thomas Smith in M^r Bernards behalfe. We pray you consider well of it, the fayrer end you shall make in accepting his submission the more acceptable it will be to his Lo^p who hath long

knowne M^r^ Bernard and his friends w^th^ a good opinion of them dwelling in Essex near unto his Lo^p^ and notwithstanding his Lp desires his coming home, his tyme beeing now expired, yet we haue written to him desiring him upon his Reconcilement with you, consulting the peoples want of ministers, w^ch^ we cannot as yet supplye, to settle himself there some tyme longer w^ch^ we pray you also to endeavour w^th^ him, as also to redeem that good opinion on both sides w^ch^ happily may otherwise be lost by dep.ting on such differences of opinion between our Gouernor and our devynes. Nevertheless if he will not be entreated to stay, wee haue sent him his warrant to returne.

ffurthermore whereas there is a levye for euerye minister of 540 lb weight of tobacco yearly or thereabouts, whereof M^r^ Stirke alleageth he hath had no pte of this last yere past, and he is now here in greate want we pray you that that w^ch^ is or shalbe levyed for him for his last yeres service 1625 may be sent over to the Compa. here by this or the next shipp.

[Then follow recommendations of four private persons.]

M^r^ John Woodall is desirous of ffoure Ceadar Trees to be sent him of his owne land M^r^ Henry Morgan desires leave for two and M^r^ Warde for one. theise are adventurers amongst us, and we pray you that those trees being brought aboard that the M^r^ may bring them over. We pray you lett this bearer the M^r^ of this shipp the Larke be furthered in his freight, and in whatsoeuer ells wherein he shall neede your helpe we pray you to accommodate him therein, for soe much we promised him vpon our agreement w^th^ him to write vnto you on his behalfe for he feareth without y^r^ speciall assistance both himselfe and his owners are alike to haue a loosing voyage.

The poore woman the widdow Jacob, doth still follow and importune vs for some restitution of those goods of hers which certainly were shipped and landed in the Somer Islands, we haue showed her your answer w^th^ w^ch^ she is not sattisfyed. We pray you if yet there maybe any helpe w^th^ much or little to send it ouer by the first to releeue her greate pouertie

Your euer loving ffrends

Robt Johnson Gou^r^no^r^	George Smith
John Dyke	Rich. Paulson
Richard Edwards	W^m^ Allgate
James Modus	Rich. Bennett
Edward Ditchfield Treas.	John Woodall
Willim Palmer	George Etheredge

To Capt Hy Woodhouse.

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12. To the right hono^{ble} George Lord Duke of Buckingham his grace, Lord highe Admirall of England. January 4 $162\frac{5}{6}$

State Papers, Colonial, Vol. 4, 1626–8. No. 2.

The humble Peticōn of the Somer Islands Companye Sheweth,

That the hono^{ble} Lords and others the Adventurers for the Sōmer Islands Plantacōn uppon p^{r}sent necessitie for supplie of their people and defence of those Islands, have enterteyned the good Shipp called the (Victorye) now riding in the river of Thames to goe thither: the master under God for the voyage is William Kempthorne with his Company of Thirtye Marriners.

Our humble suite to yo^{r} grace therefore is that you will be pleased to give order that neyther the said Shipp nor any of that Shipps Companye maye be hindered or Impressed for any other service, butt that they maye bee free to proceed as by the words of our ltres Pattents in such cases we have libertye wthout lett or molestacōn, otherwise the season will be soe farr spent as that itt maye bee too late for sendinge to prevent that danger which we feare maye otherwise ensue to the p^{r}judice of those Islands.

And they shall humblie praye &c.

13. Order made 10 Januarie $162\frac{5}{6}$.

Vpon the governors motion to improue the gleabe lands and servants vnto the best advantage to saue a levie from the Cuntrey as formerly there hath beene made of 600^{lb} and 900^{lb} of Tobaco per annum. It was by an vnanimous consent of all persons then and there assembled, conferred upon the Governour to dispose of the said lands and servants according to his discretion to pay the ministers their stipends and free the contrey from a further levie from this yeare following 1626 and that the tobacco made this yeare past and rents of the severall gleabes and hire of their servants shallbe collected and brought vnto the governour to be disposed of for the ministers vses.

[This measure having been successful, a surplus of tobacco remained in the hands of Capt. Woodhouse on

his retirement thirteen months later, and was claimed by him as his own property (see p. 408) and disputed by his successor.]

14. The examinacon of John Middleton, taken before the governo^{r} vpon oath the 16th of febr. $162\frac{5}{6}$.

Who saith. In the beginning of December 1624 Willm Peele caused him to make a vault in his Tobacco house, w^{ch} when he had donne hee came home to Peeles House, Then the said Peele demaunded if any man saw him to make the said vault. This examinant answered yea. That Edward Bickerton's man saw him make it At w^{ch} the said Peele was angry vpon w^{ch} Peele caused him to make another vault in his Cabbin, and then he caused this examinant to take 15 balles of Tobacco out of a chest in a little room where the said Peele lay—some of w^{ch} Balles weighed as much as 20 or 22 lb and 3 of them weighed 38 lb And then caused this examinant to take 3 other rowles w^{ch} were in another roome, w^{ch} Thomas Durhams boy made vp for him the weight whereof he knoweth not and caused him to put the said 3 rowles vnto the 15 w^{ch} were in the vault aforesaid w^{ch} Balles having layne in the vault about one weeke, the said Peele caused this examinant to goe with him to the said vault and to make the aforesaid balles into rowles and tooke them out of the said vault and layd them vpon a cedar planke in his cabben and tasted them, and cut them in the middle as the Tasters vse to doe, when they try Tobacco, and said, if they were discouered hee would say that hee received them Then this examinant demanded what hee should doe with them, whether he should not carrie them into the cabben to the rest of his Tobaco, saying that hee heard the servants should bee put to their Oath what Tobaco was made as well as their masters To w^{ch} William Peele answered, that it was not soe, hee would warrant him for that, saying hee thought that those that put them to their oathes had more to answere for it than such as did sweare. After which the division beeing ended, the said Peele beeing at Henry Wethersbies house, said that hee had 500 lb of prime Tobaco w^{ch} should see no sun vntil he went for England, if he went not these 7 yeares, vnto which some beeing present, viz M^{rs} Birkes replyed Then you must either proue yourselfe a knave or a lyer, for yo^{u} had no good Tobaco at the division. After w^{ch} M^{rs} Birkes, goodwife Wethersbie and William Peeles wife gooing togeather to church discoursed of thiese passages and fell out about them,

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and so soon as they came whom goodwife Peele acquainted her husband with it, vpon w^ch^ William Peele demanded of this examinant whether he had reported any thing concerning the Tobaco by him concealed who answered, noe not hee. Then the saide Peele replyed I tell thee Middleton, if thou doest reveale it I will make thee an example to all the men in the land, for I am a Jury man and so am like to bee and my word will be taken before thine for the Governor loves me well and promises to send letters by mee into Ireland, and to doe me what good he can

It beeing further demaunded by the Governor how much Tobaco the saide Peele made the last yeare in the whole, hee answered that the said Peele made 3060 and odde pounds, but he knowes not how much came to the scales to be devyded. And saith that hee and Peele cast it over in the scales while it was in Ball, before the said 15 balls were layd in the vault.

The ⁋ marke of John Middleton

William Peele was vpon this accusation aforesaid examined and bound over to the Assizes. In the meane time (by the Governor's order) his houses were searched, and these vaultes found And at the assizes the truth hereof confirmed by another witnesse who justifyed it at the Barre when Peele was questioned, vizt of hyding Tobaco in the vault and covering it with palmets leaues and earth Also M^rs^ Birkes confirmed vpon her oath the speeches of William Peele at Henry Wetherbies as it is written in Middletons declaracon Yet Peele denyed the same, who after he had pleaded some while herevnto received these censures following from the Bench

(1) Anthony Harford That hee shall be fyned 100^lb^ of Tobaco and stand in the Pillorie and endure the rest of the punishment according to the booke of orders

Thomas Downham To stand vpon the pillorie and be referred to the booke of orders

Richard Carter To bee fined 100^lb^ of Tobaco

Lewis foord That the Honnor^ble^ Compa shall be fulfilled and 100^lb^ of Tobaco fine. The same Capt Stavers

Captn Jennings That he shall bee lyable to the Booke of orders and ymprisoned during the Gouernors pleasure

M^r^ Jenour's censure is, to bee subject to the Compas Orders To stand vpon the pillorie 4 houres and haue a roule of Tobaco hanged vpon his backe. The same Lieut Buckley & Capt Felgate

John Devenish His censure is for that w^ch^ is prooved

against him, to be fined 50lb of Tobaco To be lyable to the booke of Orders, and to stand 2 houres on the pillorie

Mr Staples, that the Honnorble Compa orders shall be fulfilled fyned 150lb of Tobaco, and suffer Imprisonment duringe the Compa pleasure

Secretie To performe the booke of Orders and to stand vpon the pillorie 2 houres, and suprscripcon over his head This for concealing of Tobaco

Capt Kendall the same as the Secretary

Capt Disney To bee fined 100lb of Tob. and to fulfill the compa. Orders

The Gouernoors censure is, That he shall fulfill the companies Orders and be of the Collonie for two yeares

(2) George Stoney is indicted on a similar charge namely for concealing 5 rolls of Tobaco at the instance of his landlord Mr Jerome Ewer, who beeing called confessed as is deposed shewing his reason because there was a generall Complaint that the Overseers tooke vp the best Tobaco for duties and levies, to prevent wch (the land beeing his owne) hee caused Stoney to lay by the said 5 rowles of Tobaco Taking his oath in Court that the said land was his owne, bought and paid for with his money. Mr Jerome Ewer escaped punishment

The censures of George Stoney

Mr Harford censured him at 100lb of Tobacco and 3 days imprisonment

Thomas Downham at 20lb and one dayes imprisonment. The same Richard Carter & Lewis foord

Mr Jenour To bee fyned 10lb of Tobaco, and to confesse his error openly in Court. The same Capt Stauers and Lieut Buckley

John Devenish That the said George shall be fyned 10 lb of Tobaco

Mr Staples Sontibus ignoscendo, insontibus fit injuria [1]

Captn Folgate 10lb of Tobaco and acknowledge his error

The Secretary That the booke of orders for concealment of Tobacco shall bee fulfilled Captn Disney the same

Captn Kendall 20lb of Tobaco and one dayes imprisonmt

The Gournor That hee shall be fyned 200lb of Tobaco.

15. The examination of Richard Anstell taken by Captain Disney. 8 March 162$\frac{5}{6}$.

(1) This examinant saith that hee being at Martin Welman's house the said Martin brought into the Kitchen a peece of speckled stuffe browne wch he thinkes was about an ounce and

[1] Overlooking the guilty doth wrong the innocent.

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showinge it Abraham the Carpenter said it was ambergreise upon which the said Welman went to the sea and said there was more of it, but whether hee brought up any more or not this examinant knoweth not

(2) The examination of Martin Welman

Who confesseth at his lands end he found presently after the *Seaflower* a peece of ambergreise about 2 ounces which he deliuered to his wife and what further came of it he knoweth not

(3) The examination of Christian Welman wife to Martin Welman

Who confesseth the recieving of her husband a small quantitie of ambergreis about an ounce which shee spent in the shippe as shee went for England and further saith not.

Censured to pay 50 lbs of Tobacco, and imprisonment 24 hours for them both.

16. Indictments tryed before the Govern. at an Assizes or generall goale deliuer[e] houlden at St Georges at the Sumer Islands on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Fryday the 7–8–9–10th of March $162\frac{5}{6}$

(1) William Hinckson (alias my lord fatt) Richard Palmer and Henry Fulkner Indicted for that they and everie of them, not regarding an article made in the tyme of the governm[t] of Captain Danyell Tucker w[ch] expresseth that whoseu[r] Seaman or Landman of what degree or qualitie soeuer that shall lay any plott to runne away with any Barque Pinnace or boate belonging to this plantacon should be punished with death as in the said article more at large appeareth, did notwithstanding the penaltie in the said article conteyned about the middle of July last 1625 secretly conspire and plott to steale and carry awaye a certaine boat belonging to John Jones of Pembroke Tribe then lying in Brackish Pond and to put this their conspiracie and plott in execution on Tuesday night the 26th day of the same month of July 1625 had resolved to take their voyage in the said boat from these Islands w[th] intent not to return hither againe w[ch] is utterly against the forme of the said article and of

dangerous consequence to this plantation and contrarye to the peace of our Souereigne Lord the king his crowne and dignitie

To w^{ch} indictment they pleaded not Guiltie and for their Tryall put themselves upon God and the countrey w^{ch} countrey being a Jury of 12 sworne men found them guiltie accordinge to their seuerall confessions but in regard of an article lately made in this behalfe instead of receiuing the sentence of death they were censured by the Governo^{r} to receiue 30^{tie} lashes presentlie upon euerie one of their backes and if any one of them should runne away from his or their masters during their times of covenants of seruice to be hanged within 3 days after his or their apprehension

Assizes March 1626.

(2) Dorothie Whitteares the wife of Jeremie Whitteares of Sandis Tribe indicted for that about the 28th of November last finding a certaine cocke Turkey near about a house in the Tribe aforesaid of the goods and chattels of William Eley of Somerset and marked with his marke price j^{s} iij^{d} did take steale and carrie away the said Turkey to the house of Jeremie Whitteares her husband aforesaid in the Tribe aforesaid and then and there beeing did kill the Turkey aforesaid in manner and forme aforesaid contrary to the peace of our Souereign Lord the king his crowne and dignitie

To which indictment &c

Censured by the Governo^{r} to receiue 30 lashes upon the naked backe w^{ch} was priuately executed upon her on the — of march aforesaid

(3) Margaret Heyling the wife of John Heyling of Southampt Tribe Indicted for that shee upon the second day of march now last past one houre in the night or thereabouts finding a certaine hen Turkey upon the Pearche nere the house of Damon knowles of the Tribe aforesaid of the goods and chattels of Damon Knowles aforesaid, marked with his marke price vij^{d} did felloneously take steale & beare away, contrary &c.

To w^{ch} indictment shee pleaded not guiltie and for her Tryall put herself upon God and the cuntrey wh being a jury of 12 sworne men found her 'not guiltie' upon wch they were comitted to prison by the Gouv^{r} & fyned at 20 lb of Tobacco a man to be paid halfe this yeare, and 'th'other halfe the next division 1626

And another Jurie was presentlye empanelled and sworne and the said Margaret Heyling againe arraigned and tryed by

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them and found guiltie and was censured by the gou[r]n[r] to receiue 12 lashes upon her naked backe in priuate. Howbeeit at the request of some frends her stripes were remitted and shee ordered to stand in the church 2 sabbath dayes with a paper upon her breast written in great Letters *for stealing of a Turkey*, and to sitt behinde the church dore for the space of 6 monthes ensuing

(4) This was, however, not the end of the affair. Captain Wodehouse was ultimately called to account for this, as for many other high-handed or oppressive acts, and in the Assizes of 1627, upon a petition of a jury of twelve men

for being falsely imprisoned and fyned at 20 lb of Tobaco a man for not fynding one Margaret Heyling guilty of stealing a Turkey according to an Indictment framed against her

The case being Judiciouslie hard and examined by the said Assembly, they did acknowledge with one generall voyce that had they all or any of them bene of the same Jurey they should haue brought in the like verdict that the same Jurey did. And therefore awarded Capt[n] Woodhouse to pay back soe much Tobacco as had bene receaued for the said fynes w[th] the charges of there seuerall Imprisonments

Marginal note *Vacat* by order from the Compa.

It was in like manner found that Margaret Heyling was vniustly punished and therefore ordered that Capt Woodhouse should pay her 100 lb of tobacco in satisfaccon of the wrong done her and soe to be recorded.

Marginal note *Vacat* by order from the Compa.

17. Sedition of Christopher Parker: his endeavour to divide the Generall Assembly of March $162\frac{4}{5}$ into an Upper and a Lower House, as brought up for trial at the Assizes, March $162\frac{6}{7}$.

(1) A forme of the proceeding against Christopher Parker as it was read in Court after the examination of seuall psons and before his censure.

1. Christopher Parker you are here questioned that after the

generall assembly had had orderly beginning by an vnanimous approuement in the place appointed for that purpose, you the same day assembled in the Church with diuers of the Burgesses, and there you made an oration or publique speech without warrant or order either by the Honorable Compa book of Orders or from the Gouernor here

2. Beeing there assembled yo^{u} Christopher parker did peremptorilie deny the Overseers to be present with you alleadging that these overseers w^{ch} were of the Councell were to sit vpon the bench with the Gouernor and had nothing to doe with them that were chosen by the countrey and were of the Lower House. yet the same men had formerlye in the generall Assembly in your owne presence taken the same oath verbatim to serve the king and countrey in the place of Burgesses that yo^{u} yourselfe did without opposition there, either by you or by any other

3. The Honor^{ble} Compa in their 140 article expressed in their booke of Orders command that the Gouernor shall hould a generall Assembly, in the w^{ch} himselfe (and no other) shall sit as President to moderate the same You Christopher Parker contrary to the said article and in opposement to the Honor^{ble} Compa true intention for the well ordering of the Plantacon most insolently presumed to divide the Bodie into two parties by making an Upper and Lower house, lessening that power and authoritie given the Gouernor that you might (as it seemeth to appear) the more easilie serue your owne ends and perfect your owne aymes

4. What did your publique appologie made vnto those assembled with you in the Church pretend lesse, then to alienate their hearts from our obedience by throwing your vnseasoned speeches in these and such like words, that now was the time that they should stand for the good of the country for if they should loose their priviledges graunted by the book of orders their posteritie should be bound to curse them suspiciously and cunningly taxing the Gouernor and the whole bodie as of the counsill opposites to the Honor^{ble} Compa. orders, and enimies to the good and welfare of the Plantacon

5. By these your unwarrantable actions seditiously opposing the faire and orderly proceeding of the generall Assemblie, the said Assemblie was dissolued and the Honorable compa commaund in that great and weighty businesse left. To the abuse of the said Honor^{ble} Companie in England, to the disparagement of the place and power of the Gouerno^{r} here And to the wrong and injurie of the inhabitants in generall, who are for the present deprived of that free libertie most favourably graunted by the Honor^{ble} comp. to set down their owne lawes, and orders by which they should bee governed, and as much

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as in you lies, to the disturbance of all quiet and orderly Governm[t]

6. Yo[u] beeing called to the Counsell Table, and by the Gou[r]no[r] himselfe, demaunded the reason why you refused the ouerseers to sit with you, yo[u] answered yo[u] were not bound to give reasons for euerie thing then done, because it was not your own doeings And again being likewise (by the Gouernor) demanded wherein the Court did goe about anything against the booke of Orders ? yo[u] answered you could not stand to answer to all those things w[ch] then were donne beeing but one man, slighting and contemning both the place and person of the Gouernor and counsell then assembled and making their Court not of power sufficient to question your disorderly actions.

7. By your vnreverent speeches yo[u] questioned the counsell as able the Gouernor beeing p[r]sent to haue relation to an inquisition

8. Beeing by the Gouernor demanded to set your hand to your answers recorded (by the secretarie) verbatim from your own mouth you answered you were no fellon and would not doe so

(2) The acknowledgement required of Christopher Parker at the Assizes, according to a censure at the Counsell Table, held the last of November 1625

Whereas I Christopher Parker have most indiscreetly and vnadvisedly opposed the faire and orderly proceedings of the late generall Assembly, first by my unwarrantable assembling in the church with divers of the Burgesses, and there made a publique speech according to my own invention. Secondly I denyed the rest of my fellow Burgesses to bee there present, w[ch] had publiquely in the Assembly taken the same oath w[ch] I myselfe had donne, and were ouerseers and constables Thirdly I endeavoured to make an Upper and a Lower House. fourthly I vrged those Assembled with me That now was the time or never that they should stand for the good of the countrey, for if they should lose their priviledges graunted by the booke of orders, their posteritie would be bound to curse them. By this my disorderly caryage with dyvers other particulars I freely confesse that waightie and materiall businesse of the Generall Assembly to bee by me broke off and dissolued to the abuse of the compa to the disparaging of the Gouerno[r] here, to the wrong of the Counsell and of my fellow Burgesses and to the preiudices of the inhabitants in generall And being herevpon justly questioned at the counsell Table I confesse I did most

vnreuerently behaue myselfe by vncivill answers yet receiued a very favourable censure from which I vnadvisedly appealed to a more solemn tryall at a generall assizes But now worthy Gouernor being ashamed of these my actions I am hartily and vnfeynedly sorie for commytting them, and humbly desire your favour with the counsell to accept of this my free submission without prosecuting against me. And I protest myselfe not worthy of any favour if ever I comitt such the like vnanswerable actions againe

(3) Christopher Parker denying to subscribe to this acknowledgement was called into Court at the Assizes and censured as followeth.

1. Thomas Downham's censure is. That m^{r} Parker should subscribe to the acknowledgement which the Governo^{r} hath drawn vp. The same Capt^{n} Jennings, Richard Carter, M^{r} Jenour, Lieut Buckley

2. M^{r} Harfords censure. His opinion is in regard of his refusal to subscribe to the said acknowledgement To be fyned in 100 lbs of Tobacco, and further to be punished as the Gouernor shall thinke fitting

3. Lewis foord: That Christ. Parker should submitt himselfe to the Gouernor and the whole Bench before the country

4. Cap^{tn} Stowes: That hee shall subscribe. And to bee in the Gou^{r}nors power, to ymprison him or release him The same Capt^{n} Folgate, John Devenish

5. Capt^{n} Stokes To subscribe and to returne to prison during the Gouernors pleasure, in regard he refused to sign before

6. [Rev^{d}] M^{r} Staples That in regard the Assembly was to a good purpose and that hee refused to subscribe before, Hee shall now subscribe to such other sharper acknowledgement as the Gouernor shall set downe

7. The secretary [Capt^{n} Roger wood, Governor in 1629] said. I beeing (or desyring to bee) a free holder of the Sommer Islands, believing here to liue and dye, doe desire to enjoy the benifits and priviledges of the country graunted by the Honor^{ble} Compa and will neither for feare nor favour of any man bee transported to speake any thing against my conscience Therefore in this matter now in question my censure shall bee no censure, submitting myselfe with all due respect vnto the more able Judgements of the Gouernment and the Bench

PS 14 March 162$\frac{6}{7}$ The Assembly being moved by the

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Secretary to giue their opinions whether they thought the Secretary had erred in giuing this opinion, they generally concluded he erred not.

8. Capt^{n} Disney. In regard of M^{r} Parkers Imprisonment and having formerly had conference with divers Gent^{n} of good creadit touching his caryage when the Burgesses were assembled in the Church. And considered his answers to the Articles propounded him touching the breaking of the generall assemblie, doe hold it not fitt to censure him, but referre the further proceeding: if it so require to the honor^{ble} Compa in England

9. Capt^{n} Kendall That his censure should be referred to the Honor^{ble} Compa in England and in the meane time That M^{r} Parker shall carrie himselfe obediently towards the Governor whilst hee is in theise Islands

10. The Gouernor concluded That he shall subscribe, and lye in prison during the Gouernors pleasure

Upon wch hee was comitted to the Marshall &c

Counsell Table 22 March $162\frac{5}{6}$

(4) Christopher Parker beeing sent for from Prison and demanded if now hee would subscribe to that acknowledgement w^{ch} was shewed him at the late assizes and read in open Court before his censure &c. Did now before the Governo^{r} and councell sign to the said acknowledgement, as appeares vnder his hand vpon record

18. In London, the one and twentieth of March $162\frac{5}{6}$.

The Company to Capt^{n} Hy Woodhouse, Governor.

Sir

We making noe doubt but that the good shipp called the Lark whereof is vnder God M^{r} Richard Weller wth his compa are safely arrived at the Somer Islands. As also we hope that you haue rec^{d} o^{r} Lres and instructions which we sent you by the same shipp whose dep.ture from vs was in Septemb. last and now by this you shall receaue further instructions from vs by the good shipp called the Victorye. As also a coppie of those which we sent by the shipp Lark. And ffirst we desire you that the two peeces recouered of the Spannish wrack may be placed so conveniently with you that it may be for the safetie and defence of those Islands

Secondlye we thinke fitt and soe would haue the publique worke to be done at the Owners and Planters charge to be equally levyed there, before the diuision w^th^ as much ease as may be unto them, and not to charge the Compa here w^th^ any of those publique works, and that the fynes to be levyed for those workes may be moderately large

Thirdlie the 9 ounces of Ambergreece found floating within the bounds of Mr Etheridge his land, we suppose it in the nature of a wracke and that according to our lawes the one moyetie of the fynders pte w^ch^ is one quarter of the whole belongs to M^r^ Etheridge the other moyetie thereof belonging to the Companie we have receaued

Whereas you write of the burning of your bad Tobacco which you call Bashawe we thought it good to acquaint you that wee dislike not of that course but for Reseruation of any such quantitie for there owne drinking as is menconed we suppose there is no such necessitie neither doe wee allowe thereof. Touching mulberry trees we sent you seeds bi the last some whereof were of that kinde w^ch^ beareth fruite other seeds sent the former yere by M^r^ Edwards were of that kind bearing noe fruite but the leafe excellent good for the wormes and therefore we desire that they may be carefully sowed and nourished vp, and that they may be disposed of to the planters, being of a yeare or two of there growth Wee wish and desire you to be very carefull in graunting Comissions to any to goe out vnder coullo^r^ of discoueryes or going to Virginia Considering by M^r^ Seymo^r^ and others how subiect they are to be taken by the Spaniards not only to there owne ruine but also to the danger of the Islands Likewise touching the leases lett to seuerall men for the publique land, it being against order we cannott allowe of neither doe we forbidd what you haue alreadye done therein, only we pray that a just accompt may be kept of the tobacco reserved for the rent to be sent hither by the first convenient shipping for the defraying of publique charges to the end we may be freed from imposing vpon our goods, for w^ch^ purpose the publique land was first allotted

And for as much as the tymes fitts not now to send a new Gouerno^r^ nor to take it into Consideracon till towards the next yere before w^ch^ yo^r^ tyme may be expired.[1] Therefore we doe entreate you to supplie that place vntill you shallbe enformed by the Companies ltres from hence of a new elecon, and a new Gouerno there arived, for w^ch^ purpose we haue sent you a commission vnder the Legall seal of the companie.

[1] The last appearance of Capt. Hy. Woodhouse as Governor is Jan. 13, 162$\frac{2}{3}$. The first of Capt. Ph. Bell, his successor, is March 6, 162$\frac{2}{3}$. Woodhouse, however, did not quit Bermuda immediately, and occasionally attended the Council.

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ffurthermore we desire that the ouerseers may be appointed according to the Lawe 166 and that the elecon may not be frustrate nor defrauded by the wilfulnes of any And that the fraudulent making vp of tobacco, and there private planting w^ch^ they say belongs to there wives, and that they do it at idle tymes w^th^ all such like tricks and devices may be p^r^vented.

In any wise wee will and require that the Kings Castle may be well guarded. Speeches are given out here that it may easilye be surprised w^th^ sixe men, and you ought to be very circumspect because of the danger of those that were carried out of holland with the Dutch to Brazeele, and from thence by the Portugalls to Lisbone (viz) John Hynde Richard Wright, Rich. Clarke W^m.^ Gilborne Rich. Emery Lewes Jr besides those tenn or eleaven of Seymo^rs^ companie, taken out of the Havana and are now in Spayne. Of all w^ch^ assure yourselves the Spaniards and Portugalls will make what use they can possible to surprize those Islands when they see there tymes, you may therefore conceaue that for safetie of your liues and for the hono^r^ of our Kinge and nation you ought not to neglect the well strengthening and watching of yo^r^ ffortes continually, and that you suffer not yo^r^ people to straggle out as Seymo^r^ and his companie did, thus to be made a prey of them that seeke to worke you out because of the open warre that is between vs and Spaine. Now touching the disposing of the Cattle they must be railed in, as wee here M^r^ Tucker did or ells they must be lett out to such as will keepe them from doing harme.

We further desire you to take into yo^r^ consideracon the great abuse we are informed of, and that it be thoroughly examined and reformed w^ch^ is the lauishing and spending our powder, and in selling it be such as haue the disposing of it, and of the trayning of our men and that the Gunners may be caused to teach others to the end there may not want among themselues many that can skill to handle their ordinance when neede shalbe and that we be not driven to a new charge in sending such from hence when they may be trayned there.

ffurther we thought it good to acquaint you that we haue ordered here according to reason that all comodities planted there by the tenants should be halued w^th^ there owners as well as tobacco (except what they eate) and we do looke for an accompt thereof at there hands, as well as of there tobacco, w^ch^ we pray you lett be knowne vnto them We haue sent you by M^r^ Kempthorne the M^r^ of this shipp a communion cupp according to your desire. Lett it be disposed where there is neede of it. The 1000 waight of Tobacco is here receaued bu. we see no cause of a new leavye for the same Wee haue also thought fitt to send you the charge of the ropes for the whale fishing.

ffor the two pounds which you say you will levye vpon Mr Delbridges his passengers: you must laye it upon his goodes if they come within your power, for he hath recd it of the passingers, and we cannot be righted at his hands.

Wee haue sent one Jacob Jacobson a dutchman by this shipp, who hath formerlye liued in the Islands, and haue lent him Tenn pounds besides his passage wch we desire may be paid to the Sherriff in good tobacco to the companies vse, and that you be a means to help him to two able boyes there from the comon land to be brought vp to his trade of a shipp carpenter. And we doe think it fitt and soe pray you that he be caused to stay in the Islands except necessitie be otherwise during the space of ffive years after his arrival there.

Wee haue taken into consideracon your dislike in building a house of stone on Longburd Island, and that you are desirous to build a convenient house of timber, and to manure and plant the Island wth such roots and fruits as the Contreye doth afford wch we doe very much approve of and for the erecting and building of the house we are contented to leaue the same to your selfe to doe therein as you shall thinke most meete . . .

The Powder last sent we hope you haue safelie receaued and now by this you shall receaue 12 barrells more. We pray you let it be safely reserued and not spent till you may haue speciall vse for publique service powder is here very deare and hardlie to be gotten. Other armes we also send you as musketts Halberds swords &c according to the invoice hereof sent by the husband Mr Webb for wch we make the Sherriff debtor. we pray you that they may be deliuered according as we haue written to him to be sould to those that want such furniture and to take such present satisfaction for them in good tobacco, and at such price as may be thought fitting aboue that they cost together fraight aduenture and all other charges, for from him only we shall looke for a good accompt thereof

And we pray you take great care of all priuate mens armes and furniture that they may alwayes be ready in good repayre for seruice for now is a tyme of hostillity between Spayne and England, and suffer not yor people to straggle in hope of purchase, to be made a pray, but keepe all yor strength wthin least you be put vpon the hazard of loosing all

And we pray you further to take such course that the Planters prpare themselves to haue in readines great store of corne, and all kind of victuall for shipping whereof there may be very good vse to there greate benefitt, for we haue it here in purpose and consultacon by soe many of this companie as shalbe willing to raise a stock to furnishe out some shipps of warr for defence of the Islands, and for the West Indian cost wch shall make their Rendezvous to and from the Somer Islands.

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We cannot but renewe againe that which often heretofore we haue desired. That our people may be caused to giue there mynds and endeavours to raise some other comodities than only this base tobacco. The Clymate we assure ourselues will afford varietye of sundrye other kinds of marchandize as we haue formerly menconed, and likewise more than we can mencon. And we should be glad to see a beginning of some thing ells, for this tobacco besides it is our disgrace of the plantancon, doth also deceaue vs. . . . .

Also in our last l.tres we writt of the ouer greate quantitie of Somer Islands and Virginia tobacco w^{ch} comes over in soe many hands that it yeilds a very base price, besides that it lyes vnvented And we must informe you of a new plantacon vpon S^{t} Christophers Islands w^{ch} are beyond the Lyne,[1] where they haue bene planted theise 2 or 3 yeares past, and haue this yeare brought home a greate p.cell of tobacco, and they have gotten ltres Pattents to p.ceede whither now they are pr.paring with more people to plant there. ffor there tobacco it is credibly reported it is of a good sort, and farr better that of Virginia or the Somers Islands and is sould very deare, and is liked as well as the Spanish tobacco. We are of opinion it will utterly subuert our planting tobacco in both our plantacons by reason the goodnes of that Wee haue opposed but we cannot preuent this new plantacon, by reason they promise soe great matters to the state and p.duce such fruits of there labors Therefore your Planters must endeavour to raise other commodities and to be carefull of that tobacco which they plant and make vp that it may be verye good. That the goodnes may make it in some request. Otherwise it will come to be nothing worth.

Wee haue likewise p.uided and sent by this shipp two ministers namelye M^{r} Copeland and M^{r} Morgan we pray you see them settled in such tribes w^{ch} are vnprouided, we haue agreed with M^{r} Copeland to receaue his salarye here in money being 100 marks p. an$\bar{n}$ [2] And therefore we pray you that the Glebe land belonging to the cure where he shall be placed may be let to halues to the companies use (except only six acres next unto his house) to plant for his own p.uisions, and that we receaue the p.fitts of the same land soe let to halues in good tobacco, to be sent ouer to the companies vse, his desire is to be settled in Southampton tribe, w^{ch} if yt be not furnished with a minister

[1] St. Christopher's, in the Leeward Islands, is not beyond the Line, but in 17°18 N. latitude. It was colonized by the English in 1623. The Line intended must be the Tropic.

[2] At 13*s.* 4*d.* this is 66*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*—a liberal salary for the times; but Copeland was then in the height of his celebrity.

at his arrivall wth you we pray you see effected accordinglye He likewise desired vs to write vnto you that the tribe where he should serue would p.uide a convenient dwelling house for him w^{ch} we likewise pray you to be carefull of As also that there may be a free school erected, for the bringing vp of youth in litterature and good learning of all which wee hope you wilbe forward to see brought to passe

ffurther wee desire that all fynes for the oath that are past should be remitted, and that such as haue bene receaued should be restored back, and doe not doubt but that the planters will conforme themselues better hereafter to our lawes, and the Instructions giuen by vs

[Then follow four permits for the shipment of cedar trees or cedar chests to private persons.]

And whereas in our last we gaue you expresse charge to suffer noe other ship than such as the Compa from hence should lycence to come to those Islands to trade wth our Tennants and seruents, the same charge we still continue and for the same reason therein expressed and others that we could here mencon w^{ch} wee forbeare And to the end o^{r} people shall not want from hence to be sufficiently furnished of all kind of necessarye puisions at reasonable rates, we intend by the next and so to continue yearlye to furnishe a large magazine of goods to be allwayes there in readines to furnish such as want, Prouided they make there Tobacco very good and vendible and at such an indifferent price as that we shall not be forced to sell them our goods otherwise than at reasonable rates w^{ch} we must be forced to doe if we take there tobacco at 2s 6d pr lb which is dearer than it will here sell for when the charge of 9^{d} or 10^{d} is paid upon euery pound This being a matter of great waight wee pray you to acquaint the generallity with it Wee are here detirmining vpon a joynt stock (w^{ch} Godwilling) by the next shipp shalbe furnished, w^{ch} we hope wilbe to the planters content We pray you likewise that if there be not sufficient store enough to lade this shipp, that there may be a speedy course taken in getting the next cropp readye to make vp this fraight, because we desire the speedye return of this shipp

Wee further thought good to write vnto you that we doe not hould it convenient for the ministers to be tyed to be of the councell vnles they soe please, because it may be a greate hindrance to there more serious labo^{rs} at there studdies, neither would we haue them debarred from the same, but to be left therein as they shall think most fitt

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We pray you to be a furtherer of M^r Copeland in that he hath a great desire that the youth may be catechised in the grounds of Religion w^ch is soe good a worke that wee do very well approve of, and do not doubt but that you will likewise be a meanes to see it brought to passe

The many complaints as we wrote before w^ch diuers make vnto vs that our people remayning w^th you doe keepe from many here greate somes of moneys, and think the Islands to be a receptacle for them. Amongst many of which there is one John Addams of Cauendish tribe who is indebted to one M^r Edward Tyther the some of 96^£ and vpwards vpon accompt, he hath written his ltre vnto him wee pray you therefore be a meanes and persuasion for him that he may rec. restitution, and that you cause him to come before you.

M^r Tither is loath to put him in suite, but hopeth by your meanes he shall receaue a peaceable satisfacon. Thus not remembering any other p.ticular but what wee haue here or in o^r former menconed, wee cease to be any further troublesome vnto you: and rest w^th o^r prayers to God for yo^r psperous success in all your good endeauours

Yo^r euer louing ffrends.

Thomas Wrote	Robt Johnson Gou^rno^r
	John Dyke Deput.
Richard Moorer	Edward Ditchfield Treas.
	William Palmer
Phillip Bell	Richard Paulson
	William Wilkinson
	Antho : Peniston

and 12 *more names*

19. At a Council Table held the 22^nd of March $162\frac{5}{6}$ being present[1]

Captn Henry Woodhouse Governor,	Captn Stokes,
Capt^n Vincent Disney, Sheriff,	Capt^n Folgate,
Captn Miles Kendall,	Leut^t Buckley,
M^r Robert Staples, Minister,	Captn Roger Wood, Secty.

The general letter being again read over, and that point which concerneth the restraining of the inhabitants from their excessive planting of Tobacco in the Summer Islands being taken

[1] From the transcripts of 1846. The spelling is modernized.

into consideration &c. It was debated and concluded upon as the best means and manner both for the good of the adventurers and the planter, That there shall be no Tobacco gathered to be cured in the Summer Islands after the 10th day of October, upon pain and penalty that whosoever shall presume to gather any Tobacco to be cured and vented after the day aforesaid shall be reduced upon the colony for one whole year next and immediately ensuing the breach of the said order.

20. The Answer of the Inhabitants of the several tribes concerning the Honble Companys Letter.

(1) Sandy's Tribe.

First. Whereas mention is made in respect of the excessive planting of Tobacco, we soe find and agree, that it is impossible to be limited, and confined to any quantity at all because we have no other commodity to raise any benefit for livelihood but only tobacco.

Secondly. That whereas his Majesty hath been graciously pleased by Proclamation to abandon all other tobacco, and to make our tobacco his own commodity, by bringing all into one Joint stock, we therefore desire, not any ways to article or condition, but that we may have the benefit of our tobacco as formerly we have had, and to find Commissioners within ourselves for that purpose. And we all desire your worship to stand our best assistance in that case, as your worship shall think good.

Willm Seymer,	Alexander Gaddis,	John Burch,
Anthony Harford,	Thos Greeneleafe,	Henry Spatchurst,
Will Spatchurst,	John Milner,	John Plaice,
Willm Yeabs,	Johnathan Stokes,	James Harman,
Edward Edrington,	Abraham Sheres,	Tho Dobbins.

(2) Southampton Tribe.

To the Worshipful Captn Henry Woodhouse, Governor and Capt General of the Summer Islands.

Right Worthy and Worshipful Sir,

Attending to your Worships order to us given, we have assembled together to consider of that part of the Honble

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Company's letter which concerns the limitation of making tobacco in these Islands &c.

For answer whereof, we have been very careful and desirous to yeild all obedient satisfaction to the Honble Court, and with our best judgment and abilities have maturely considered all circumstances concerning the same, and do find. That the limitation mentionèd in the said letter can no way possibly stand with the weal and comfort of the Inhabitants here, for by that time the general charges of the Plantation, as food, salaries, Levies, provision of Powder, Servants wages, and divers other duties be discharged, the planter will not have (if his plantation go on) whereby to subsist.

And as for a Joint stock, what it may do in England we concieve not, but here, such a thing will be prejudicial to the encouragement of ingenious and industrious men, whose good Tobacco may perhaps sell another man's bad without any benefit to the Labourer. Therefore for our part we humbly pray that every man may enjoy the benefit of his own labours by the free disposing of his own goods; We humbly rest,

Richard Leycroft,	Charles Morgan,	I John Helen,
Danyell Elfrith,	Marmaduke Dandoe,	Thomas More,
John Hanmer,	Joseph Wiseman,	Randall Birkes,
Damon Knolles,	Nicholas Hobbie,	— Edward Bickerton,
John Wilson,	Edward Evans,	Henry Ramsey,
Thomas Richards	John Robinson,	William Reignolds.
B P		

(3) Warwick Tribe, the 28th of March, 1626.

The Answer of the Inhabitants of Warwick Tribe whose names are hereunto written concerning the disposing of our tobacco into the hands of the Contractors.

Whereas we knowing not of any other commodity to raise any profit by but only tobacco, our general request is, that we may not be enjoined to any limitation in making the quantity. But always submitting ourselves to be liable in payment of all such customs, or other duties, as shall any ways appertain, unto our Kings Majesty his heirs or successors, under which submission our further desire is, that we may have the benefit of free subjects, which is to dispose of our own goods, and to make the best profit we can thereof.

The mke of H W Hugh Wentworth,
Thomas Jennings,
The mke of + George Scroggan,
John Perencheff,
Walter Tirrell,
Samuell Tatam,
Antho. Morebeque,
ffrauncis Cuckowe,
Willim Newman,
Willim Jennison,
The mke of ⅄ Christopher Lea,
Willim Bullock,
Anthony Tirrell,
Arthur Leueridg.

(4) Paget's Tribe.

May it please you, We the inhabitants of Paget's tribe, do desire that we may have the same privilege, which we have always had, And that we may not be limited, for the making and sending over, any certain sum of Tobacco, The which if we should grant it would be the utter overthrow of these our Islands, for we find that our lands will bear nothing but tobacco, whereby we shall be able to live, Therefore we whose names which are hereunder written cannot condescend to any of those particulars which you have sent over, But to the utter overthrow of us all, which we trust you will not desire.

Richard Sootherworth.

The mke of ∩ Richard Carter,
Richard Sootherworth,
Edward Bedford,
John Ballard,
The mke L of John Carter,
The mke + of Wm Smith,
The mke ω of Tho. Day,
Lazarus Hauard,
John Brooks,
The mke ⅂ of Cornelius Carter,
The mke ∅ of Martin Welman,
The mke ⋀⋀ of Willim Nash,
Thomas Cuckowe,
The mke + of Francis Welman,
The mke of ᔕ ffrancis Powell,
The mke of ⅂ Willim Linday,
James Whittacre.

(5) Pembroke Tribe.

To the right worshipful Capt Henry Woodhouse, Governor and chief Commander of the Summer Islands.

Humbly shewing unto your worship that we the inhabitants of Pembroke tribe having duly considered of the clause in the Honorable Company's letter sent unto us by your worship do humbly crave the benefit and privilege of his Majesty's true subjects (vizt) to dispose of our own goods, as best liketh us, for the benefit of ourselves and families, for although we no way distrust the Honble Companys intentions towards us, yet we can-

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not understand, how the Contract can be beneficial to us poor planters, who when we bring or send our tobacco for England, we shall sit and look on and see others play their games out of our hands, and we in the mean time be disabled either to clothe or feed ourselves, with that which we have gathered by our great pains and industry. And this upon deliberation, we return as our answers unto your worships warrrant. And humbly desire you to acquaint the Honourable Company herewithal. And we shall be bound as in duty we are to pray for your worships health and happiness.

Lewis fford,
Rowland Sheene,
Henry Grave,
Christopher Croft,
Daniel ffunge,
Harry Dixon,
Stephen Parker,
Myles Pert,
Michaell Sewell,
Thomas Dunscombe,
Stephen Bowyer,
John Stamer,
The mark ⊤ of George Dry,
Robert Isley,
John Reccord,
Robert Knight,
John Jones,
ffrancis Dawes,
Calebb Brand,
James Reade,
John Pitman,
John Day,
Richard Stamers.

(6) From the inhabitants of Devonshire tribe.

Right worshipful, we have according to your worship's order assembled ourselves, and hath also seriously debated and considered the premises, of that clause of the honorable Company's letter commended unto us, we therefore the poor inhabitants of our Tribe, do humbly desire we may have the benefit of his Majestys true and loyal subjects, and according to the laws of England we may be privileged to have our tobacco or any other goods or commodities justly appertaining unto us, to be at our own disposing, both there and here, either by just sale or otherwise, This is our resolution which we humbly desire may be returned to the honorable company.

The m^r^ke of Ẅ Willm Moore,
Willim Laughton,
John ⊹ Waters mke,
Richard ß Harbert his mke,
Humphrey ‖ Nichell his marke,
John Welch,
Nicholas *B* Buttris his mke,
Robert Bayley,
John ⊤ Turner his m^r^ke,
Symon Ẅ wyatt his m^r^ke,
Roger Dobb,
John ǂ Griffin his m^r^ke,
Anthony Cooke,
John Bayley,
John ǂ*B* Burrowes his m^r^ke,
George Staluer.

(7) Smith's Tribe, 30 March, 1626.

Whereas it is the honorable Companys pleasure to put a certain clause unto the consideration of the Inhabitants of the Somer Islands. That thereby they may better be resolved touching a limited proportion of tobacco yearly to be made and that especial good. Secondly, that all tobacco of the plantations growth may be brought into a joint stock, to what end we do not well understand neither the large and ample extent of those words mentioned (vizt) let them set down no articles nor conditions, but an absolute allowance of what shall be done therein &c.

To the first, We the Inhabitants of Smith's Tribe having with mature deliberation advised thereof, do jointly answer, that it is a thing impossible to be done, without the great disquiet and prejudice of the plantation, one reason (and that not of the least consequence) is this:—

Admit 400 shares supplied, and each share limited, at 250 lbs. in tobacco, out of which the owner's part deducted, the planter hath but 225 lbs. out of which levies and other charges taken, there will remain only 200 lbs. for the planters subsistence, who may happily be one that hath a great charge, as wife, children, and servants, and as goods are here sold, will not yield 6, 8 or 10^{d} the pound, which allowance will hardly afford a competent sufficiency, though but to a mean person, And one thing more, not to omit it will put by all Commerce between party and party, and therefore we agree not unto it, And as touching the making it so especial good, we answer we have not encouragement thereunto, by the reason of the unconscionable prices of goods here sold, so that may it please the honorable Company to yeild a redress for the one, we shall be greatly encouraged (as nevertheless) to amend the other.

And as touching the second, we doubt not, but that his Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to permit us his poor distressed subjects to make the best we can of our tobaccos, and to dispose it at our pleasure; we always humbly submitting ourselves to his Customs and rights every way which is the thing we all greatly desire. And do humbly crave the honorable Company's allowance of this our answer. And that they would be pleased to vouchsafe us a speedy remedy against the unconscionable provisos before mentioned. And we do promise for our parts to endeavour our amendment about our tobaccos. So commending us and our endeavours to your favourable acceptance, we cease from further enlargement with our prayers for the increase of all happiness.

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Anthony Jenour	William Grimston,	Charles Crockford,
Thomas Humphrey,	Richd : Stafford,	Lawrence Washington,
Thomas Peniston,	Thos Burrowes,	Richard Woodward,
Bartho : Massam,	Robert Thomas,	Christopher Cauerley,
John Hayward,	John Smith,	Robert Beake,
Rich : Middleton,	Symon Barrett,	Symon Oker.

(8) The answer of the Inhabitants of Harrington Hamilton Tribe.[1]

Worshipful Sir,

According to your Warrant which we have received from you, we have considered to our best understanding of that clause in the honorable Company's general letter concerning the limiting of these Islands for the making of one hundred pounds of Tobacco, which we conceive will not be beneficial, but altogether prejudicial unto us, therefore we desire that we may have the liberty to make as much Tobacco as we can, so that it be good, otherwise we cannot subsist, for we know no other course to employ ourselves upon.

John Devenish,	Thomas Sparke,
Samuell Richardson,	The marke ℞ of John Yates,
John Forsith,	Willm ⅄B Biggs his marke,
Edward Stoughton,	Thomas Morley,
Thomas ⅄ Outerbridge his marke,	Robt Het ℞ H his marke,
Edward Stoughton, *bis*,	Duport Paulson,
	William Gyse.

21. A short Bond in Law Latin follows, only interesting as showing the continued use of that language among so small and remote a body of Colonists.

Nou^rint vniversi prp^rsentes me Willim Benson de le Som. Islands planter teneri et firmiter obligari Thoma Turner de Insulis pr ds planter in quadriginta libris boni et legalis monete anglii solvend. eidm Thomæ aut suo certo attorn. exec. vel administr suis ad quam quidm solu. bene et fideliter per presentis sigillo sigillat dat vicesimo secundo die Ianuarij anno Dom^i stilo Angl. 1626

[There are others similarly entered about this time.]

[1] This designation is now divided between Hamilton Parish and Harrington Sound.

22. The Attestation of Edward Walker vpon oath, concerning certain Ambergreece deliuered by Capt. Robt Felgate vnto Mr Symon Day late m^r^ of the good shipp called the marmaduke April 1626

This deponeth affirmeth that M^r^ Day deliuered vnto him nineteene ounces and a halfe of ambergreece to sell which this deponent sould to M^r^ Scott for fiftie pounds sterling and deliuered that money vnto the said Symon Day, and the same night after the deliuerie of the moneye (in the day tyme)

M^r^ Day reckoned that Capt felgate did owe him tenn pounds sterling on account, and that there rested due vnto Capt felgate for the ambergreece fortie pounds.

23. At a Counsell Table held the 17th day of Aprill 1626 being present

Capt^n^ Henry Woodhouse Gou^r^no^r^ } { Lieuten^t^ Buckley
Capt^n^ Vincent Disney Sherriffe } { Capt^n^ Wood Secret^y^

upon the complaint of Captain Chadwicke, vpon rotten Tobacco paid by Edward Bedford, for the vse of M^r^ Owen Arthur as his moietie for this yeares croppe being 137^lb^

M^r^ Bedford being called produced a note of the dividend of his Tobaco vnder the ouerseers hands as appeareth vpon record. Vpon w^ch^ demande was made by the Gouernor whether that the Tobaco made vpon the land of any marchant, and divyded equallie betwixt the marchant and the Tennant should passe for the Marchants part Yea or noe

Vnto w^ch^ was answered by the counsell then assembled That the same Tobaco that is made vpon the marchants land, and vpon which there hath an equall devision beene made by the ouerseers, ought in Justice to passe and been payd vnto the marchant for his moietie for that crop wherein the same Tobaco and division was made

But whereas M^r^ Bedford produced 88 pounds of Tobacco paid for provision, whereof 44^lb^ was Taken out of the merchants pt It is awarded by the Court that the said 44 lb of Tobaco should bee paid vnto M^r^ Owen Arthur in England for w^ch^ Lieut^t^ Buckley hath passed his word.

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(2) A copie of the Ouerseers note of Pagets Tribe sent vnto the Gouernor

S[r] may it please you, this is the whole devidend of Edward Bedford of all the Tobacco w[ch] was made of M[r] Owen Arthurs Land, and divided by vs Richard Carter and Richard Southworth Overseers of Pagets Tribe the 16th day febuary 1625

The whole total Some is a 831

Taken out		Taken out of the merchants pt	
Salary	16	for sawing	40
Generall Levie	9	for squaring Timber	3
Castle	7	for dyet for sawyers & carpenters	10
Church	1½		
Reader	4	After these things deducted the merchants part is	137
Capt felgate	2		
Cedar Pike	2		
Drinking Tobacco.	12		
Making vp	48		
for wages for two negroes and to another man	260		
For provisions	388		
Thomas Higgs	1		
Marchants part	190½		

In 5 rowles sealed with the seale of the print of the castle

By vs Richard Carter & Richard Southwood.

24. At a counsell Table held upon Tuesday the 25th of April 1626.

Captain Henry Woodhouse Gouerno[r]
Captain Vincent Disney Sheriffe
Captain Stokes
The overseers of each of the 9 tribes
Captain Wood Secret.

Upon the gouernors motion to haue the worke at the kings castle finished for the filling of the pallizadoes and levelling of the Rocke for the muskettiers to drawe into armes &c with the easiest charge unto the cuntry, It was found very reasonable and so concluded and ordered by the Governo[r] and counsell assembled That euerie Owner, halver, Tradesman, and seruant recieuing wages in the country shalbe lyable to giue 2 dayes worke at the kings castle at his owne charghes to be performed in this manner vidzt That 15 men shalbe sent downe togeather from a Tribe beginning at Somersett and when all the Inhabitants w[ch] are lyable to this seruice as aforesaide in this Tribe have performed their proposed turn of two dayes a man at his

owne charges Then Southampton Tribe shall beginne and accomplish the same in manner and order as Sandis Tribe hath donne Afterwch Warwicke Tribe shall beginne Then Pagets Tribe. Then Pembroke Tribe Then Devonsh. Then Smiths Then Har. Hamb. tribe in the same manner and order that the upper Tribes haue done, untill the same worke be fully accomplished and ended. And those first 15 men are by order aforesaid to bee at the kings castle to begin this worke upon this day eight dayes being Tuesday the second of May 1626.

25. To the ouerseers of Sandis Tribe and to either of them

Whereas there was an order made by the unanimous consent of the Gou^{r}no and counsell assembled at St. Georges on the 25th day of Aprill 1626 the euery owner haluer tradsman and seruant receiuing wages in the Contry shalbe lyable to giue 2 dayes worke at the kings castle at his owne charges until the same worke be finished w^{ch} is to be begun on Tuesday the 2nd May next ensuing by 15 men of a Tribe to come down at once with their puision to serue them for the 2 days of there aboad upon the Rock or longer tyme if they will by there neighbor^{s} be persuaded soe to doe others doing there worke upon there grounds in there steads or compounding with them otherwise beginning at Some^{r}sett and going thorough out the said Tribe untill euery man by himselfe or substitute haue pformed the said Two days worke required of him.

These are therefore to will and require you in his ma^{ts} name to chargeand command you and either of you that in conformance hereunto you Inquire and make search thorough out y^{r} said Tribe for such spades shouells pickaxes and other Instruments necessary to be used for digging and casting of earth and them so found to furnish the said 15 persons there withall and a sufficient boate to carry them and their puision unto the kings castle upon Tuesday the second day of may next enseuing and there for 2 whole dayes togeather to pforme such worke as shalbe required of them and euery of them, w^{ch} done to releave them sending 15 others in thiere places unlesse other composition be made with them by there consent, untill it hath gone thorough the said Tribe in mann^{r} & order agreed upon at the said counsell table ffor w^{ch} y^{r} soe doing this my warrant shalbe yo^{r} discharge Whereof fayle you not as you will answer the contrary at yo^{r} pill.

(Signed) Hry Woodhouse.

St. Georges this 26th of Aprill } 1626

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26. Minute of Council, May 13, 1626.

Upon a Complaint made by William Haines, seruant unto Roger Dobbe of Devonsh Tribe upon John Turner of the same Tribe who tooke the said Haines in his ground gathering of Thistles and there being with a cudgel did beat him very sore that the markes appeared upon his flesh. And beeing there upon warned before the overseer of the said Tribe The said Turner did affirme the said Haines to be a thiefe and that Roger Dobbe his Mr did know so much Whereupon, the case beeing brought before the Gouernor It was ordered that John Turner should giue unto Willm Heynes the seruant who hee had beaten 10^{lb} of Tobaco for his satisfaction And should acknowledge before George Stavers overseer of Deuonsh Tribe that hee had done Roger Dobbe wrong and was sorry for it. And for that he was his owne Justicer in beating the boy and tooke not a course for redresse by complaynt for the Trespasse It was further ordered that hee should maintayne a man to worke 6 days at the kinges castle at his owne charge when the men of Deuonshire Tribe come down to worke there or that he should performe 6 dayes worke in his own person.

27. Minute of Council, May 25, 1626.

Whereas M^{r} Staples the minister of Pembrook Tribe hath made a vow that hee will never preach in the pulpitt of the said church being sett up in the place it stands without his consent; nor will administer the communion unto the parishioners untill the said pulpitt be remoued &c w^{ch} upon view is found, and approoved to bee seated in the convenientest place of the said church in regard whereof this matter beeing questioned before the Governo^{r} and counsell who hearing M^{r} Staples so peremptorie in his first opinion as not to pray in the said pulpitt nor administer the sacrament untill it be remooved &c

It was ordered by a joynt consent of the Governor and counsell then assembled that Mr staples shall either performe his dutie unto his parishioners (as by the law of god hee is bound) in praying and administering the sacraments and that at convenient times and places appointed thereunto for that purpose or else there shall be one quarter of his entertainment bee defalked from him for his stubbornnesse in psisting in his indiscreet vowe.

28. By the Gouernor a Proclamation 10 June 1626.

Whereas by the booke of orders sent from the Honnor^{ble} compa: sixe men are to bee sent from each Tribe to serue at the assizes, or generall Sessions, from whence two are to be chosen to haue the place of Overseers of that Tribe for the yeare ensueing as in Art 139 & 166 of the said Booke more at large appeareth. These are therefore to require and charge you in his Mat^{s} name that in conformance vnto the premises you with the most voyces of your Tribe doe freely elect and choose out sixe sufficient and hable men, and them so chosen to warne to be at S^{t} Georges on munday the 3rd of July next ensuing, there to attend vpon such service for his Mat^{ie} The honour^{ble} Compa. and the Cuntrey as shall be then & there required of all and euerie of them In w^{ch} choise as those who signed the petition are by a censure of the court made incapable to beare office in the Summer Islands for 3 yeares; so I hould them vnfitting to administer an Oath for true division of Tobaco vnto others who haue not themselues beene conformable in taking the same Oath last year beeing orderly tendered vnto them by Authoritie. Whereof faile yo^{u} not at your perrils

(Signed) Henry Woodhouse

S^{t} Georges the 10 June 1626

29. A warrant to the 4 captaines and euerie of them, 12 June 1626

These are to will and require yo^{u} and in his Mat^{s} name to charge and comaund yo^{u} that vpon receipt hereof yo^{u} take or cause to bee taken a survey and viewe of all the musquetts, pikes, and small shott vnder your comaund, and cause them, and euerie of them to be kept cleane and fixe for seruice vpon all occasions when they shall be called herevnto. causing euerie souldier to prouide himselfe with bullets fit for the musquett or small shott he serues withall As also one pound of Powder w^{ch} he shall keepe in store to bee readie vpon everie Allarme in the countrey, which you shall deliuer vnto such as are owners and halvers in your Tribe and haue meanes for the safe keeping thereof. And a like proporcon vnto euie master of a familie for to keepe in readinesse for such his servants as serue with peeces, to bee distributed vnto euie one when there shall be vse thereof, with charge to

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preserue the municon now giuen forth, as also that w^ch^ was formerly deliuered vnto them vpon paine of death as hath heretofore beene threatened, and shall here after bee surely inflicted vpon such imbezellor^rs^ whereof faile you not at yor pils

HEN. WOODHOUSE

S^t^ Georges 12 June 1626

To Captains Kendall, Jennings, Staluer's and Yates Because I would not haue you vnprouided I haue appointed the Sheriffe to deliuer yo^u^ a barrell of pouder, w^ch^ yo^u^ shall make vse of when yo^r^ old share is spent

30. At a counsell Table held the 30 June 1626.

Vpon a complaint made by Anthony Harford overseer of Sandis Tribe of the misuse of certain yong men who had miscaryed themselues (in the choosing of the 6 men to come to the assizes from that Tribe) contrarye to the Gouernors warrant, As by this attestation herevnder it appeareth. They were censured by the Court to worke 6 days everie man at the Kings castle in their owne persons, and at their owne charges: to begin when all the tribes haue wrought out their stint, accordinge to the order of court in that behalfe formerly made

Copie Right worshipful S^r^ according to yo^r^ worsps request wee whose names are vnder prescribed doe vpon our oathes certifie yo^r^ worship the maner of the proceedings in the choise of the 6 men: and thus it was after the choise of the Cunstable and head burrow It was required by M^r^ Harford that wee should proceed Jeames Harman vsed some words vnto him, w^ch^ M^r^ Harford replyed, what doe yo^u^ barke, you will bite anon! wherevpon there was such a confusion of voyces that noe man could be heard And for our partes at such a meeting wee never saw such a confusion before. And the truth is, the younger sort by their multitude carryed such a stroke that the elder sort could not be heard, they not respecting the sufficiency of the parties for the kings service It vnto vs did plainly appeare that they did make choise according to affection, having as wee suppose apointed among themselves whom they would make choise of before. and it doth so much the playner appeare, for that M^r^ Harford w^ch^ was nominated for one whom wee hould very sufficient, answere was made by George Tennant wee are not minded to choose you M^r^ Harford, and thus not to trouble your wor^p^ with many circumstances wee further testifie Those

whose names are nominated in the warrant with some other w^ch^ are warned downe weare the forwardest in this businesse

Signed WILL SEYMER and seven others

Subsequent Minute.

The assembly doe finde these Informations vnjust and doe annihilate it

31. Assizes 4 and 5th July 1626.

(1) William Hinson alias Ffatt late seruant unto Richard Harbert, was charged with forceably entering a dwelling house, & stealing 2½ loaves of bread price 6*d*, a small quantity of butter price ij*d* and a small cheese price 5*s*. Found Guilty 'but the Governor inclining to mercie saved his life and comaunded him to be burnt in the hand wh. was p.formed on the 6th July 1626.'

[The same man was tried and hanged 21 July, 1627, for stealing one pair of shoes price five shillings from a dwelling-house.]

(2) Russell fenne late of Hambleton Tribe labourer was 3 times indicted and tried for stealing (1) one Broad axe of Iron and steele price 6lbs of Tobaco of Thomas Outerbridge (2) one paire of sheets price 4*s* and one file price ij*d* of Robert morris (3) one linnen shirt price 6*s* of John Faucet, of all which he was found not guilty. Also 10 ells of browne holland price 10*s* 2 ells of Laccring price 2*s* j new dowlasse shirt price 2*s* j paire of new shoes price 12*d* j knott of new shoare line price 22^d^ j cake of soape price vj*d* j dozen and a halfe of edging silke lace price 12d j skeane of silke price ij*d* j card of buttons price vj*d* of the goods and chattells of Robert Haies, of which he was convicted and on the 5^th^ day of July 1626 did receaue sentance of death. And on the 7th July was brought to the place of execution, and beeing readie to be turned from the ladder was called downe, and brought backe againe by the Sheriffe at the Commaund of the Governor

(3) Henry Symons labourer, late servant to John Giles, aged 16, is found guiltie of a criminal assault vpon Susan Bigges aged 8 years, a second offence, and found guiltie, but repreived vntill the next assize, when he does not appear to have received any judgement, and was therefore probably set at liberty

(4) Henry wheaton servant to John Pott of Davids Island labourer is tried for a like offence vpon Susan Eddis aged 8 years. Bill returned with ignoramus indorsed thereon

(5) Richard Griddle of Pagets Tribe indicted for that whereas in the time of the Gou^r^mt of Capt^n^ Daunyell Tucker

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An article was made by him the said Gou^rno^r That who so euer Seaman or Landman of what degree or qualitie so euer that shall lay any plott to runne away with any Barque Pinnace or Boat belonging to this Plantacon shall be punished with death, and that what pson or psons soeuer that shall haue knowledge of any such treacherous pretence, and not reveale the same vnto the Gouernor or some principall officer appointed by him, within the space of one houre shall receive like punishment as the principall offender as in the same Article more at large appeareth And whereas by order of our present Governo^r and counsell assembled on the 11 Oct 1625 It was ordered that whosoeuer hereafter shall be found to plott the running away with any boate or barque from these Islands, and bee therevpon justly convicted shall suffer death within 3 dayes after as in the said order then made doth more at large appeare yet notwithstanding this Article and order so made Richard Griddle of Pagetts Tribe in the Sommer Islands planter, nothing at all regarding the said article and order, nor the penaltye therein conteyned, about the 12th 13th and 14th day of June last did secretly conspire and plott to steale and runne away from theise Islands with William Smith of Pagets Tribe aforesaid and his confederates in his owne boat. And in the said boat to take his voyage to Virginia or elswhere, with the said smith and his confederates aforesaid w^ch is vtterly against the forme of the said Article and order afore said, and of dangerous consequence to this plantacon, and contrarie to the peace of our Soueraigne Lord the King his crown and Dignitie

To w^ch Indictment hee pleaded not guiltie; and for his tryall put himselfe vpon God and the countrey w^ch cuntry beeing a Jury of 12 sworne men acquitted him.

32. At a Counsell Table held the 6th July 1626.

(1) Whereas there has beene a great neglect of building the Church and parsonage house at the Overplusse according to the Honnor^ble Comp. Order in the Books of Orders and constitutions Art 155, for which there was gathered a competent some of Tobacco by an order which was made in the church of Port-Royall, by Captain Danyell Tucker, Captain Miles Kendall, Mr. George Stirke minister and Christopher Parker and John Hammer overseers of Southampton Tribe and after established by the Governo^r and Counsell of the Sum^r Islands then being, as appears upon record

And whereas the Tobaco so gathered hath been delivered into the hands of George Wells Carpenter towards the building

of the said Church & parsonage house, but will not finish the said worke It was now (againe) taken into consideration, and finding the Honnor^{ble} Compa order in art 155 of the said Booke to haue beene neglected It was now found good for the furtherance and finishing of so good a worke to levie at the next generall division 2^{lb} in the hundred from the owners part of all the Tobaco growing this yeare within Warwicke Tribe Southampt and Sandis tribes and therewith to perfect the building of the church and Parsonage house at the Overplusse according to the Honnor^{ble} Compas pleasure in that behalfe signified as aforesaid

(2) Whereas William Smith of Pagets Tribe is felloneously fled from theise Islands in his Boat with divers of his confederates vpon the 15th day of June last, leaueing three of his children vnprovided for in the said Islands. It is for the present ordered by the Governor & Councell assembled That the goods and chattels of the said Smith shall be praysed, and reserved by the sheriff vntill the honor^{ble} compa. pleasure bee further knowen therein And in the meane time that those who keep his children shall haue some allowance towards the charge of their education

Impr^{s} That John Wilson shall receiue in satisfaction for keeping of one of his children named Robert Smith, for the time of one yeare and a halfe, one sow and 3 sucking piggs and 2000 eares of corne

It That Mr. John Perincheff now taking charge of the said child (haueing answered for him at his Baptisme) shall haue dcl^{d} vnto him at this next Cropp 3000 eares of corne towards the subsistance and education of the child Robert Smith aforesaid, also that John Day, or any other that shall vndertake to keepe the other child named Sam Smith aged 4 yeares shall receiue towards the Education thereof 3000 eares of corne at this somer cropp

Also it is ordered that his apprentice, now left behinde him, called Peeter Gates, shall remaine vpon the land, vntill the next division, and after as it shall then bee concluded off.

It is also ordered that William Roberts, late servant of William Smith shall remaine vpon the seate and land from w^{ch} the said Smith fled, Togeather with Peeter gates the apprentice w^{ch} the said Smith left behinde him Imploying their best endeavours to manure the land or so much thereof as they are able for the marchants and their owne benifite till further order come from England and receive towards their subsistance 3000 eares of corne from the croppe now growing vpon the said land

And whereas John Jones of Pembroke Tribe did felloneously fly with the said Smith: It is ordered that his goods shall be

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praised and sould, and reserued by the Sheriffe vntill the Honnor[ble] compa order the further knowen therein

Also it is ordered that John Butler and Thomas Keniston shall remaine in that seate and vpon that share of land from which John Jones fledd vntill there bee further order sent from Mr Edwards the owner of the saide land, how to dispose of it otherwise

33. At a counsaile Table held the 20th day of November 1626

(1) Appoints the 15th December for the division of tobacco.

(2) Postpones the next assizes to a day not named.

(3) Upon a letter written from the Right Honnor[ble] the Earle of Warwicke unto the Goueno. wherein his Honor[r] advised him (from his ma[tie] and some of the counsell) to fortifie the Islands for feare of Invasion by an enemie. A convenient place being found for erecting a strong fort in Penistons Island[1] A proposition was made of the manner by which it might be effected w[ch] was resolved by the Governor and counsell to bee done by the worke of 40 men at a time to bee ymployed from euerie tribe of the Summer Islands and Publique land. In w[ch] euerie Owner Halver renter of land and servant receiving wages thorowout the Country shall bee lyable to worke by himselfe or deputie for 10 days togeather untill the worke bee finished

Concerning w[ch] it is ordered that euerie man w[ch] is to be hyred for the said worke shall receiue either two pound of Tobaco p.diem and his victuals or 2[lb] and ½ of Tobaco and find himselfe victuals, And further it is found convenient that those halvers w[ch] liue here in the Islands and haue their undertakers resyding in England shall cause a man to be employed in his undertakers behalfe for this worke, and shall pay the charges thereof according as for his owne in manner and forme aforesaid and shall deduct the wages of the said 10 days worke from his undertakers part of Tobaco at the division following

Also it is further ordered that everie man who now taketh his passage to England and leaveth not another upon his seat to performe these 10 days worke formerly required, shall either in his owne person before his going or else by his substitute after his departure p.forme the said 10 days worke, or pay 25lb of Tobacco for the worke so to be p.formed

(4) A motion beeing made what Capt[n] felgate shall haue for the overseeing of the workmen at the Kings castle &c. It was

[1] Paget Island of modern charts. The iron fort Cunningham, the strongest colonial structure of the kind in the British dominions, now occupies this well-selected position.

ordered by the Gouern[r] and Counsell assembled that he shall receiue at the next generall division 200 lbs of Tobaco to be taken out of the lumpe before the said division

(5) Another motion being made what Capt felgate shall haue for his ouerseeing of the worke now in hand to be erected on Penistons Island &c. It was put to the question what euie man thought fitt for his allowance wh was generally concluded to be 600 lbs of Tobaco

(6) A motion beeing made by Mr. Coptland for the furtherance and meanes of erecting a free schoole[1] in the Summer Islands &c. It was thought expedient that the common land in the said Islands belonging to all the 8 tribes shall bee (for the yeare ensuing) let forth by the sheriffe and the overseers of the respective Tribes where such comon lands shall bee, to the best advantage that it may be raised unto, and the same tobaco which shall be raised thereupon to bee kept in deposite untill the honor[ble] Compa. pleasure bee further knowen therein.

(7) Concerning the ferrie (S[t] Georges) It was ordered that Capt Yates should pay 100[lb] of Tobaco per annum. And stand vnto the curtesie of the Householders, and halvers in the countrey for his payment this yeare, but that the servants which receiue wages, and haue no certeine abyding place, shall pay 2[lb] of Tobaco a man towards his charges of keeping the said ferrie, wheresoever they shall all be found at the generall division.[2]

A motion beeing made to allow Thomas Nix some meanes for his attendance and watching the goods vpon the wharfe after their landing from the shippes vntill the deliuerie thereof vnto the parties to who they doe belong. It was ordered that for the time to come the said nix should haue 2[lb] of Tobacco for everie Tonne of goods so landed and attended and to haue an oath administered vnto him for his fidelitie concerning the said goods—and also to put in securitie to make satisfacon for such goods as should be lost by his negligence And for the time passed that hee should haue 4[lb] for the tunne, as was allowed him at the assizes by the grand inquest.

[1] The establishment of a Free School in the Somer Islands was a favourite project of Copeland, which met with little encouragement. Roger Wood writes in 1634;—'Mr Copeland thinks the Company will giue all their comon land to build a free School, as some of vs here have done with ours. I wish we had ministers contented to preach the Gospel and let this Free schoole alone until wee are free from debt These workes of ostentation and supererogation make great showe and noyse abroad of the Som[r] Islands. I assure you if men could transport themselves as they desyre, it would leaue but a few to be taught and brought up in a Free schoole to be built in this place.' (Roger Wood's Letters, No. 81; and see Act 7, 1627.)

[2] The interval of about 125 yards separating St. George's Island from the main was a perpetual difficulty and a frequent source of danger for more than 250 years. It was not until 1871 that a causeway by which it is avoided was completed, at a cost of about 30,000*l*.

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34. A note of particulers for the generall levie of 1626.

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		lbs		
Impr^{s}	an amends for George Wells towards his losses by the castle workes the last yeare—in Tobaco	500.	0.	0
It	for his worke now wrought according to his note as appeareth herevnder written	1100		
	For 3· mens worke vpon the fortificacon at the Kings castle	400		
	To Lieut Buckley and L: Crofts for felling and clearing the ground to erect the Fort upon in Penistons Island	120		
	To Capt Stoakes for a boat to be vsed about his worke	120		
	To the Governor for j thousand foot of Planke which George Willes vsed of his about the castle worke	120		
	To Capt Stoakes for clearing the path from Tuckers towne to the kings Castle	300		
	To Capt Stoakes for the yearlie allowance of his boat at the kings castle	100		
	To Capt Felgate for overseeing the worke at the kings castle	200		
	To Russell fenne for his worke that hee hath done at the king's castle and shall doe vntill the division	100		
	To the mount keeper at St. Georges	100		
	To M^{r} Staples according to his Petition	240		
	To Thomas Higgs to relieue himself & family	100		
	To Joseph the Smith, for Ironworke for the Kings Castle and carriages for the Ordinance	425		
	Total [weight of Tobaco]	3925 lbs		

George Wells his note.

For the Pallasado and mounting of ordinance

George Wells	6 weekes	72 lb Tobac.
Richard Johnson	6 weekes	72
Richard Smith	5 weekes	60
John Langton	6 weekes	60
James Green	6 weekes	36
Nicholas Lowe	6 weekes	36
for dyet		60
		394 Tobac

For the carriages	600
For one weekes worke for vs all about the court of Guard since I gave up my account to the Sheriffe . . .	44
For paling the low roome of the court of guard	22
For sawiers worke for the platforme at the castle	22
For planks from St Georges for the platform	10
For the sawiers diet and dressing .	6
For helving 12 Pickaxes	2
Recd. tott.	1100[lb] Tobac

Also I doe entreate the Governor & counsell to take a pfect viewe of my whole worke done at the Castle wherein I am a great loser—and therefore desire them vpon due consideracon to allow mee some further satisfaction for the same

Spent in generall worke 1000 foote of planke of the gouernor.

[It appears from these charges that the revenue was raised in arrear—that is to say, to meet charges already incurred; and it is a proof of the tenacity of custom that such is still the case, to some extent, in Bermuda, notwithstanding the manifold objections and inconveniences of the arrangement. Every annual Supply Bill still contains a schedule of amounts due to public creditors, respecting which there is no dispute, but which cannot be paid until the money is raised. The only reason ever given for this anomalous system, that 'it has always been so,' is well borne out by this earliest Supply Bill that has been found.]

35. Letter from the Bermuda Company

To the Inhabitants and planters of the Somer Islands &c

After our harty comendacons &c

Wee the Purchasers and owners of the Somer Isl[ds] doe wish you all health and p.sperous successe in yo[r] affayres & labors: and considering the tyme of yo[r] Gouernor Capt Henry Woodhouse to be now expired, and he now enclyned to returne for England

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to his frends, Wee haue lately made choyce of Capt Phillip Bell Esq^re whom we haue sent by this ship the Exchange, w^th his ma^ties authority and comission to be yo^r Gouerno^r To whose Gouernm^t we require and pray in all dutifull respect to giue yo^r obedience and best assistance as wee doubt not but you will

Amongst our sundry direccons and instruccons giuen vnto him, wee haue willed that this our Ltre should be openly read in yo^r hearing that you may ptly vnderstand what wee haue giuen him in charge by his meanes to bee effected and performed

The first is against the excessive planting of tobacco, and that the planters may trayne themselves to some other imployment w^ch in short tyme may be of more proffitt and better reputacon

In p.ticular wee mencon the multiplying of yo mulbery trees, and wee haue sent some silke seeds to make beginning of that worke w^ch by degrees may be done with ease, without hindering other Imployments Anyseeds wee haue sent also, w^ch is as good a marchandize as can be planted, and we haue seene some that haue growne w^ch are very good seeds, and w^th small labor and dilligence may be raised in greate quantityes

Wee doe also will and advise that no tobacco may be made vp but what is speciall good, for here comes in greate quantities of Virginia tobacco farre better then it was wont to be, also store of Spannish by lycence and from St Christopher's Islands w^ch is very good. All these sorts are here in good request, and doe currently sell whilst our Somer Islands sort is basely esteemed, and lyes vnvented by reason that for one roll you make vp good and marchantable you make up 40 that be noe better than trash, and good for nothing.

And whereas the Companies first intent and agreement w^th the planters was to lett vnto them our lands in halues after the manner of letting of lands of that kind, in England and noe otherwise That is the Owners to haue the cleare moyetie of all the croppe w^thout any charge of planting making and such like, wee find this course by a late encroachment to be cleane altered and that of greate quantityes w^ch is there made by many tennants There is such strange defalcatons and charges sett vpon it before diuident that little or nothing is comeing to the owners, and therefore vpon a just complaint of many the Compa are resolued, and it is here ordered in a generall Court that the charge of the servants wages making vp and drinking tobacco, with other such like shall not be allowed and borne by the owners, only they will allowe in proportion before divident what shall be wanting to make vp one Hundred marks p^r annum and 2lb vpon euery hundred pownd weight, for keeping the King's castle, to continue till such tyme as other prouision may be

made to free both the one and the other Soe wth our harty comendacons to you wee rest

Yo^{r} very loving ffrends

James Meddus	Robt. Johnson Govern^{r}
John Dyke Deput.	Mathias Harding
Wm. Palmer	Edw Ditchfield Treasur^{r}
George Smith	Rich. Edwards
Georg Etheridg	Antho Wither
Antho: Penniston	John Cuff
John Woodall	John Alcock[1]

London 20 Septem 1626 [1]

36. The Oath for the Tasters and Tryers of Tobaco

You shall sweare to vse yo^{r} vttermost endeavour and skill in reviewing such Tobaco as shall be brought before you to bee tried, tasted and divided That you passe none to be current amongst vs but such as is sound good and marchantable And that you shall notbe led either by favour and affection on one side, or carryed away by malice and displeasure on the other in choosing or refusing any mans Tobaco contrarie to the true meaning and intent of this yo^{r} oath, and also that if any rotten compound or base Tobacco bee brought before yo^{u} to be passed amongst others, that then you cut or cause the same to be cut in peeces and burned Thus you shall deale honestly and faithfully in all things concerning the premises according to the trust reposed in yo^{u} and euerie of yo^{u}

So helpe you god.

The names of the Tryers and Tasters of Tobacco for this present yeare 1626

John Hubbard	for	Har Tribe
Richard Stafford		Smiths Tribe
John Griffin		Devonsh Tribe
John Stamer		Pembr Tribe
Lazarus Havord	for	Pagets
John Brigham		War.
HenryWethersby		Southamp
Anthony Harford		Sandis.

[1] See p. 432 for the answer.

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37. By the Gouernor. a Proclamation.

(1) The abuses offered here by some particuler Tennants towards their Landlords, in making small or no returnes for the landes they manure hath caused the Honnor^{ble} Compa lately to manifest their intents towards the Inhabitants in generall who liue vpon halues in these Islands vizt That they expect not the halues of Tobaco only but of all other comodities raised by them (except what they eat) of w^{ch} they looke for an accompt from them. And this they haue required to be made known vnto you

(2) Likewise the Overseers of the severall Tribes are to be put in mind of the Oath they have formerly taken to see right done beetwixt the landlord and Tenant And to vse yo^{r} best skill to discover all fraud and wrong doeing comitted against either w^{ch} makes me to commend these few p.ticulers to yo^{r} due consideracon and prevencoen

(3) Whereas they hire servants at great wages and charge their Landlords to pay the halfe They yet defalke 6^{lb} in the 100^{lb} for making vp that Tobaco w^{ch} those servants, or their owne apprentices make vp for them w^{ch} ought to go in common, and have no defalcation for it in yo^{r} bookes of division, neither doe I permitt aboue 50^{lb} of Tobaco to bee taken from the marchants part, for any such servant so hyred

(4) Whereas 12^{lbs} of Tobaco was by mee allowed vnto everie housheoulder for himselfe and familie yearly to drinke. Intending thereby to provoke the Inhabitants to make good Tobaco and burne their Bashaw, least it should be afterwards made vp and vented amongst vs But it appearing by proof from England, and here that no such good is wrought by it, as was intended Therefore you are hereby required to allow no such defalcation in that kinde to the prejudice of the Honnor^{ble} company

(5) The encroachments of the Tennant vpon his Landlord for paiement of the Smiths billes, I conceive to be indirect and new, and vnlesse there can be better warrant shewed for it then I haue hitherto seene It ought not to haue place in yo^{r} booke of division for any defalcacoen in that time, the Honnor^{ble} compa beeing vtterly against it

(6) You are to administer the oath formerly made for the true devision of Tobaco betweene the vndertaker and the Halver as you find it here vnder written: for although the Honnor^{ble} Compa have remitted the fynes levyed for the non-jurants, yet they doubt not but the Inhabitants will conforme themselues better hereafter to such orders as are prescribed in their

behalfes A testimonie whereof shall be giuen them in this Oath presented w^ch^ yo^u^ are to offer vnto all that plant Tobaco for reasons formerly expressed. And if any doe refuse to take the said Oath you shall returne their names vnto me the Governor

(7) Let no man thinke that my Intencoens here are to insinuate into favour of the Landlord, by oppressing or limiting the Tenant for I propose myself as readie to take the Tennants part in his just cause, as the Landlords, as shall appeare vpon due complain and tryell, w^ch^ as I desire to expresse it my owne particuler, so I require a conformance herevnto by everie officer in his severall place and calling, as yo^u^ and they shall answere the contrary at yo^r^ severall perrills

38. The Oath for owners and renters to y^t^ marke *, for halvers all.

You shall sweare that yo^u^ haue to yo^r^ knowledge brought before vs to be viewed All the Tobaco that grew and was made this yeare vpon your land: except what you and your frends and servants haue drunke * That soe there may bee an equall devision made betwixt yo^u^ and your vndertaker

So helpe you God

39. To the Right worsp^l^ Capt. Henry Woodhouse Gouernor of theise Islands The humble petition of John Grimsditch and Edmond Knevett

(1) Sheweth that about the 20th day of October past, at a meetinge of the Vestrye in Warwicke Tribe appointed by M^r^ Bernard yo^r^ petitioners beeing of the same societye And one of them Churchwarden, the other sydesman were then and there accused by the aforesaid M^r^ Bernard of seuerall crymes And for such his accusacons yo^r^ petitioner John Grimsditch was prsently dismissed his office of Churchwardenshipp, and Edmond Knevitt (though absent) adiudged to be dismissed his office of sydesman and vestrye, to the great abuse disgrace and scandall of yo^r^ petitioners

May it therefore please yo^r^ good worship, the premises considered, to call before you the said M^r^ Bernard, to showe cause for such his prceedings That if they shall appeare vnlawfull, yo^r^ petitioners may haue recompense, and the offender receaue condigne punishment As in your wisdome shalbe thought fitt. And yo^r^ petitioners shall according to there

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bounden dutie euer pray for yo^{r} worship long life and psperitye.

(2) Articles against M^{r} Bernard p^{r}ferred by John Grimsditch

1. M^{r} Bernard accused John Grimsditch that he had been drunke 3 tymes of his knowledge, and that he would be sworne thereto

2. That he had Imbezelled the communion wyne

3. That he was a theevish gamester, and would so prove him by the apparell he wore in church

4. M^{r} Bernard discharged the said Grimsditch from his office of Church wardenship and societye of the vestrye

5. Did thretten him wth great vehemencye that if he would not resigne as abovesaid, he would depaint him to the Gouvernor and sett him out in coullors

6. M^{r} Bernard did maintayne that the vestrye had full power in themselues to prceed as aboue said

(3) Articles against M^{r} Bernard preferred by Edmond Knevitt

1. Mr Bernard accused Edmond Knevett of most vile and beastly drunkennes

2. That he was a theevish gamester and would soe prove him to be

3. M^{r} Bernard appointed the said Knevitt to resigne his office of sidesman & vestrye

4-5 as above 5 and 6

40. At a Counsell Table held 12 December 1626

M^{r} Bernard beeing called before the Governor and counsell assembled, as against Grimsditch denies 1 and 4, sustains 2 and 3, partially admits and justifies 5 and 6

As against Knevitt affirms 1 to be true, confesses 2, denies 3, and justifies 4 and 5.

The majority of the counsell considered that the vestry went too far, especially in expelling the men without acquainting the Governor but by the law of God M^{r} Bernard might justify the language used

The Governors censure was.[1] That M^{r} Bernard and the vestry proceeded further then they had power to doe. And that they should confesse their fault therein. And that M^{r} Bernard in calling Grimsditch thievish Gamester had done

[1] 'To you, Lord Governor, belongs the censure of this hellish villain.'—*Othello*, v. 2.

'Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgement.'—*Hamlet*, i. 3.

[The sentences of Ecclesiastical Courts were called censures.—J. H. D.]

him wrong, and shall acknowledge himself sory for it, and for performance thereof shall lie in prison during his pleasure. *fiet*[1] Edmond Knevet for accusing M^r^ Barnard for sending for wine when there were of the female kinde in his Chamber, w^ch^ hee vrged in disgraceful maner, for w^ch^ misdemeano^r^ The censure of the Court was That Knevitt should confesse before the Court that hee had done M^r^ Barnard wrong And bee sory for it, or else ly in prison during the Gouernor's pleasure *fiet* [1]

41. Presentments by the grand inquest January $162\frac{6}{7}$

[The presentments are ten in number. 'Jonathan Orton is sentenced to receive 50 lashes for adultery. Nathanyell Andrews and Ellen his wife are presented for not living together as man and wife contrary to the Law of God and nations. Edward Heyes cunstable of Pagets Tribe and two more for comon vsing of vnlawfull games and at vnseasonable times According to the 189 Article of the booke of orders.' Two couples for the very prevalent offence of incontinency before marriage; and two other parties for offences which singularly illustrate the grossness of the manners of the age.]

Humphrey Harvey John Grimditch church wardens of Warwicke Tribe, and John Brigham are also presented for hauling a boat upon the saboath day: William Kempthorne and Humphrey Goddard, for hauling their shippe to land upon the Sabaoth day, and speciallie being in the time of Divine seruice, but no censures are recorded.

42. At a Counsell Table 13th January $162\frac{6}{7}$

In regard that the King's Castle shall alwayes bee provided of one months fire wood for 200 persons if need should so require, it was found requisite and therevpon ordered That everie Tribe shall at their best leisure bring downe two good boats full of firewood, betwixt this and the first of May next ensueing, to bee kept in store vpon the worke for provision of firewood vpon all occasions

(2) Secondly it is ordered that the fort worke shall beginne vpon munday the 22 January next ensueing And that Sandis Tribe shall send downe 40 men to begin vpon that day. And to bring downe with them their provision with water caske and potts and kettles to dresse their provision in: and that these 40 men shall there continue 20 dayes togeather in the said

[1] *fiet*. This seems to mean that the imprisonment was inflicted.

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worke, viz 10 dayes for themselues and 10 for their Landlords, according to the former order made in that behalfe

(3) Whereas there is a generall complaint by the inhabitants of the severall Tribes that they cannot get their muskets and other armes mended and kept fixe and cleane to doe service withall vpon euerie occasion. for performance whereof they have solicited Henry Long to vndertake the mending and keeping of them in good order hee being well contented herewᵗʰ having assurance of paymᵗ for his labour in the premises vpon which it is ordered by the Governoʳ & counsell that the said Henry Long shall receive 200ˡᵇ of Tobaco at the division from the Generall levie for his Labours herevpon: but if he neglects his dutie in performance of what he vndertakes herein That then he shall stand to the taxation and moderacon of the Governor & counsell for his payment

(4) Anne the wife of Francis Powell of Pagets Tribe beeing presented by the grand inquest for divers Immodest behaviours was by the Governor & Counsell censured to bee set in the cage at Sᵗ George's, and there to remaine 2 dayes and 2 nights

(5) An order that Nathanyell Andrews shall haue an attestacon of the loose life of his wife Ellen Gardiner to the end hee may obteyne a divorse from her by authoritie from England

(6) An order to establish the former order that all bargaines made betwixt partie & partie shall bee registered before the overseers of the seuerall Tribes. If wᶜʰ bee not p.formed they shall haue no tryall for them at the Assizes

43. The examination of William Thaxton vpon oath

(1) Who saith that on Sunday last was swennight hee wᵗʰ some other beeing at William Langton's a dinner (because of the wetnesse of the weather) where beeing set and talking of the warrant wᶜʰ was read in the church concerning Capt Yates about the ferrie That euerie one from 16 yeares vpwards should pay j pound of Tobacco to the said ferrie John Turner said I would wee were among Turkes and Jewes, or, wee are among Turkes and Jewes. wᶜʰ of the twaine this examinant doth not knowe

(2) The examination of John West upon oath

Who saith, that beeing at William Langton's at dinner with diuers others, and speaking of the warrant wᶜʰ was read about the ferrie. One said that because the Inhabitants haue not 2 pound this yeare everie one from 16 and vpwards must pay j lb the next yeare To wᶜʰ this examinant replyed what woemen

and all? woemen are alwayes free Then Turner said something concerning Turkes, but whether he said wee are among Turkes, or I would I were among Turkes This examinant knoweth not

For Imprisonment during the Governors pleasure 4

For 3 months Imprisonment, and 20 days worke at the Forts. 2

Rev. Mr Staples 50 dayes worke at the Forts

The sherife To acknowledge his fault openly in the Church, and suffer imprisonment during the Governors pleasure

The Governors censure That Turner shall returne to his house to order his Tobaco and send it whom to his vndertaker. And then to returne to render his body to prison during his pleasure

[This is the latest record of Capt. Henry Woodhouse as Governor. Capt. Phillip Bell appears to have taken his seat before the 16th February following. In 1634 he took a lease for 99 years from Sir William Killigrew, dated October 29, of six shares of land in Hambleton Tribe, with an apparent intention of returning to Bermuda, upon the nominal rental of one hundred oranges, one hundred lemons, and one hundred of potatoes, to be paid at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The rent was not paid in 1637, and Sir William Killigrew reclaimed the land, but authorised his attorney, Capt. Christopher Parker, to relet it to Woodhouse at a higher rent—viz. Three hundred of the best and biggest oranges, one hundred of the best lemons, and one hundred of the best potato roots. Should Woodhouse refuse to farm the land at this last rent, then it was to be offered to Thomas Wood, gent, the actual occupier, for 21 years, on the same terms, with the addition of four hundredweight of tobacco. Woodhouse did decline; for we hear no more of him in Bermuda, and he describes himself as Henry Woodhouse of Virginia, planter, in a deed of sale dated April 15, 1640.]

CHAPTER VII.

CAPTAIN PHILLIP BELL GOVERNOR.

A.D. 1627–1629.

1. At a Counsell Table 16 Febuary $162\frac{6}{7}$

Present Capt Phillips Bell Governor.
Capt^{n} vincent Disney Sheriffe
M^{r} Morgan } ministers
M^{r} Coapland }
and 4 more.

The Governor desyring to bee informed what provisions, and apparell &c were due to him as Governor from Capt^{n} Woodhouse, for and besides his servants &c. An order made at the Counsell Table the 10 Octob. 1623 was shewed him by the Secret. vpon record. How Capt Woodhouse received them from Capt Haryson. Vpon w^{ch} & Capt Stoakes his entreatie that the Governor would be pleased to respite this businesse vntill Capt Woodhouse returned from the mayne, hee consented there vnto, and pr.ceeded no further therein

2. At a Counsell Table 1 March $162\frac{6}{7}$

Present Capt Phillip Bell Capt^{n} Henry Woodhouse and the same counsellors

The Governor demaunded of Capt^{n} Woodhouse a proporcon of provision, aparell, bedding, working tooles and other necessaries for his servants, w^{ch} he was to receaue of Capt^{n} Woodhouse, according to an order of Court made at the Counsell Table the 24 October 1623, w^{ch} the Secretary beeing comanded to produce, hee read as followeth

Vpon the surrendering of places betwixt the officers vidzt

Old and new Governors, Sherifs and Capt^s^ of the kings castle It was ordered That Capt^n^ Harrison Capt Stokes and Capt^n^ Elfrith shall returne those Tenn^ts^ w^ch^ they have receiued And two third parts of such provision for liuelihood received with them, or the quantitie thereof. But all other things received with them to the x as Bedding, apparell, and instruments or tooles of Iron And if any of those servants shall dye within their first yeare That then the Landlord or m^r^ of the said Tenn^ts^ shall repay halfe freight for them towards their charges disbursed by the Honnor^ble^ Compa.

After much debating and reasoning *pr et con* the opinion of the counsell was required herevpon

The Secretarie (in brief) that it is binding—M^r^ Copeland the same

Capt^n^ Felgate and Capt^n^ Stoaks that it applied only to the then change

M^r^ Morgan applauding Capt^n^ Woodhouse for the many favours hee had receeued from him, and that he was his seruant *vsque ad aras* yet coming to matter of conscience His opinion is that this order hath relacon vnto the succeeding governors, and other officers surrendering their places. Capt^n^ Kendal, Capt^n^ Disney, the same

Upon these proceedings the Governor produced a note which was given him by Lieut Buckley conteyning such particulars as Capt^n^ Woodhouse received from Capt Harrison acknowledging himselfe contented and satisfied for his former pretences by receiving the same in specie or the value of them, according as they are hereunder written, and as he receiued them and for the residue which Capt Woodhouse receiued not, the Governor was contented to take securities according to the value and proporcoen w^ch^ Capt Woodhouse received of Captain Harrison

[Here follows the schedule given at p. 336 of goods to the value of 50*l.* 12*s.*]

In conformance herevnto the psent Gouvernour requires assurance for that like sum or quantitie from Captain Woodhouse, wh hee likewise is to returne with the provisions afore mencoened or the value thereof unto his successour.

And further the Court thinkes it requisite and doth order that the succeeding Governo^rs^ shall require no more for his servants provisions for livelyhood, apparell, bedding, or other necessaries belonging to them than this present Governor shall receive from Captain Woodhouse, And in like proportion there is no more to be demanded from all other officers upon Exchange and surrend^r^ing the places unto their successors.

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The Governors demand of the last years Croppe of Captain Woodhouse is referred unto the next meeting of the Generall Assembly

3. Upon the Governors proposition concerning the surplusage of Tobaco w^ch^ remayned of the gleabe lands and servants set forth by Capt Woodhouse his orders (the ministers salaries beeing paid)[1] w^ch^ surplusage hee assumed properly to belong vnto himselfe to dispose of where and how hee pleased. After a long disputacoen at the Counsell Table *pr et con* The Governour (Bell) required the court to deliver their opinions w^ch^ the secretarye did by wryting as followeth.

The secretary's opinion is That whereas the gleabe Lands and hire of the servants should be collected and brought vnto Capt^n^ Henry Woodhouse then gouvernour to be disposed off for the ministers vses, whose salaries beeing all paid, and a surplusage yet remayneing and undisposed of by Capt^n^ Woodhouse aforesaid. That the right of disposing of the said surplusage yet vndisposed off aperteynes to the present Gouvernour (Bell) to dispose of according to the former order then made, to the ministers vses, and this is the vnanimous consent of the whole court now assembled

4. March the 2nd $162\frac{6}{7}$. [a Memorandum.]

When the businesse was in disputing concerning the surplusage of Tobaco remayning arysing from the rent of the gleabe lands and servants The Gouvernour said that he vnderstood the right of disposing the said surplusage yet vndisposed off by Captain Woodhouse belongs vnto him, hee being now Gouverno^r^ And that it should bee soe, but afterwards hee said that he would dispose of it to those vses mencoened in the order, yet notwithstanding he would proceed legally, and desyred the Court to render their opinions concerning the same

VINCENT DISNEY BELLINGHAM MORGAN
ROGER WOOD PATRICKE COPELAND

Vpon voices to bee past about the Gleabe land The Gouernour bid vs speake our consciences whether wee thought it fitt it should bee soe or noe, if wee did not thinke it fitt, it should be soe: many disputacoens having formerly past about that matter

THOMAS STOKES: ROBERT FELGATE

[1] See Order, Jan. 10, $162\frac{5}{6}$.

The Governor then said That for misrepresenting his wordes spoken at the counsell Table in open court he thought fit to put him (Capt Stokes) from the counsell vntil either the honourable compa bee pleased to restore him: or that hee there vnto called by himselfe

5. At a counsell table held the 21st of March $162\frac{6}{7}$

Whereas Robert Hat for sundry misdemeanors, and especially for depraving of Captain Wodehouse was censured by the generall assemblie to stand in the Pillorie. And have the heire cut away from that side of his head from whence his eare was formerly cut off And to have the other eare nailed thereunto and slitt thorough to loose him after one houre &c

Upon Captain Woodhouse his request and mediation to have the rigour of this sentance remitted for nayling his eare to the Pillorie, the cutting off his haire &c It was ordered by the Governor and council assembled that he should only stand upon the Pillorie with his head thorough, but have the rest of his punishm^{t} deferred and suspended withall unto the next meeting of the general assembly which censured him as aforesaid [Not satisfied with this issue, Robert Hatt followed the general example on the downfall of Capt. Woodhouse, by petitioning for redress.]

Upon the petition of Robert Hatt who complayned of much injustice done him as well by the p^{r}ceding Gouvernors, as also in an especiall manner by Capt Woodhouse w^{ch} vpon due examinacon was found to be false, and he in the open court for his said slanderous petition, and for reviling speeches against the whole house was censured and adiudged as follows

That hee shall stand in the Pillorie one houre, haue his hayre cutt short from of his head that the side w^{ch} hath noe eare may be seene, his head to be put through the hole of the pillory, and the eare w^{ch} is left to be nayled close to the pillorie and after slitt from the naile, and to weare short hayre during his aboade in the Islands, and to aske Capt Woodhouse forgiuenes

But vpon Capt Woodhouse forgiueness of Hatt, and request to the Gouernor to remitt some pte of the punishment, he was only sett on the pillorye with his head put through the hole of the board

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6. On the same occasion was entered The Declaration of Thomas Offley upon his Oath taken before the Gouv^{r} and counsell the 16 March $162\frac{6}{7}$

Who saith That upon some speeches that past betwixt Lieut Browne and him w^{ch} governo^{r} hee would haue or stand up for To which this declarant answered that hee would rather haue this governo^{r} whom the companie had now sent over than the old Governor whom hee heard had done some wrongs in the countrey though he never wronged this declarant Upon which the said Browne replyed That he was a foole and an asse that should speake against the old Governor and thereupon leant over the Table and chalenged this declarant to feite To which Thomas Offley answered you will not say so much to-morrow. With that the master of the shipp came into the Cabben and willed the said Browne to depart and leave the same

A deposition of Roger Amorie to the same effect follows

Captain Wood The Secretary censured Browne to put in Sureties for his good behaviour to answer it at the assizes, and ymprisonm^{t} untill the shippe be gone

M^{r} Reynor censured him to be chayned to the gallows 24 houres and suffer imprisonment until the shippe be gone

Hugh Wentworth censured him to be chained to the Gallows 24^{h} and suffer imprisonm^{t} during the Governors pleasure

Captain Jennings censured him to lye in prison during the shippes being in harbour and after to put in two sufficient suerties for his good behavour

M^{r} Painter censured him to be led to the Gallows guarded as if he went to be executed with a rope about his necke and there to stand one houre. And to suffer imprisonment during the Governors pleasure and at his release to be perpetuallie bound to his good behaviour.

[Rev^{d}] M^{r} Staples censured him to bestride a piece of ordinance being fully laden and soe discharged

Captain Kendall censured him to be bound to his good behaviour. And to lie in prison during the Governors pleasure The Governor censured That he shall be carried to the Gallows Island with a roape about his necke as if he went to execution and be their fastened to the Gallows 24h. and after ymprisoned until the shippe be gone and lastly to be bound to his good behaviour

To bee executed this day 14 daies.

7. Acts of Assembly March $162\frac{6}{7}$ [abbreviated].

(1) An act for the preservation of timber in the Sum^{rs} Islands

Forbids entering upon any lands either public or private to cut timber and young cedar trees or such like for hoopes, staves, &c under penalty of being proceeded against as a trespasser: and orders that all and every owner, tennant, and occupiers of land shall plant upon their several shares in places convenient, the quantity of 50 mulberry trees and 50 pownegranet trees yearly for three years together next enseuing, as also tenn cotton trees in places most convenient for the growth thereof

(2) An act against the stealers of tobacco plants

Penalty to forfeit 200 lbs of Tobacco $\frac{1}{3}$ to the owner, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the Tenant or haluer, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the generall assembly. But if the p tie soe offending be an apprentice for tearme of yeres, being thereof lawfully convicted, he shalbe whipped publiquely at the post upon his naked back as a rogue untill the blood follow, And be it further enacted by the power and authority aforesaid, that whosoever he shalbe soe offending or presuming soe to offend whether owner haluer freeman seruant or apprentice shall beside his fyne or punishment aforesaid stand 3 severall sabbath dayes at the Church dore during divine service in that tribe or p.rish from whence such plants shalbe stolne as aforesaid with a bunch of plants hanged about his neck to the shame of the pson soe offending for the present And thereby to eschew the like for the future, any law act order use or custome heretofore to the contrary in anywise not withstanding

(3) An act against the drawing of Pilchards and ffrye to make oyle

Whereas it hath bene and still is a vsuall Custome of the Inhabitants of theise Islands to hale and draw pilchards in seuerall bayes and places where they doe frequent, more for the benefitt of the oyle than present vse of fishing, to the generall losse of the same Inhabitants, not only by reason of the distroying of very much frye but also to the greate losse and priudice of the said Inhabitants by chasing away other greate fishe from the shoare, w^{ch} liue vpon the said frye And further

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doth hereby cause the said Pilchards and other small fish to be so shie that there is greate scarceity of Bayte for necessary fishing, w^ch beeing considered by this worthye and graue assemblie It is enacted by the power and authoritye of the same That from henceforth noe manner of pson whatsoeuer do hale or drawe any pilchards or other frye or small fishe (vnless for baite or food) out of any the bayes or other places belonging to these Islands as aforesaid And the rather for that it is a greate reliefe being taken only for baite to bring in sea fishe and otherwise a greate losse, especially in tyme of scarceitye of corne And it is further enacted by the power and authority aforesaid, that noe man of what quality so euer shall hale or drawe in any bay or about any Island w^th any long netts any manner of breames, to the distruccon and fraying of the greate fishe from shoare, but only w^th netts of Tenn fathom long at the most in forfeiture of the said netts soe vsed to be sould, and converted to gen^rall vses of the plantacon

(4) An act against the entertayning of inmates thorough the seuerall tribes and publique lands

Whereas heretofore and at this p^rsent it hath bene very chargeable and discomodious vnto the Inhabitants in generall by entertaynning of pson in the nature of Inmates into any of the tribes, whereby they haue bene burthensome to the same tribes thorough the want of sufficiency of land allowed them It is therefore required by the Inhabitants, that it may be enacted by this greate and judicious Assemblie And be it enacted by power and Authoritie thereof that what man soeuer shall entertayne, and bring in any such pson shall either allowe them sufficient land to manure & plant for the sustentacon for all such psons soe entertayned, or otherwise to put in securitye, for the discharge of the tribe or P.ishe where they are resident Any Lawe or Custome to the Contrary notwithstanding.

(5) An act against the shipping of interlopers and straingers Tobacco, before the inhabitants

No strainger or Interloper shalbe suffered to shipp any tobacco vntill such tyme as the planters haue shipped there marchants and there owne, w^ch will tend much to the benefitt of the Honor^ble Compa. and the Inhabitants here resyding

(6) An act to assesse the Inhabitants occupying land in seuerall tribes

Persons possessing land in two or more Tribes shall at every division of Tobaco pay a rateable quantity in every Tribe.

(7) An act to establish the comon land to the benefitt of the seuerall tribes to whom it p.ply belongs.

Whereas in the 206 Article of the booke of Orders & constitucons the hon^ble^ Compa haue sett apart the spare and comon land nere the fresh water in euery tribe to be divided in p.porcon to euery share for their orderly building of houses and gardens for the more comfortable liueing of the Inhabitants of these Islands as in townes togeather And for asmuch as of late the said space or comon land belonging to the 8 tribes is sett forth by order of the late Gouernor, to seu^r^all psons of theise Islands for annuall rent with intencon to expend the said rents towards the ereccon of a freeschoole in the Somer Islands, w^ch^ for diuers reasons wee the Inhabitants conceive for the p^r^sent to be in effectuall and infeasible Bee it therefore enacted &c. that the share or comon Lands belonging to eur^ie^ p.ticular Tribe aforsaid shall bee at the ordering and disposing of the Inhabitants and tennants of those respectiue tribes vnto whom seuerally they doe belong either towards the mayntenance of the Church and other duties concerning the same or for the releiving of other necessarye charges in the same Tribes as to them shall be found most expedient. The Inhabitants of theise Islands in generall freely offering their readines to contribute towards the erection and mayntenance of the said Free Shoole in another manner when soeuer the hon^ble^ Compa shall goe before them by example to that end.

(8) An Act for maynteyning of the Mount keeper and the attendants of the severall beacons in the mayne.

Whereas there are three beacons erected in the most eminent and convenient places in these Islands, w^ch^ being carefullie attended and maynteyned are very comodious for us the Inhabitants to discrye the coming of any shipps upon our coasts and upon sight of such to giue an alarme by fyre from any one of them soe discrying whereby the rest may be fyred and thereby

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wee may be suddenlie p.pared and readilie armed for our owne defence w^{ch} is a thing of great consequence & benefitt to all people where such beacons are erected and maynteyned, ffor the effecting whereof Bee it enacted by power and authoritie of this present generall assemblie that the several beacons now erected thorough the countrey be sufficiently repayred & p.uided with iron cressetts pitch boards and other necessarye materialls for fyrelight and be also attended and watched morning noone and evening from the beginning of March till the last of September and also in the wynter tyme when wynde and weather is fitting for the same w^{ch} people soe watching and attending the Beacons as aforesaid wth the charges thereunto belonging togeather with the mount keep. at S^{t} Georges shalbe discharged by a gen^{r}all hand from the Levyes of the same tribes whereby the same beacons or any of them may by noe meanes be suffered to goe to ruine

The Generall Assemblie doe allowe unto the mount keeper of S^{t} Georges for his yearely salary	100^{lb}	tob.
To the keep of the Beacon in Southampton tribe	100	tob
To the keep of the Beacon in Pembr. tribe	500	tob
To the keep of the Beacon in Sandis tribe	500	tob

(9) An act to settle and establish the mayntenance for keeping of the fferrey (S^{t} George's).

Recites that of late 'a practice hath bene in hand to p.cure 1lb of tob. to be paid unto the ferrey for euerye head within these Islands aboue the age of 16 yeares.' substitutes an enactment 'that all that publique land lying in S^{t} Georges Island from the pond where the Marshalls lyne ends, to burnt point now in the tenure or occupation of Captain John Yates, be it more or lesse, shalbe appropriated and set aparte for the sole use and keeping of the said fferrey. Togeather with that Island called Coney Island.' reserving Royalties due to the Company under Art 124. (Booke of orders): and it adds a yearly levy of 300lbs of tobacco upon the whole body of the plantacon.

b. The reporte and award of the 5 comittees for the viewing of Capt Yates his land appointed for the fferrey follows, determining his compensation for giving it up.

(10) An act against the building of a Church at the ouerplus.

. . The question of the said church at the overplus, shall surcease, and instead thereof a fayre church to be built in the

most convenient place in the sayde Tribe (Southampton) whereby one church may serve for the whole tribe, and by that meanes one preacher may be every second Sabbath day amongst vs. w^ch^ cannot be if they shalbe constrayned to build two churches in Southampton Tribe which now in tyme may be redressed, And the Inhabitants of the same tribe more enabled to expend about other necessary vses there vnto belonging

(11) An act in the behalfe of the ministers in the Somer Islands.

Wee the Inhabitants of the Somer Islands, taking into consideracon those strict pr.ceedings lately practized against some p.ticuler ministers belonging vnto vs whereby they haue bene much preiudiced and discouraged from following their calling with chearefulnes in the seruice of God. w^ch^ as it is a great discomfort to them. soe it is a great losse vnto the Inhabitants of these Islands, even in there greatest good that concerns them besides others hereby, well affected to this plantacon are offended and terrifyed from coming to liue amongst vs For reformacon whereof. Bee it enacted &c That all ministers who shall either be sent from hence or deteyned in prison vpon the gou^r^nors displeasure shall notwithstanding their vnwilling absence or constreyned silence loose noe pte of that stipend w^ch^ is due vnto them for their worke in the ministrie except it may appeare that they haue been Justlie p.ceeded against for some publique offence comitted by them, and they thereby vnworthy of that charge comended to them And for as much as M^r^ Nathaniell Bernard our late minister hath not only lyen in prison [see p. 403] and thereby deprived of the vse of his ministry, but also haueing serued here one whole year, since in the country, not receauing that small stipend allotted vnto euery minister soe serving his function and calling. It is furthermore enacted that all such stipends and meanes w^ch^ are got behind and vnpaid vnto M^r^ Nathaniell Bernard aforesaid as well during the terme of his imprisonment as service in the country since his enlargement shall be allowed and paid either to himselfe if he shall return againe (wh. wee much desire) or to his assignes nominated in his stead and to his vse to receaue the same. Any law order or comaund heretofore to the contrary notwithstanding

Also it was consented vnto by the whole body of the generall Assembly that the ministers meanes shall be raised this yeare ensueing vnto 700lb of Tobacco for three of the 4

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ministers now residing in the Somer Islands [1] whereof M^r^ Staples being one, is contented to receaue the said 700lb of tobacco here in full satisfaccon of this yeares stipend. And whereas some of the Adventurers of the hon^ble^ Compa haue vndertaken to pay M^r^ Copeland 100 marks per annum in England. the said Assemblie haue concluded that 533 lb of good tobacco shalbe consigned vnto those Aduenturers of the honor^ble^ compa. who haue vndertaken the paym^t^ of the said 100 marks in England for M^r^ Copelands vse.

And also that 700^lb^ of Tobacco shalbe deliuered vnto M^r^ Morgan and 700^lb^ vnto M^r^ Stirke to be sent into England and sould for either of their vses, the said Assembly promising them & either of them That if the said Tobacco so sent ouer doe not raise their salaryes vnto 100 markes sterling for each, that then the countrye shall make it vp soe much the next yere, and if it rise vnto more then there stipends of 100 marks sterling money The said ministers covenant and promise to return the overplus vnto the country back againe.[2]

[The Assembly proceeds to grant a lease of the glebe lands in Southampton (less 6 acres) to Nicholas Wath for twenty-one years, with four servants.]

(12) An act for the assessing of Interlopers & Marchants factors, according to the haluers of the seuerall Tribes.

Whereas there are diuers and sundry psons w^ch^ resort hither euerie shipping, and bring wares and marchandize into theise Islands having no relacon vnto the Honor^ble^ Compa of adventurers for plantacon, nor owners of any land heare, but make vse of there tyme and abode amongst vs selling there wares and marchandizes at very high rates and yet themselues

[1] Viz., Copeland, Bernard, Morgan, and Staples.

[2] Taking the mark at 13*s.* 6*d.*, it appears to have been doubtful in 1627 whether Bermuda tobacco would clear 1*s.* $10\frac{3}{4}$*d.* per lb. in London at wholesale price; perhaps 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* retail. At this very time, as we learn from Winthrop, the best Virginia tobacco was selling at the extravagant price of 7*s.* per lb. He writes to his son:—'We want a little Tobacco. I had very good, for seven shillings a pound, at a grocer's, by Holburn Bridge. There be two shops together. It was at that which was furthest from the bridge, towards the conduit. If you tell him, it is for him that bought half a pound of Verina and a pound of Virginia of him last time he will use you well. Send me half a pound of Virginia' (Winthrop's Letters, vol. i., March 18, 1627).

The dishonest practices so often complained of (see, for example, the Company's letter of Sept. 20, 1626) had doubtless much to do with this great difference of value.

not subiect to such taxes and levies as the poore planters are, for generall duties of this plantācon Be it therefore enacted &c.

All such persons found resident in any tribe at the time of division, are to be assessed in the number of the haluers.

(13) An act concerning the removal of Tenants at Will in the Somer Islands

Fforasmuch as greate abuses are offered and practized against the poore inhabitants of these Islands by some persons who going from hence into England, doe take the tennants seates and lands over there heads. As also by some owners or landlords in England by transporting & sending ouer new tennants to manure and occupi there lands being already improved, whereby the Tennants in possession of the same lands haue bene much impouerished and themselues and families vnprouided of any place of aboad to the great discouragement of all industrious men in this plantacon ffor redresse whereof in tyme to come Be it enacted &c [that one whole year's warning shall be given; the outgoing tenants to be paid for the buildings erected by them as valued by 4 indifferent men, at the rate of $\frac{1}{6}$th depreciation for every year they had occupied the land; *e.g.* If they have lived 3 years on the land one half their value, if 4 years one third, if 6 years nothing; they shall then leave their buildings free.]

(14) An act for reformation of the former act p.hibiting buying & selling goods on ship board.

Whereas in the tyme of Captain Harrison's gouerm^{t}. an Act was made by the generall Assemblie representing the whole body of the contry That noe marriner or passenger arriuing in these Islands should sell barter or exchange deliuer or make any bargaine on shipboard for any strong liquor victualls or other marchandize any other where than at S^{t} Georges where there should be appointed unto them convenient Storehouses to lay in their Goods to that purpose as in the said Act more at large appeareth

And forasmuch as since the making of the said Act there are Store houses built elsewhere very comodious for all marchants and marriners and passingers to land and safe keepe theire goods neare unto Walsingeham bay, being very con-

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venient for ships to ryde and unlade there burdens there in safetie, the said act and euerie part thereof is hereby declared voyde and of noe effect And instead thereof be it enacted by the power and authority of this p.sent generall Assemblie That if any p.son or p.sons whatsoever Inhabiting these Islands shall p.sume hereafter to carrye any tobacco aboard any shipp or barque, that shall come and arrive in any of our harbors either from England or any other coast, to sell for money or to truck barter or exchange for any wares liquors or marchandize whatsoever the pson or psons soe offending shall not onlie forfeite all the said tobacco soe carryed aboard as aforesaid, the one half to the informr the other half to be imployed upon generall uses for the plantacon, but shall also suffer 6 days imprisonment without baile or maynprize. ffurthermore to prevent all forestallers and regrators who for the most part are idle p.sons moathes and cankers in this little common wealth who thorough their odious and base practizes in secrett trading on shippboard ingrosse all kinds of comodities for their private benefitt to retayle again to others to the greate losse and hindrance of the Inhabitants in generall Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid That if any pson of what quality soever shall barter for or buy any goods wares liquors or marchandize whatsoever more than for his own necessary use and for his family wthin the space of 21 dayes after the arrival of any shipp within any of our harbors the ptie soe offending shall forfeit the value of the said goods soe bought or bartered for, the one half to be imployed upon generall uses of this plantacon the other half to him that will sue for the same by accon of debt bill plaint or informacon Also be it enacted by the authority aforesaid That all passingers whatsoever coming from any pte or coast to these Islands shall at there first arrivall come and make tender of themselves before the Governor for the tyme beeing and signifie to him the cause of there coming and remayning in the Islands according to the laudable custome heretofore used upon paine of such punishment upon such offenders for there contempt as shalbe inflicted by the Governor and his counsell

(15) An addition to the act against unlawfull games.

Prohibits the acting of any interlude or stage play of any kind whatsoeuer, on penalty of 20 lbs of tobacco

Also the selling of any figgdrinke to apprentices. on penalty of 10 lbs of tobacco

(16) An addition unto the Act concerning artificers and labourers.

To remedy 'a generall complainte that they have been paid with base tobacco for their labors being such as they could put off for no commodities they stood in need of.'

(17) An addition to the act to enable the Churchwardens and Chiefe of the p.ish to puide for the necessities of the same.

This act empowers the minister of every Parish with the assistance of the Counsellor Churchwardens and sidemen of every Tribe and parishe to select and choose by plurality of voyces a competent number of honest and religious men, not exceeding 13 to be of the vestrye for assisting the minister and churchwardens and other officers in there said tribe and pishe for the orderinge & disposing of all things belonging to there Church according to the table of Orders extant in euerie charge and confirmed by the generall Assemblie reserving all cases of difficulty and punishment to the ordering & disposing of the Gouernor & his counsell Moreover whereas the Churchwardens and sidesmen are bound by there oathes and office to p^{r}sent all comon swearers amongst other misdemeanours in there Tribe and parishe. Be it further enacted &c that the vestrye of euerye Tribe & p.ishe shall enquire of all comon swearers and blasphemers of the holie name of Almightie God and vpon due proofe for euery oath so irreligiously taken shall present the ptie or pties soe offending at the next generall assizes where they shall be preceeded against accordinge to the Lawes of England against swearers and be censured to pay 12*d* for euery prophane oath soe taken * * whereby all prophane, blasphemous & wicked oathes may be rooted out of the Somer Islands

(18) An Act to confirme some former Acts with some additions to them as the tyme requires. [These are noted *ante*, p. 314.]

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(19) An Act to free the Inhabitants from the yearely salarye of the muster Mr. being an office superfluous in the Somer Islands.

Whereas it is the Ordinance of the hono^{ble} Court of Adventurers for this plantacon That the Compa shall not be charged with the mayntenance of any the public officers of theise Islands but they shalbe maynteyned out of the publique lands or by such other meanes as shalbe sett downe by the gen^{r}all Assemblie And whereas in an Assemblie held in these Islands in the tyme of Capt John Harrison his govm^{t} the muster M^{r} was allowed j^{lb} of tobacco for euery able man yearely wh he should exercise out of wh sallarye the said muster master was to mayntayne his leiftennt and his drumm and to giue his said leiftnnt 200^{lb} of tob p ann who was by the said award ordered to repayre euerye month unto euerye seuerall tribe for the more ease of the Inhabitants then and there to teach and instruct them in there postures and mōcons the better to prepare them against the quarterly musters

And whereas also by the worthye care and puision of the late Gouern^{r} Capt^{n} Henry Woodhouse for the exercise of armes the Islands haue of late been diuided into 4 seuerall diuisions under 4 seuerall captaines there being able and sufficient officers in each of the said Comp^{s} for the exercise of the rest and yet the excessive burthens and charges of the Inhabitants noe way lessened but rather much more augmented and increased Be it therefore enacted by this psent Generall Assemblie and by Authoritye of the same That the said award formerlie made in the said assemblie for allowance of i^{lb} of tob for euerye able man wthin these Islands for the said muster M^{r} Salarye be from henceforth utterlye voyde and annighilated, to all intents and purposes The psent generall assemblie finding as the case now stands the said muster M^{rs} Salarye to be a needles and unnecessarye burthen and finding also iust causes and exceptions of unworthines by diuers ill offices done by the said muster M^{r} towards the inhabitants of theise Islands out of whose labors he hath yearely receaued his meanes as well by increasing of unnecessarye charges, in not pforming the condicons of the said award as in other psonall deserts and abuses towards the Honor^{ble} Companye and Inhabitants in generall and forasmuch as the Sherriffe of these Islands (who is a gent well experienced in Martiall disciplyne) and is by order from the said hon^{ble} compa in quality of a Treasurer for the Colonye to keepe in his Custodye all shott powder Armo^{r} and other ammunicon whatsoeuer deliu^{r}yng the same at

all tymes as occasion shall require, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid That Captain Vincent Disney now Sherriff of these Islands shall in euery of his quarter walks viewe ouer all the armes in the 4 seuerall companies before mencōned And in quality of Muster M^r^ shall euerye quarter exercise the said Compa and giue seasonable direccōns and instruccōns unto the Captain and all other officers of the same diuisions for the better discipline of the Inhabitants in there excercise of Armes for which his paynes and care in that behalf taken This psent gen^r^all Assemblie doth recommend him to that extraordinarie reward p.mised by the hono^ble^ Compa for other such like seruice as it is specifyed and expressed in the 151 Article of the booke of Orders.

8. The Acts of the General Assembly of March $162\frac{6}{7}$ are followed by 'the Inhabitants grievances for their Injuries susteyned by Capt Stoaks' which were presented to the same assembly

(1) His refusal to cleare the path between stoaks his Bay and the Kings Castle, as all other owners haluers and tennants in the Somer Islands els are, by reason of w^ch^ his priveledge the Hon Compa and the countrye were endamaged in the year 1625 in paying for clearing the said path in his said land 120 lb of Tobaco.

(2) Notwithstanding that the path was well cleared and enlarged in the year 1625 He contrived to procure an Order to clear it in July 1626 at the price of 300 lbs of Tobaco, and 100 lbs a year for the time ensuing Soe that 420 lb of Tobaco hath bene allreadye paid these two yeares last past and 100 lb is still yearlie to be paid for clearing the path through that land which yeilds the Hon. Compa for their yearly rent but 30 lb of Tobaco

[This is the first example of a military road in Bermuda, the object being to give access by land to the Castle; and it would appear probable that the breach by which the Castle is now insulated, instead of being at the extremity of a long promontory, is of later date than 1627, as there is no present possibility of getting across without boats.]

(3) For paying or procuring to be paid to Capt^n^ ffelgate 200 lb of tobaco at the last division for overseeing the workmen upon the Castle which it was his own duty to do

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(4) Wee complayne that Capt Stoaks being betrusted by the country to put in souldiers to serue at the Kings Castle for some p.ticular tribes, he suffered the said souldiers to be employed elsewhere for his owne private use and benifitt, and yet receaued that salarye from the respective w^{ch} he conditieoned for. As namelie for Sandis tribe for his negroe Mathias A^{o} 1623 and for southamp. Tribe for one Coffe sometymes Capt^{n} Yates his servant, who was absent from the said Rock more than half a yeares space togeather The rest of the Souldiers undertaking to beare out his labo^{r} who was put out for some misdemeano^{r} for which the said Capt Stoaks pmised them a Runnlett of 10 gallons of liquo^{r}, wch although they performed he did not pay unto them.

(5) A grievance about 300 lb Tobacco levied to keep up a boat.

(6) Wee complaine that the Kings Castle being the chiefe key of the countrye requiring men ot trust and worth to attend and guard it for the hono^{r} of the place and safetie of the Inhabitants &c. The said Capt Stoaks neglecting both, hath pcured a most notorious felon and twice condemned pson to be there seated as a Souldier for Smiths Tribe and his accessorie being a scandalous and noted pson to be there settled as a Souldier for Southamp. Tribe, to the disgrace of the said pfession and discouragement of all honest psons there residing, and disreputation of this plantacon

(7) That upon a resolution of the late Gouernour to erect and build a forte in Pennistons Island he charged and received 120 lb of tobacco for the hire of an old and vnserviceable boate which in one weeks vse was unable to swime aboue water

(8) That notwithstanding the dearnes and scarcenes of powder in theise Islands, yet at one feast of Capt^{n} Wodehouse then Gouernor (see p. 424) at the Kings Castle, the said Capt Stoaks spent in shooting of the ordinance and muskett shott one barrell and a halfe of powder

(9) Whereas a Souldier named Richard Barefoote was hyred by the countrye to serve at the kings castle, the said Barefoote was employed at S^{t} Georges about 2 or 3 months to make salt, And that he was lent to Capt ffelgate for 3 months or a month to worke at Coopers Island & elsewhere, the Castle in the meane tyme waiting the said Barefootes attendance for his ma^{ts} and the countreys service

[To these nine charges Capt. Stoaks gives brief but specific replies, the gist of most of them being that his acts were authorised; some he denies.]

9. [The inhabitants renewed the complaint, in a replication to his several answers, at great length, adding fresh charges of gross drunkenness and other offences.]

To the grievance about the path betweene Tuckers Towne and the Kings Castle, he saith that it was to be cleared by a generall hand, and that he receeaued noe pay for it

In December Anno 1623 At the first assizes held in these Islands by Capt Henry Woodhouse[1] The said Capt^{n} Thos. Stoaks began his project about that path and then by sinister practize wth some of the grand inquest procured this presentment

'Wee find that the keeping of the highway betweene Tuckers towne and the Kings castle, vpon a general hand by the severall tribes is a great trouble to the countrye Therefore we desire that Captain Stoaks would be pleased to take the keeping thereof into his owne charge, and the countrye to giue him j lb of tobacco vpon euery sharer for his paynes during his tyme of being Capt^{n} of that castle.'

To effect this he alleaged his povertie and long tyme spent in the Islands, and soe gott this presentment preferred as aforesaid, but by the wisdome and foresight of that late worthye member of this plantacon Capt. Daniell Tucker[2] this his devise was frustrate, as well for the abuse therein offered to the Hon^{ble} Compa and the country, as also to shunn occasion of president, whereby in tyme to come, the Capt^{n} of that Castle might clayme 1 lb of tob. yerely out of euery sharer in the countrye as a due salarye belonging to his place & office, and therefore one Christopher Cauerley was agreed with to cleare and keepe that path for the yeare 1624 for 100 lb of tob. But at the assizes of July 1625 Capt^{n} Stoakes renues his former project, and procures by his wonnted and cuning angling the Grand Inquest to make this presentment . .

[1] The record of these assizes has not been found.

[2] This shows that Captain Daniel Tucker, the first governor under the Company, died between 1623 and 1625. In the fragments which remain of the original parish register of Port Royal, where he resided, is an entry 'Captain Tucker was buried ffebuary the 10th, 162$\frac{4}{5}$'—doubtless this is he. His descendants are very numerous in Bermuda, and among them, as among Penistons, Outerbridges, Triminghams, Trotts, and other descendants of the first settlers, may be found as fine specimens of physical strength and stature as any race of Englishmen can produce; a proof that, notwithstanding the injurious effects of continued intermarriage, the climate of Bermuda, in its effects upon the English constitution, deserves all the credit given to it by the early travellers.

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[The path was to be 12 ft. wide and planted with fig-trees and pomegranates. This does not appear to have been ever done; nor is the ground suitable for the former; but had pomegranates been planted, we should probably find their remains.]

. . It is not vnknowne to all what miserable charges is yearely raised for powder, both in England and heare, and the scarceitye notwithstanding of soe precious a comoditie for the safetie of theise Islands. And whereas his answer is that what he did, was by order from the Gouverno^{r} yet it is not to be believed. That Capt Woodhouse would order to haue one whole barrell and a halfe of Powder shott away in a forenoone in healthes in greate guns and small shott, especially seeing he had taken soe worthie a course amongst the Inhabitants, that euery man on paine of death, was to reserue his powder by him, and to showe it at the next muster: but it is apparent rather to be his own prodigality & riotous humour in his cupps, that would consume soe much powder soe vaynely, w^{ch} might if an ocasion should happen, be the p^{r}servacon & safetye of the plantacon & lives of the people

. . After the arrivall of the George in March anno 162$\frac{4}{5}$ [1] It was thought fitt that the Garrison of the Kings Castle should be double manned, and warrants were directed to the seuerall Tribes to send a man for a tribe to serve at the Castle from May till September by meanes whereof the charge of the Garrison was augmented about 1000 of Tob. besides the charge of corne but those men were imployed to private ends Some to build Capt Stoaks house at Tuckers Towne, others to making of salt at S^{t} Georges, others to fferrey M^{r} Ffelgate from Porte to Porte, yea, so haue they bene harryed and harkenned vp and downe, that whereas formerlie the wages for a souldier at the Castle hath bene 160 or 180 lb of tob. p ann. it is now raised to 240 lb by there continuall both daylie and nightlie drudgeries for others they haue noe tyme to fish for there own prouision w^{ch} makes all soe wearye wth theise and such slauishnes that few or none are willing to serue at the Garrison although the wages be so enhaunsed, and the countrye so extreamely charged as aforesaid And whereas he answereth that he receaued Henry Hollond instead of that souldier w^{ch} wrought for Capt ffelgate, Therein appears what trust is to be reposed in Capt^{n} Stoaks to command in so eminent a place vpon the care where of relies the liues of the Inhabitants and

[1] Probably brought apprehensions of war with the Dutch, in consequence of the massacre at Amboyna on 17th February, 162$\frac{3}{4}$.

safetye of the Islands in receauing an Idiot instead of one of the ablest soldiers of the Garrison.

. . The said Captn Stoaks contrary to his duty [of giving faithful counsel] hath bene the occasion of much trouble and vexation to the Inhabitants of these Islands, in subscribing at the councell table that the proceedings of the late Gouernor Captn Wodehouse in propounding the prodigious Oathe [1] were warrantable by the lawe of england And amongst the Inhabitants hath declared himself to be p.swaded that 500 the chiefest lawyers about London, not three of them would be of opinion that this oath was lawfull whereby it appears that his only ayme hath bene to fish in troubled waters and to bring an Imputacon of vnworthines vpon the generall inhabitants of theise Islands. That soe they might be slaued to the humors of himself and his adherents by martiall lawe wch to his judgement is the most wholesome (as himself hath reported) thereby contemning the ordinances of the honoble compa and the gracious p.texion, wch his excellent Matie by his gracious graunt hath confirmed on all such his faithfull subjects, as shall liue and be borne and budd in this plantacon. In all wch appeares the vnfitnes and vnworthines of the said Capt Stoaks any longer to execute the offices of a Councellor or Capt of the Garrison. In that theise his doings, haue proved priudiciall to the publique peace and tranquility of theise Islands in the banishmt of one minister [Staples] the Imprisonment of another minister [Bernard], the woefull and lamentable combustion & disquiet of all estates and degrees in this plantacon to the greate discouragement of men Industrious, the incouragement of the disolute & impious whereby God hath bene dishonored, his worship neglected, his sabbaths p.phaned, sinn abounded, vnder wch Judgement this whole plantacon hath miserably groned The generall Assemblie being demaunded whether Captn Stoaks was guilty of the p.posicons, and mis-demeanors layd to his charge

The said Assembly or most part of them by holding vp there hands held him guiltye and worthye to be suspended from all his Offices in the Somer Islands And also imprisoned during the tyme of the assembly and afterwards during the Gouernors pleasure

The like censure of imprisonment and suspending was thought good by the genrall Assembly, that Capt ffelgate should endure

Vpon the publishing whereof they appealed to the Honoble Compa.

[1] The oath was directed against frauds in the division of tobacco. See p. 341.

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10. The inhabitants by their elected representatives proceed to petition the General Assembly to apply remedies to the abuses complained of, and the General Assembly (apparently the same persons) by enactment does so. The record is in the highest degree informal, and the enactments are without the usual phraseology. As against Stoaks and Felgate it concludes as follows:—

Infinite haue bene the Juglings of theise two mothes of this plantacon . . .[1] for whose fauo[r] the compa & countrye haue daylie suffred, for one frend must helpe another, by imbezelling of powder, for something must be had to drinke, Drunkennes and such juglings haue bene there continuall practize, for mayntanance whereof noe devices haue bene wanting though to the wrong of the honor[ble] Compa and intollerable piudice of this plantacon

Upon due informacon of all w[ch] pmises this prsent genall assemblie haue and doe with an unanimous consent and by virtue of the hono[ble] Compa orders before mentioned declared the said Capt[n] ffelgate to haue made forfeite of his place and office of Capt[n] of Southampt. fforte and haue and doe likewise repute him & doe soe declare him unworthie for euer of bearing any office of tytle or comaund within these Islands.

11. Capt Henry Ramsey is charged with tearming those Inhabitants that refused to take the oath for the deuision of tobacco noe better than Rebells.

For practizing by indirect means to draw the Inhabitants to take the oath, by affirming to the Inhabitants of one Tribe that the Inhabitants of another tribe intended to sweare when in his conscience he knew the contrary, and For taxing a whole grand Jurye of honest and sufficient men of indirect and vniust proceedings

On his refusal to sign an acknowledgement and humble profession of repentance, the Assembly censured him to be imprisoned during the Governors pleasure.

(2) John Leigh, once a Spanish Merchant, being but a stranger, was sentenced to imprisonment during the continuance of the Assembly for indiscreet curiosity concerning the state of the castles forts and storehouses.

[1] 'Plantacon' is followed by a word which is legible enough, but baffles interpretation. Remembering that *i n* is hardly distinguishable from *i u* or *j u*, it reads *inscinduaryes*, or the letter following *d* may be *n*.

12. The Assembly proceed to review the proceedings against Christopher Parker [*ante*, p. 372] and the said M^r^ Parker's censure and acknowledgemt was in open veiwe of the Assemblie by generall consent raised out of the Record.

The Generall Assemblie taking into consideracon the expenses w^ch^ Christopher Parker was at during his imprisonment doe award Capt Woodhouse to pay vnto xpofer Parker aforesaid for his said expenses—100 lb of tob

And also in sattisfaction of his losses susteyned by being in prison in the tyme of diuision, whereby of 3000 lb of tob w^ch^ was due vnto him he could gather in 600 lb, with the consideracon of the p.sonall wrongs and miserable sufferings, by 17 weeks imprisonment, as also with the damage ensueing his constreyned absence from his house and family.

The said Assemblie doe hould it reasonable and conscionable that Capt^n^ Woodhouse shall in satisfaccon of those soe apparent injuries pay 1000 lb of tob. vnto the said Christopher Parker, but referr it to the confirmacon of the hono^ble^ compa in England. *vacat* by the Compa. order.

13. In the tyme of this Generall Assemblie Capt Woodhouse being at S^t^ Georges John Croft Gunner Leif^t^nt of Pagetts fforte[1] came vnto him, and demaunded how he should be paid for the paines hee tooke amongst the workemen at the new fforte in Penniston's Island, who answered he might stay him if he would for there was much iustice in that as in other things.

14. Also M^r^ Staples ouerhearing Capt Woodhouse made knowne to the Assemblie the same, and related his answer thus That Capt Woodhouse should answer Lieut Croft I knowe not how thou wilt be paid, thou mayst stay my going for England if thou wilt, for there is as much Justice in that as in anything ells for ought I see w^ch^ words were also Justified by Capt Jennings ffurther W^m^ Grimston and John Stauers two of the burgesses of the house related before the Gouerno^r^ and Assemblie, that they hard Capt Woodhouse say to Leiftnt Croft vpon some former speeches, lett them goe foole themselues, I care for none of them all, w^ch^ words were spoken as the Gouerno^r^ and the Assembly passed by him to the house

W^ch^ his disgracefull speeches the generall assembly much

[1] The train of artillery in 1618 comprised (besides others) one master-gunner and 136 gunners. In John Crofts we have probably a glimpse of one of the latter.

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distasting and questioning, as accompting it not only a disabling of them in what they did but a contempt against the hon^ble compa concluded to send for Capt Woodhouse to come before the assembly heare, and showe cause why he used such speech against the Gouerno^r and the whole house, w^ch accordingly they did

And hereupon the Gouerno^r sent Capt. Disney Sherriff to call him before the assembly. But Capt Woodhouse returned answer that he would not come, but desired to be excused, requesting to come before the Gouernor and 5 of the Councell

And being sent againe by the Gouernor w^th pswasion to him to come or ells it would be the worse for him He then returned answer That he had rather be comitted, and said lett them doe with him what they would, for he would not appeare before the whole assemblye

Vpon w^ch returne of his last answer they pceeded to censure him And euery of the house haueing giuen there severall censures The Gouerno^r concluded as follows

That Capt Woodhouse should pay 2000 lb of tob for a fyne, and be confyned close prisoner, that noe man might speake to him, but before an Officer who should heare what was spoken, yet w^th this due respect that he should be in some chamber fitting for privacye, and that he should never after returne thither to beare any rule or authoritie of office or comaund any more, adding this reason that he would not obey lawe It was impossible he should euer gouerne according to lawe And this censure of the Gouernor the whole house desired should stand for them all

And therevpon the said Capt Woodhouse was sent prisoner to the Marshalls house & Imagining they had mistaken there answers to M^r Sheriff desired that those who hard him answer should be examined vpon oath w^ch was graunted

[The previous depositions are then repeated upon oath.]

But notwithstanding that Capt Woodhouse had thus scornfullie contemned the whole assembly The Gouernor being desirous to showe him what favour he might in respect of the place and office he had borne in theise Islands, and to take away all cause of clamour, moved the house to declare their mynds, if they would be contented that an acknowledgement should be drawne and p^rsented to Capt Woodhouse to subscribe, w^ch if he assented to do, then his fyne of 2000 lb of tob to be remitted to shewe that this sentance neither proceeded to the p^riudice of his person nor his fortune, to this the whole

assemblie most freely and joyfully condescended and caused an acknowledgement to be framed & written

[This acknowledgment, being but a humble and categorical admission of all the offences already charged, need not be given.]

It was p^r^sented vnto Capt Woodhouse by M^r^ Morgan and M^r^ Copeland ministers, from the Gouerno^r^ & the Assembly who vpon some consideracon of it refused to subscribe, and there vpon the censure of the Gouernor confirmed by the whole assembly as before is sett downe, was now againe established and ordered, that Capt Woodhouse should vndergoe both the fyne of 2000 lb of tob, and for the close imprisonment in such manner & forme as in the said Censure before specifyed is declared The Gouernor and the rest of the gen^r^all Assemblie doe consent and allowe vnto Capt Woodhouse (according to his request) three dayes tyme of libertye before this ships departure for the ordering of his affayres and dispatching of his buisines here in theise Islands.

15. Upon the petition of John Hammer vnto the said Assemblie complaining of Iniustice done him by Capt^n^ Woodhouse in a controversie between him and Capt^n^ Stoaks. The Record is ordered to be erased, and Capt. Stoaks to pay 300 lb of tob. Vpon the petition of John Trimingham, another record was ordered to be erased, and 300 lb of tobacco to be repaid by capt Stoaks.

Vpon the petition of the Jury imprisoned for not convicting Margaret Heyling [*ante*, p. 368] and upon her petition, as convicted unjustly by the jury afterwards empannelled, restitution is ordered. In both cases *vacat* by order of the Company.

16. Vpon the peticon and complaint of Thomas Davies for being uniustly accused of cutting a kellick roape, and for the same Imprisoned by Capt^n^ Woodhouse comaund and beinge at another tyme comitted prisoner in Irons, 6 dayes & neither examined before nor after the said comittm^t^ The marshall is ordered to repay him 50 lb of tob and Capt Woodhouse to pay 50 lb more. *vacat* by order from the Company

17. Vpon the peticon of George Tennant and 5 more one Anthony Hartford who had incensed the (late) Governor against them, was ordered to pay certain sums claimed as having been unjustly levied on him. . . . .

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18. Vpon the peticon of M^{r} George Stirke minister and Stephen Painter who complayned of the vniust pr.ceedings against them by Capt Woodhouse in banishing them from these Islands &c the Record was ordered to be raised out and annighilated which in the open House was imediately done

19. Vpon the petition of M^{r} George Stirke and Hugh Wentworth of the long and false imprisonment of M^{r} Nathaniell Bernard minister, who suffered for his not censuring of M^{r} Stirke & M^{r} Painter as aforesaid It was agreed by the whole court that the record concerning him should be raised and annighilated, and sattisfaction allowed him for his long imprisonment

20. Vpon the petition of Capt Elfrith who complained of iniustice done him by Capt Woodhouse [*ante*, p. 357] at the generall Assembly in Capt Woodhouse gouernment, he being then a Burgess, and desired not only by that Tribe, but by the country to enquire of the defects and Ruines of the amunicon of the Kings Castle & other ffortes he haueing bene capt of the said Castle, and knowing best what care ought to be had thereof, but thorough ill constructions thereof he was comitted prisoner and enforced to subscribe, vnles he would hazard his vndoing beinge a greate charge

The Record is ordered to be raised out and annighilated, w^{ch} in the face of the said assembly was publiquely done

21. Vpon the complaint of John Parkes that Capt Woodhouse witheld from him a Bill of lading whereby he was unable to recover a Hogshead of salt from one Kempthorne m^{r} of the Victorye Capt Woodhouse is sentanced to give the petitioner satisfaction for the said Hogshead of Salt taking his remedy against Kempthorne

22. The petition of Robert Hatt is found scandalous and he receives a severe sentance [see *ante*, p. 409]

23. Vpon the peticon of Russell ffenn to the Gouerno^{r} that he would graunt him libertie to goe for his countrye

It being manifested to the Assemblie that he had bene twice condemned for theft & for the last fault not yet pardoned, the Gouernor ordered that vpon the first fault meriting death he should be executed, and in the meane tyme to be of the Colonye and so to remayne p.petually during his life, vnles by seauen yeares honest and faithfull service he shall redeeme his former bad courses at what tyme it shall be in the power of the Gouernor then beeing to acquitt him.

24. Nathan Walters also being lately questioned for his life as accessarye to the said ffennes theft was ordered to put in suretyes for his good behaviour, and to stand bound soe during his life, vnles by his good carriage for 7 yeares space he shall be freed

25. Vpon a mocon of some of the Inhabitants of this assembly in the behalf of Henry Long that he should haue the keeping of all the Armes in the mayne for this yeare It was agreed to that he should haue the keeping of the same armes as well musketts pykes[1] swords and other armes to be kept fixe and cleane for this yeare for the allowance of 200 lb of tob Prouided that he the same Henry Long shall not keep any Armes aboue 10 dayes together vpon payne of mitigating his Salarye, according to the Gouern^or^ and councells discretion, but that he shall be present at euery quarter muster to take viewe of all the defectiue armes, and to repayre them—w^ch^ Stephen Parker one of the Burgesses hath promised he should pforme, or he would for him.

26. Vpon the peticon of Joseph Goodfaith to haue allowance for keeping the armes fixe and cleane at S^t^ Georges and the seuerall fforts and Castles

It was ordered that he should be paid 50lb for this yeare p.uided he did goe to the castles to mind the Armes there to the end that they may not be wronged by carrying Boates as formerlie they haue bene

27. Vpon some disputacon betwixt M^r^ Stirke and M^r^ Copeland concerning the 6 acres of the Gleabe land at the ouerplus [*ante*, p. 228]

It is found that that land belonges not to M^r^ Copeland but to M^r^ Stirke, as well for that it was M^r^ Stirkes ministrye before As also by casting of lotts before this assembly it fell to M^r^ Stirke Yet notwithstanding M^r^ Stirke here freelie reassigned 3 acres of the said 6 because he would not be too chargeable And the Gouernor and the house p.mised M^r^ Copeland he should be well accomodated with a very good house and 6 acres of land in war. tribe whereof he is minister.

28. Upon Capt Ramseys calling before the assemblie in answer of Certayne misdemeano^rs^ alleadged by some of the Inhabitants and burgesses to be by him cõmitted

[1] A pike head, twenty inches long, was found in digging a ditch in Pembroke Marsh, in November 1872. The point was broken off.

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The Gouernor demanded of him how he came to be a capt who answered that in Captain Butler's tyme he was one night made Capt of the watch since wch tyme the people of the Island had attributed that tytle to him not by him sought for

Upon wch answer the Gouernor related how disgracefully the Bermoodian Capts were reputed in England hauing those honorable tytles put upon them for soe small merritt and thereupon expressly comanded that none should be called by the name of Capt but such as had either comand of Castles and fforts or of compas of Souldiers.

29. Vpon a p.posicon of the Gouernor the Speaker and Capt Elfrith vnto the house to take into consideracon the Ruines of the Kings Castle, the Bridges in generall and the docke at the towne

The house desired the Gouernor to take vpon him the care and charge of the reparacons thereof and of euery of them, wch he pmised to doe

The House proceeded to allow the Sherriff 5 per cent for shrinkage of Tobaco received by him in payment of fines, and to be freed from all future demands to refund tobaco illegally exacted in Capt. Woodhouse time some parte whereof was sent for England, and other parte disbursed here for general uses as he made appeare by his booke. This the house generally allowed of.

The Gouernor and the Councell assembled on the 18th of April 1627 hearing theise Acts and buisiness wch passed in the assemblie read ouer after the Ingrocing of them haue subscribed their hands the day and year aboue written

Phillip Bell Gournor	Thos Jennings
Vincent Disney Sher.	John Devenish
(Rev.) Bellingham Morgan	John Millner
Myles Kendall	Hugh Wentworth
Daniell Elfrith	John Stamer
Stephen Painter	Wm Rener
	Antho Jenour.

Roger Wood Secret.

30. To the Right Honoble and right worll compa of Adventurers for Plantacon of the Somer Islands [see p. 397 for the letter to which this is the reply].

Right Honoble and right worll company, our humble duties remembered, wee whose names are here subscribed, presenting

the body of this Plantacon in this our genrall Assemblie haue hard yor ltre dated the 20th of September 1626 publiquely read vnto vs, and doe not a little rejoyce that after soe tedious a voyage It hath pleased God in safetye to bring vnto vs our Gouernor Capt Phillip Bell, not only blessing God for the good hopes of his religious Gouermt, but also rendering many and humble thanks vnto you for refreshing and recomforting our drooping and deiected harts as well in sending vs this Gouernor, as in restoring our banished minister [1] The dutie and obedience by you required, and by vs to be yeilded wee are confidently persuaded wilbe by him Justlye religiously and meritoriously attracted

yor Instructions in yor ltre menconed wee haue wth all obedience meditated on, and at our present meeting haue pruided such constitucons, as wee hope shall in some good measure (according to abilitye) answer your expectacon, both in multiplying of mulberry trees, and sowing of Anyseeds And as farr as the quantity of each seuerall mans land will aford shall yerely and constantly be put in practize And for the quality of or Tobaccoes, wee hope that now the cause being taken away the effect will cease. Our heauy burthens of vnnecessary charges, being eased and reformed, that defect will be repayred and amended

The sweete of our prsent comforts are seasoned with some sower (as wee take it) of affliction, for in the letting of yor land to halues after the manner of letting of land in England in that kind is a thing by vs neuer heard of till now, for many contracts betweene seuerall owners and their pticuler Tennants doe prove the contrarye

But wee most humbly intreate you to conceive in this (as the schools distinguish the like Similitudo non curritt quatuor Pedibus, many things may be alike, but not alike in all things: for there is as much difference betweene a husbandman's sowing of wheate to halues in England, and planting Tobacco at halues in Somer Islands, as is betwixt black and white The husbandman hath his land ready for the plough, and his houses built; wee noe such thing He hath his beasts of labor to plough his land, wee none but our hands, his wheate beeing sowen his labor and charge is little or none till harvest ours is daylie and hourely, his crop being housed his care and charge is ended, then is our care greatest and our danger most, yea of so tickle and dangerous a nature is this Tobacco, in the house, that one houres neglect or the least want of helpe may spoyle a whole yeares cropp, neither is it in the power of man to prevent it when it is come to that passe, soe that the comparison in theise respects (and many others that

[1] Rev. Robert Staples.

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might be alleadged) will neuer hold, besides many yong youthes are now out of their tymes, and yerely more wilbe. And if they should not be hyred what should become of them There hath been care taken to make publique tennants of them for improving the publique lands, thereby to defray the publique charge w^{ch} can now bee noe further helpe, because that the publique lands are now all disposed of to the best behoofe Soe that they must be hyred or they will live of the spoyle And for the tenn^{t} to beare all wages out of his owne, his life will be miserable and wretched w^{ch} is a thing we are sure will not be pleasing vnto you, tis true that some ill members of this plantacon haue been vniust, yet there owne Iniquity hath fallen vpon there own heads And for some corrupt members wee humbly pray the whole body may not suffer We haue now puided to bring servants wages to the lowest rate that possible we may. All good endeavours shall noe wayes bee wanting in vs, but in servants wages making vp the mayntainance of the ministers, the charge of the Kings Castle, the daylie watch of the 4 beacons for discrying of shipps, and the ferrey, wee conceive to be such charges, as wherein the seuerall aduenturers are deeply interested, and therefore to be equally borne in the interim for puisions, buildings, servants apparell, Smithe's worke and such like, the charge whereof is not small, wee are contented to beare out of our owne ꝑts; if more bee imposed vpon vs, wee canott live like Englishmen That strainge accompt of Peeles, was rather connived at by Seymer, who had then to doe wth that land, than any way allowed by vs, but was generally distasted neither hath hee gone vnpunished In consideracon whereof, wee beseech you to accept of theise o^{r} true, iust, and equall reasons, for our better encouragement the fruits whereof (wee doubt not) wilbe manifested by each tennants industry with all fidelity and humble acknowledgement

Our gouerno^{r} hath been pleased to make known vnto vs that it is yo^{r} wills that yo^{r} seuerall tenn^{ts} should be very carefull in making and curing of tobacco in the house, it is true that in that care, and the tymely and opportune making vp consists the greatest difficulty, but if you take from vs our former allowance of that charge, great inconvenience may arise mauger the endeavours of the most endustrious, for when a season of weather serves to make vp tobacco, that man comonly that hath most helpe doth make the best tobacco, w^{ch} if he pay all the making vp out of his owne ꝑte. all men will strive to make it vp with his owne family without hyring, and soe if the season be ouer before it be dispatched and that the wind come to north west-north, north east, or at east w^{ch} is comon, all the remaynder may be spoyled, and there is vsually much pr.ivdice

in that kind before the season will againe serve to finish the same And therefore the making vp is such a charge as wee hope you will rest satisfyed therein The fferrey is likewise as often vsed for the aduenturers behoofe as for the Inhabitants, w^ch^ at shipping tyme haue many vrgent occasions w^th^ the Gouerno^r^ for there adventurers affayres And seeing that the former abuce therin both to the hono^ble^ Compa and countrye is now taken away, and the keeping thereof brought to a settled meanes and lesned by the one halfe, wee doubt not but the charge thereof will seeme conscionable, and just to be equally borne. The conveniency and reasonablenes of all w^ch^ wee doe humbly referr to the relacon of our p^r^sent Gouerno^r^ by the next returne when he shall haue some good experience of the state and condition of the plantacon. In the Interim we rest and humbly take our leaues Reccomending you and yo^r^ affayres to the blessing of Almighty God Humbly resting

yo^r^ Ldps and wor^ps^ tennants and servants.

Myles Kendall
Antho Jeno^R^

Thomas Buckley
John Croft
Nath Stowe
John Mills

John Yates
John Devenish
John Trimingham
Tho. Outerbridge

Thomas Jennings
Richard Sootherworth
John Carter
Lazarus Hauard

Tho. Penniston
Bartho Massam
Will. Grimston
John Hayward

Hugh Wentworth
Samuell Tatam
Tho Wood
Christo. Lea

John Welch
Richard Joel
Will. Rener
Rich Harbert

Daniell Elfrith
Chr. Parker
John Hanner
Nich Wath

Henry Hughes
Michaell Seywell
Stephen Parker
John Stamer

John Milner
Jervaise Inglesby
Jonathan Stoaks
Rich Bosse

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31. To the Right Hon^{ble} the Gou^{r}no^{r} and company of Aduenturers for plantacon of the Somer Islands residing in London.

Whereas Capt Phillip Bell Esq^{re} Gou^{r}no^{r} of theise Islands, togeather wth his councell vpon the iust complaint of such of the Inhabitants, w^{ch} were elected to p^{r}sent the body of the 8 Tribes and publique land, according to the ordinance of the hono^{ble} companie in such case p.uided, hath with mature deliberacon and ppose, and generall consent of the whole body of this plantacon, p.ceeded against Capt Henry Woodhouse late Gouerno^{r} here for certayne contumelious, disdaynfull and scornfull speeches, vttered by the said Capt Henry Woodhouse, against the gen^{r}all Assemblie, since he was a private man, and lawfully removed from all command, and governm^{t}. And also against Capt^{n} Thomas Stoakes late Capt^{n} of the King's Castle, and Capt^{n} Robert ffelgate late muster M^{r} and Capt of Southampton Fforte, for diuers grosse & wrong doeing misdemeanours, and abuses done by the said Capt Stokes and Capt Rob^{t} ffelgate, against the hono^{ble} Compa and this plantacon whereby this poore plantacon hath greately suffered. And in the said p.ceedings haue with a generall and vnanimous consent declared the said Capt Henry Woodhouse, and Capt Thomas Stoaks, and Capt Robert ffelgate vnworthie for euer of bearing any office of tytle of dignity and comaund wthin these Islands Wee whose names are herevnto written, doe hereby make open and publique declaracon before Almighty God, that the aforesaid p.ceedings haue vpon our consciences beene free from all spleene mallice or any other sinister respect, whatsoeue^{r}, but truely, really, faythfully sincerely and vprightly as the present state and condition of this plantacon doth require. And doe therefore humblie implore the allowance and approbacon of the Hono^{ble} court for the confirmacon of the said declaracon of vnworthines, w^{c} doth so highly concerne the weale, peace, safety and comon welfayre and tranquility of these Islands, and benefitt of the seuerall adventurers As well for p^{r}sident to all posterity, as for present releife and redresse of many, and many just grievances by the aforesaid Capt^{s} and there deuises susteyned in theise Islands: but if in the wisdome of the hono^{ble} Compa and court it shall otherwise seeme fitting (w^{ch} wee hope it will not) that theise or any of theise shalbe restored to office of dignity or commaund, as they by their slighting of justice done here seeme to testifie We humbly beseech the hono^{ble} court to graunt a generall warrant wthout all reservacon, for such of the Inhabitants here, as are freemen and can discharge

themselues towards there seuerall adventurers, and debts of the Islands may returne for there countrye. And according to our duties wee shall pray for yo^{r} Lo^{ps} and wor^{ps} blessed p.sperityes long to continue to Gods Glorye

[The names are not entered; they were doubtless the same as appear to the previous letter. Captain Woodhouse appears to have so represented his case at home as to procure the remission of a part of the fines and penalties imposed upon him by the Somers Islands Assembly; but the case is an instructive example of a late retribution reaching the author of many high-handed and tyrannical acts, through the slow but sure operation of constitutional powers residing in the hands of the people aggrieved. He served in the expeditions against the Island of Rhé and Rochelle, for which he complained that he never got a penny, and subsequently became muster master of Suffolk, in Virginia. He even claimed a promise of the King to make him Governor of that colony, which however was never redeemed (Colonial Papers, pp. 185–213). This page of MS. faces the Governor's proclamation, dated 3rd October, 1627, reading from the other end of the book. That is to say, the reversed entries here meet, and the record is continued from another place.]

32. Council 5 April 1627 concerning Ambergreece. The declaration of Michaell Seywell upon his Oath

Who affirmeth that in the morning next after Captain Folgate had found his Ambergriece at Coopers Island hee came very earlie unto this declarants house, and asked him if he did not meane that the Lease which hee and Richard Carter had let unto him should have all the privileges wh the grand lease had which Christopher Carter had from the Comp^{nie} To which this declarant answered yes he meant soe To which Captain Folgate replied That the word Royalties is left out and either let me haue it or take your lease againe (presenting the said lease unto him) and let me haue my 8 men brought upon the Island To which this declarant replied that he knew not what to doe in it, but advised Captain Folgate to go to Richard Carter to heare what hee would say unto it. To which Captain Folgate said I have been with him already and he is contented

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if yo^{u} bee contented When said this declarant, When hee and I next meet together wee will speake about it and doe it. To which Captain Folgate answered What should I runne up and downe about it if you mean to doe it, doe it presently and herewith drew his pen and ynke out of his pocket, and therewith this Declarant writt those wordes on the backe side of the lease wh there are written and signed by his hand And then the said Capt Folgate went to Richard Carter and procured his hand in like manner unto it, and within a day or two after this declarant heard that Captain Folgate had found some Ambergreice

(Signed) Michael Seywell

Michael Seywell fearing that some prejudice would come unto him by reason of his subscription upon the lease desyred that Captain Folgate might secure him and saue him harmless from the heire of Captain Carter deceased Upon wch the Governour and counsell resolved that the Buildings and clearing and paling wh Captain Folgate hath done in Coopers Island may be valued by indifferent men, and the value thereof bee brought unto the Governor to be reserved in deposite until the Honorable Companies resolution and pleasure be further knowen concerning the Ambergreice aforesaid

33. At a Councell Table the 5th of April 1627 (cont^{d})

(1) It is ordered that the shippe 'Exchange' shallbe readie to set saile on munday the 16th of Aprill next, and that the Passengers may haue warning to prepare themselves to bee readie to repaire aboord against that day.

(2) John the servant of Robt Wonday of Devonshire Tribe is sentanced to receaue 39 lashes vpon his naked back in Devonsh Tribe where hee dwells, and after to aske God and Richard Harbord forgivenesse in the Church in Devonsh. Tribe aforesaid [a lenient punishment for a felonious attempt on Joane, the daughter of this Richard Harbord, a child of 8 or 9 years of age]

(3) Upon complaint of the Churchwardens of Sandis Tribe of the immorality of Anne Radford for which shee hath formerly receaued punishment at the poast in S^{t} Georges It was ordered that the said Anne Radford should doe open penance in the Church of Sandis Tribe, and prepare herselfe and child to returne for England, where she shall receiue some yearly stipend for the said childes maintainance from Jonathan Orton

And also that the said Annie Radford shall pay vnto two

servants of Sir Lawrence Hide for 4 or 5 months service 25 lb of Tobacco, or giue securitie for the same

(4) Upon a difference in controversie betwixt M^r^ Richard Poulson of London Marchant Plaintiff and Thomas Outerbridge of Hambleton Tribe Defend^t^ wherein the Plaintiff requires payment for 4 yeares Rent of two shares of land of the said Outerbridge 800 lb of Tobacco free of all charges To which Thomas Outerbridge answers that hee hath paid vnto M^r^ Poulson £17 in readie money and sent him 4 chests of Cedar which hee reckons at 15 lb of Tobacco each chest which in his accompt he values at £5 sterling free of all costs, w^ch^ with the £17 amounts vnto £20 w^ch^ the said Thomas Oaterbridge is contented to let passe for 2 years rent to M^r^ Poulson aforesaid Also whereas the said Thomas Outerbridge did pay vnto John Havord 200 lb of Tobacco in part of paiement for the purchase of the said land, which Tobaco the said Havard affirms to bee sent vnto M^r^ Poulson Hee now desires that the said 200 lb of Tobaco then paid may goe likewise for two yeares rent vnto M^r^ Poulson for the said lands, w^ch^ Havard promiseth to make good

And for this fifth year the said Thomas Outerbridge promiseth to send 700 lb of Tobaco vnto England, whereof j00 is to bee paid vnto M^r^ Poulson for rent, for so much this yeare due And the 600 lb rest of 700 lb to be sould to pay for the purchase of this land aforesaid vnto M^r^ Poulson if hee please to accept thereof, or so farre as it shall amount vnto to that end.

34. The vij^th^ of Aprill, 1627. State Papers, Colonial, 1626–8, Vol. iv., No. 20.[1]

The Planters and Adventurers of Virginia, and the Company of Somer Ilands, being this day called togeather, at S^r^ John Wolstenholmes house, where the order of the Lords was declared unto them, both for the quantity that they should bring into England, and also for the prize that the king will give them, their approbations and Consents were required

Both w^ch^ w^th^ one joynt and full consent were refused alleadgeing the quantety and prize not to be sufficient to maintayine soe many people, as were in both those plantacōns;

They did alsoe alleadge, that the kings pleasure for the takeing of their Tobaccoe was signified too late, as being after

[1] By a proclamation a little earlier, February 17, the king confirmed his previous proclamations (*ante*, p. 338), but claimed to import 50,000 lbs. Spanish tobacco annually for his own particular use (C. P. p. 83).

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the Shipps were arrived heere, and if this had beene tendered unto them sooner (as being an offer too much under vallewe to be accepted of) they would have disposed of their shipps for Holland & Ireland, where they should have better prizes, and better markets then in England;

Many of them did therefore humbly desire, that if the king would not give them a valuable prize, that then they might freely cary the same away wthout paying any duties;

It was likewise desired that they might have a p^{r}sent answeare, for that some of the planters, were in want, and the kingdome was very Emptie of Tobaccoe, And the stay would greately hurt the vent & expence,

Greate part of the Tobaccoe of Virginia and Som̄er Ilands, by meanes of leakes in two of the Shipps have taken wett and will rott and be worth noething if the oweners have not present order for the taking of it into their possessions, and to drye the same,

Therefore the oweners of this wett Tobaccoe, doe humbly desire to have it delivered unto them, to cure and drie it,

Also they doe hope that paying the Custome and Impost, the king wilbe pleased to suffer them to take their Tobaccoe into their possessions, and to dispose thereof as they shall thinke good

[Indorsed] Aprill 1627:

The Planters of Virginea & the Som̄er Islelands touching Tobacco.

35. At a councill table 12 Aprill 1627.

(1) Vpon the Secretarie his complaint of Capt^{n} Henry Woodhouse for Taxing him to keepe a false record and that he was forsworne, and hee would make it appeare

The Gouernor calling the said Capt^{n} Woodhouse before him and the counsell Hee first taxed the said Secretarie for leaving out some particulars which ought to haue been recorded in Christopher Parker his examinacon As namely that he bad the said Parker set his name to his examination, and he answered he was no fellon and would not doe it

Secondly in that M^{r} Parker said at the Counsell Table, Hee hoped he was not before an Inquisition

. . . Upon which the Records beeing perused, and compared with the Blurre booke of that session of the Governor and counsell then assembled under which euerie counsellor had written his own opinion. And also hearing Capt^{n} Woodhouse's

witnesses varying amongst themselues and crossing one another in such things as were demaunded of them at the counsell table. It is the generall consent of the Governo^{r} and the whole counsell now present that this record of the Secretarie concerning Christopher Parker is just and true according to all things that then passed, and as it ought to be . . .

(2) And whereas Capt^{n} Woodhouse did ymprison the Secretarie vpon the coming in of the new Gouernor for denying to deliver him the original generall ltres sent from the Hon^{ble} compa (hee haueing copies of them alreadie) w^{ch} ltres beeing produced at this present, and they appearing by a subscripcoen of the honnor^{ble} Compa secretarie in England to bee directed to the Governor and counsell here And that there beeing many things mencoened in them which are yet vndone, and remaines to be p.formed by the present Governo^{r} It is the generall opinion of the Governo^{r} and Counsell now assembled, and they doe hereby declare, that the Imprisonment of the said secretarie by Capt Woodhouse to bee vnlawfull and vnjust And that the Secretary did nothing herein, but what did properly belong vnto his place and office

(3) Nathanyell Stowe, John Willes, Edward Kimms — Are apointed to take a survey and view of Capt^{n} folgates land and buildings in S Davids w^{ch} is appropriated vnto Southampton forte, and certifie the value thereof vnder their hands vnto the Governo^{r}

(4) Vpon the Petition preferred by the Inhabitants of War and Pagitts Tribes to bee assured of M^{r} Coaplands residence amongst them, whereby they may not loose the present opportunitie of providing for another minister The Governor hath vndertaken to write vnto Mr Copeland, to be resolued whether he will stay or not, that soe the Tribes may receiue satisfacon according to their desire

36. At a counsell Table held the 18th day of Aprill 1627

(1) Vpon a proposicoen made by the Gouernor to send 5 men vnto the Kings Castle to reenforce the garrison there. It is ordered by the Gouernor and the counsell that 5 men shall be levyed in the cuntry and sent thither by the first day of may next ensueing And bee paid from the generall Levie And

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that the other souldiers there serving shall continue for this yeare according as they were hyred by the severall Tribes

And whereas those fiue souldiers w^ch^ are now to bee taken vp and sent to the Kings Castle, are and will bee vnprovided of corne for their subsistance vntil the last day of August next ensueing And whereas there are three souldiers of the Companie alreadie at the Castle w^ch^ are behind hand for their corne w^ch^ is due vnto them from Sandis tribe, Southampton tribe and Smiths tribe it is ordered that these three tribes shall furnish their souldiers aforesaid with j bushell of corne for a moneths provision for euerie soldier And that according to the same rate and proporcoen there shall bee corne levyed where it may vpon due enquirie and search bee found, w^ch^ provision togeather with their salaries are to bee discharged by a generall hand from the levies of the countrey

(2) Thomas Wiseman claymed an interest in the goods of Elizabeth Dixson deceased by virtue of her guift vnto him in her life of all her goods and debts shee dyed possessed off in the Sumer Islands.

The same did John Rose also, and both of these produced their witnesses for tryall of their rights and Titles to the premises.

William Plumsted Chirurgion affirmes vpon his Oath that when hee washed her mouth hee heard her say nothing but ey and no vnto such questions as were demaunded of her.

The declaration of Robt Powell servant to John Stamer vpon his Oath

Who affirmeth That Elizabeth Dixson beeing taken out of her cabin and laid vnder the Hatchway The surgeon did wash her mouth with mouth water and a sticke with a clothe tyed to the end of it, w^ch^ done (hee affirmes) M^r^ Rose asked her who should haue her clothes and that she said her maid. And then that Rose demaunded what she had. And goodwife Dixson answered shee knowes as well as myselfe. Then Rose looking in her box found wrytings, and demaunded what wrytings they were And goodwife Dixon answered not Then Rose againe demaunded if hee should haue them Goodwife Dixson replyed eye. Rose againe Tould her that when shee was well shee said shee had 1000 lb of Tobaco oweing her and demaunded who shall haue that And she answered you Vpon w^ch^ this declarant having found goodwife Dixsons purse, hee gaue it to Rose and then Rose demaunded if hee should pay for the buriall with it. And shee said eye

ROBERT POWELL

(3) Mr Henry Hawley beeing appointed and made Capt of Southampton and Pembrooke forts, reckoned from Capt Felgate these provisions following wth his 4 servants, wch hee is likewise to be accountable for to his successors, either in specie, according to the pticulers Or for the vallue in Tobacco as hee reckoned it from his predecessor

	lb	s	d	
Inpris. j handsawe valued at				
It 13 gallons of Syder at .	0	8	8	These goods being prized at 15. 9. 8 Sterl. were vallued at 120 lb of Tobaco according to the rate of 2*s* 6*d* pr lb. wch Capt Hawley receiued from Captn Felgate in full satisfacoen of them, and is to return the like some vnto his successor
It 1 Gallon of vinegar at .	0	4	4	
It 2 Gallons of aqua vitæ at .	0	7	2	
It 2 Hogshds of Meale at .	6	19	2	
It 3 Bushells of Oate meale at	1	3	0	
It 2 Bushells of Salt at . .	0	4	0	
It 4 paire of sheetes at . .	1	12	0	
It for want of shirts . .	0	6	0	
It for 2 bid cases and boulsters	0	10	0	
It for 11 paire of shoes . .	1	13	0	
It 2 rugges	0	16	0	
It 7 paire of stockings . .	0	14	0	
It 2 gallons of oyle . .	0	9	4	
It 1 hoe	0	2	6	
It 1 hammer	0	1	6	
	15	9	8	
More j canowe received from Capt felgate wch vpon view was prized at				30 lb of Tobacco
Also one Iron Pott. one frying panne Three hoes, one Axe				To be returned in specie

37. [The following entry is a spirited remonstrance of John Delbridge of Barnstaple against the monopoly claimed by the London proprietors of supplying the colonists with goods, and receiving the produce, at a valuation of their own, in exchange. Although long, it is here transcribed in full, as an illustration of the struggle of the West-country shipping interests against the growing preponderance of the Thames. The document is not addressed, but was clearly presented to the Court, and is dated 12 June, 1627.]

I conceive that what is p.pounded in yor p.parritive Court

is to be determined in the next q.ter Court. And for that I am to goe out of towne p.sentlie and therefore cannot wayte on you at the court. I make bould to relate by writing what my suite was vnto you at yo^{r} last Court

I informed you a Barke w^{ch} I sent from Barnstaple in October last for the Somer Islands w^{ch} after 7 monthes and 20 dayes at sea retourned in greate miserye not finding the Island and neu^{r} sawe land before there returne, more by meanes of the wilfulnes of the M^{r} than his vnskilfulnes In w^{ch} Barke I had diuers goods and puisions for many the poore planters on the Island, who the last yere sent me tobacco to sell for them, w^{ch} goods being much wett and spoyled, I haue done my best to p^{r}.serve and supplyed the said Barke wth all necessaries purposing to send her in her p^{r}ended voyage about a month hence

My suite was to haue the approbacon of the Court, offering that if I could doe any service to the Compa. or to any member or planter by sending yo^{r} or their letters that both you and them should Comaund me, w^{ch} as I conceive was both a manmanerly Request and frendly offer

But it pleased you to tell me of an order in Court made by my owne consent agaynst It (w^{ch} was then openly read) w^{ch} was that I would not send any Shipp or barque without consent of the court My answer was and is, that this barque was gone on her voyage before that order was made and that order had no relacon to this p.sent voyage of this Barque, but rather an approbacon of her going, seeing that my promise was that after that tyme I would not send wthout yo^{r} consent. And you then knewe that barque was then at Sea and is still vpon the said voyage for I send the said Barque the same men, the same goods only supplying the defects

And although I did p.mise I would not send againe wthout consent of Court It was more in Regard that the Compa should haue notice of my sending, that if they would send any letters or that I could doe them any service then to barr my self of my Right beeing a subiect and a member of that compa, ever conceaving soe much equity and Justice from that Court, that they would not deny me my right for my manerly offering service vnto them

If I should solemnly p^{r}mise that I would neuer come into M^{r} George Smiths house wthout his leaue It would be thought in him much vnkindnes, that I beeing his good Frend and Customer and should desire leave of him to come into his shopp, that he should keepe me out because I promised that I would not come without his leaue

Some there were that said that if in this Barque I did alter

the men or put in any other or more goods then went out first in this barque, then it could not be said that she is still vpon her first voyage. But to this I answer nothing

It pleased you further to tell me that if I did send this barke in the voyage yet I could not bring any tobacco from thence, for that you had giuen commission to yo^r^ Gouerno^r^ there that he suffer noe shipp of Bristoll nor Barnstaple nor of any other place, though sent by members of the compa to take aboard any tobacco (except it be shipps from London) and therefore if I send this barque I shall not be suffered to bring home any tobacco

My answer was and is that I knowe not the extent of your power and authoritye herein, but being p^r^uided with neceessaryes for the poore planters there where there is as I thinke at least a hundred poore soules that I haue sent thither out of this countrye, I will send to them and the rest vntill by authoritye I be restrayned, though I be not suffered to bring home one pownd of Tobacco

It was moved that noe shipp should be suffered to goe thither though sent by members of the Compa and w^th^ p.uisions (except sent from London) w^ch^ had it pleased you to haue put to the question I make noe doubt but there would haue bene voyces enough to haue ennacted it whether iust or wrong that some men thinketh not of

I desired the Court that if I may not be suffered to bring home tobacco, that I might haue leaue to bring in her some of my owne timber, hauing 3 shares cast vpon me in the first diuision,[1] all three beeing nothing but Rocks and timber, of 3 shares I never made a penny, my timber being cutt downe and taken for publique and private vses w^th^out my leaue, or paying me a penny for it, but this also was denyed me It is like it must serve for Londoners to make chests to bring home there tobacco, of w^ch^ there is in this last shipp a greate quantity come home

But if I send thither it was said that I tooke the creame from them. I know noe reason for that except I send better wares and sell better pennyworthes then Londoners doe. And if I should send in the London shipps, I doubt not but to haue home as good tobacco as I haue had in my owne barkes

But your greatest reason against my sending thither and bringing home my tobacco in my owne shipp, was first p.pounded by myself, and in w^ch^ also I was willing to giue you sattisfaction w^ch^ was this

ffrom London wee send shipps of burden and defence for the more safetie of the Passengers and there goods, and for the

[1] They were in Hamilton tribe.

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more ease of them, which shipps do depend vpon there loading backe, w^ch^ if other small Barques should be suffered to come hither and bring awaye tobacco, theise shipps of burden and defence will want their fraight, and refuse to goe thither for so lowe a price as now they doe, as sometymes for j^d^ p^r^ lb and sometymes for 3 halfpence [1]

ffor answer here vnto although many things might be alleadged, and that the same reason would serve, that noe small shipps should be suffered to goe into ffraunce Spayne or any other places, beyond the Seas, but only London ships for that they are of Burden and defence Secondly I have found it by experience that hauing sent diuers tymes small shipps both to Virginia and Bermudas, and that full of people, I neuer lost man woman or child going or coming before this last voyage, whereas often yo^r^ shipps of Burden and defence haue lost many men And there goods hath bene as safe and well conditioned deliuered them, farr before those goods sent in your shipps But for that wee must not soe depend vpon Gods p.uidence as to omitt the good and lawfull meanes especially in these dangerous tymes And for that I would not willinglie doe anything to the priudice of the passengers and there or yo^r^ goods And for that I would giue a full sattisfaction (in my consente) to any indifferent man

I offered that any yeare that I shall send thither a Barque and from thence shee bring tobacco, where by yo^r^ shipp of London being of burden and defence shall want fraight (w^ch^ shipp must be conceaved to be at least 140 tunnes) what yo^r^ shipp would or could take in more than they shall bring away from thence w^ch^ my shipp hath taken in, I will pay the owner 1^d^ p^lb^ fraight though I bring it in my owne shipp.

As if yo^r^ shipp of London could or would take in 10 or 20 more or less hogsheads, more than they have shipped, and cannott haue them for that my shipp hath taken them in, for so much will I pay vnto the owner of that shipp j^d^ p^lb^ per fraight whereby he shall not be discouraged from going thither, so that her owner shalbe nothing damaged but eased, his ship not so over pestered as oftentymes they are

Soe that if yo^r^ shipp of London of burden and defence haue there full loading they are not dannifyed by my shipp, if they haue not there full loading, then to be paid j^d^ p^lb^ by me

But who shall judge of this wheather yo^r^ London shipp doth want fraight and soe damnified by my shipp, that I wilbe contented to referr to the Gou^r^no^r^ there, who noe doubt will enforme himself of the truth thereof

[1] 9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 14*l.* 15*s.* per ton—an immense price. It is now about 2*l.* in sailing ships.

But another question, how shall the owner come by his j^{d} p^{lb} w^{ch} you offer as aforesaid: for answer Whatsoeu^{r} it shalbe judged by the Gouerno^{r} there that I ought to pay according to my p.mise aforesaid, soe much tobacco will I put vnto his shipp for his security to be paid him here, vpon the deliuery of my tobacco, it being but as a pawne for the said fraight the owner shall giue me the fraight of it for London, and also the said owner, beareth his adventure of his j^{d} vpon the lb of my tobacco.

That if God send not my shipp and tobacco safe then I to pay him nothing, but to pay him his fraight for that he shall bring home for me

Now S^{r} the reasons whie I doe not desire that my tob. should come from London are these

ffirst I must from hence carry it home vpon horseback w^{ch} standeth me at least 3 halfpence p. lb

Secondlie the drying of it, being carryed so farr doth much hurt it.

Thirdlie my Caske wilbe all lost and yield me little or nothing I hauing neither warehouse nor place to put them

ffourthlie that if I would exporte anywhere, It will not sell in the country, I shall not haue my importe allowed me, for that it is not exported from the place where it was entered

ffifthlie that if I should exporte it from Barnestaple the officers will compell me to make the 3^{d} p. lb custome, besides the greate travell trouble and charges that I shalbe at to haue it landed in London

Wherefore I pray you Consider whether my reasons be not sufficient for me to crave as I conceaue my right herein, w^{ch} belongeth vnto me as his Ma^{ts} subiect, and as a member of yo^{r} compa If there be any reasons w^{ch} you or the compa. or any man hath against my sending or that it is hurtfull to the plantacon or planters or the adventurers I shall endeauo^{r} to giue sattisfaccon to any Indifferent gent or yield myself to yo^{r} order And therefore I hope you will not blame me to sue to you and for not being hard to any other court for the privilidges w^{ch} (as I consider) by the lawes of England are due vnto me, but howsoeuer I will euer continue

Yo^{r} servant to be comaunded for the good of the plantacon

JOHN DELBRIDG

this 12th of June 1627

I pray you pardon my rude writing I haue done it in haste and if any word haue slipt my penn vnto w^{ch} there may be some exception, truly it is my erro^{r} and not my will to offend any man there.

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38. A Proclamation, June 18, 1627.

Whereas there is a general heart burning and contention betwixt certain inhabitants of several Tribes in the Sum̄er Islands, by reason of discontents for there seating in there churches, and other such like pettie controversies unworthy to bee remembered or once mentioned amongst Cristians in their congregacons which may in time burn to factions and disorder amongst us if it bee not the sooner prevented for redresse whereof these are to forewarne and charge everie inhabitant of the Summer Islands of what calling and condition soever they bee as well men as woemen to behaue themselues lovingly and respectfullie unto their officers and one unto another at all times and places without reproaching detracting or revyling any other in private or in publique upon any occasion whatsoever in paine of under goeing the strictnesse of punishment w^{ch} shall bee severely inflicted upon all and euerie offender where there shall bee just cause found of misbehaviour upon due examination of their faults the partie grieved having his or her free access unto mee the Gouerno^{r} of complaint in all causes wherein they shall conceiue themselues to bee injured. w^{ch} if they shall neglect and seeke to bee their own Justicers shall severely bee proceeded against as com̄on Barrators and disturbers of the publique peace of w^{ch} let euie one whom it concerns take notice as they will answere the contrary at their utmost perrils

(Signed)
Phil Bell

39. Letter following 'a true coppie of the acquittance graunted vnto John Delbridge the 25 of Oct 1626 by the Bermuda Compa and confirmed in their publique qter Court and graunted vnder the seale of the Compa.'

This is an acquittance of all manner of accons suits quarrells debts some and somes of money due to the Company by John Delbridge from the beginning of the world to date in consideration of a sum of two hundred pounds to them in hand paid

Barnstable the 4th July 1627

Loving ffreends

I am sorry that my good intencon vnto you and others in that Island to make you and them a just and speedie returne for such tobacco w^{ch} was sent me in the 'Ollive' last yere hath pved contrary to my desire though not to my deserts The

'Ollive' in w^ch^ you sent me the tobacco arrived here the latter end of July, [1626] and by the last of September I had made her ready againe for yo^r^ Island w^th^ euerye mans retourne, and a good adventure for myself and sent her hence the 7th of Octo: and tooke much content that shee was gone in soe good and seasonable a tyme, as I hoped, but God who knoweth what is best for us did otherwise dispose of her, there I hoped. For whether by the vnskilfulnes or wilfulnes of the M^r^, after 7 monthes being at sea and that neere about yo^r^ Island and about the coast of Virginia, neuer seeing any land came back againe in greate miserye loosing 3 passengers and the marriners all sicke and weake the ship much hurt, the goods much spoyled. I thank God they had victualls enough for they brought home 11 hoggsheads of beere; store of bread, beefe, butter, cheese, and I haue supplyed euery mans prell [qu. apparel?] and sent them good for what was spoyled, and doe choose to bear the generall losse myself, then the poor men there should beare it, though my losse be at least 300^£^ for that voyage. But God hath done it and wee must be contented. I haue retourned you the neate rest of yo^r^ tob in Dowlas Canvas and stockins as to yo^r^ seuerall accompts sent you I referr me

Dowlas and Canvas and all french goods are both deare and scarce in England, by reason of a breach betwixt England and france though not a pclaymed Warr, it is as bad, or worse. his ma^ts^ ships and others haue taken a greate number of there shipps and goods to a great valewe and sould it and daylie letters of reprisall graunted against them to any that will require them. And some of his ma^ts^ shipps haue entered into some of there harbo^rs^ fetched out diuers shipps, fought w^th^ there Castles and shewed a full breach of the League, and p.clamacons in both Realms p.hibiting each subiects to trade w^th^ other And by Proclamacon It is lawfull to take any of what nation soeuer, that is bound into ffrance or Spaine, w^th^ any victuallings or munition, vnder w^ch^

[The copy of the letter here stops abruptly, leaving half a page blank. It is not addressed.]

40. Assizes 17–19th July, 1627.

Pleas of the Crown.

(1) Richard Stroud late of Smiths Tribe labourer Indicted for that hee the said Richard about the second day of may last past 1627, by force and armes into the House or Cabben of

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Richard Huet of Smiths Tribe aforesaid did enter, and then and there beeing did felloniously take, steale and carrie awaie 6 lb of corne, price 12*d* of the goods and chattels of Richard Huet aforesaid contrary to the peace of our soveraign Lord the king his crowne and dignitie.

Of w^ch^ Indictment The said Richard Stroud confessed himselfe guiltie, for w^ch^ he was adjudged to recieve 20 lashes vpon his naked backe which was performed the 20 July 1627

(2) Jerome Edes received the like sentance and punishment for stealing three shirts price xii*d* off a Pumpian vine the goods and chattels of John Birch

(3) John Giles late of Hambleton Tribe in the Sumer Islands labourer, indicted for that whereas at the late generall Assemblie houlden at S^t^ Georges it was ordeyned and enacted amongst other things) for the prosperitie of the Inhabitants of this plantacon That whosoeuer shall enter in or vpon the lands ar grounds of any other person inhabiting these Islands. And shall there drawe, plucke-vp, steale and carrie away any Tobaco plants, against the good will, or without the special Lycense and consent of the owner of the same land and plants, if hee be an owner or halver, or free man shall forfeit 200 lb of Tobaco, and stand 3 several Saboath daies at the Church dore, with a Bundle of Plants hanged about his necke &c. As in the same act and statute it more at large appeareth, yet notwithstanding John Giles nothing at all regarding the said statute nor penaltie therein conteyned, did about the 27th day of Aprill last past enter in and vpon the ground of Jeames Newbould in Ham: Tribe aforesaid, and then and there beeing did drawe steale and carie away a certeine number of Tobacco plants the goods and chattels of Jeames Newbould aforesaid, of the Tribe aforesaid, against the forme and intent of the statute aforesaid and contrary &c.

To w^ch^ indictment he pleaded not guiltie, and for his tryall put himselfe vpon god and the country, w^ch^ beeing a jury of 12 sworne men found him guiltie, and lyable to vndergo the penaltye expressed in the statute aforesaid

(4) William Hingson alias fatt was convicted of stealing from a cabin 1 pair of shoes price fiue shillings, vpon which hee hauing beene so oft pardoned before [see p. 391] did now receiue the sentance of death w^ch^ was executed vpon him the 21st July 1627

(5) Robert Newman being complayned of and presented for an horrible swearer and curser and having no meanes to pay

the fine according to the statute in that case provided was adjudged to receive 20 lashes upon the naked backe as punishm^{t} for his said offence wh hee suffered accordingly.

41. Presentments by the Grand inquest Julij 18. 1627.

(1) Wee doe present vnto the court that there may bee a good Bridge made at the flatts, and that it bee well rayled. It being now very dangerous to pass over. Referred to the Gouernor.

(2) Wee present Hughe Nokes for a contentious fellow and rayser of quarrells w^{ch} is against the 185 Art in the booke of Orders. no proofe

(3) Wee present William Spatchurst for suspition of marking Turkeys that bee none of his owne Admonished

(4) Wee present John Harpur and Richard Cooper servant to Richard Ap owen both of Devonshire tribe for keeping of Turkeys not having any land, by which meanes the countrey is greatly oppressed by destroying euerie mans corne in generall.

(5) Wee present Capt^{n} Thomas Jenings for keeping of a hogge of a negroes, contrary to a statute in that case provided

(6) Wee present John Grigge and Anne his wife for notorious cursers and swearers. Admonished to reforme or to be put from their lands.

(7) Wee present Robert Newman for a most horrible swearer, curser, and blasphemer of the holy name of Almightie God. Punished with 20 lashes

(8) The other presentments are—For suspicion of incontinencie 7 persons. For drunkenness and swearing 1. For gross scandal 1. For disturbance in Church in sermon time 2. For gaming 6, and M^{rs} Stokes in whose house they played This lady, the wife of Capt^{n} Thomas Stokes was also one of those presented on a graver charge

42. Vpon the petition of Sandis and War. tribe to haue such tobaccoes restored them as they had layd out, for the building of the overplus Church

It was ordered in regard the said ouerplus Church was now thought fitt to be stayed, and a fayre church to be built in the middle of Southampton tribe to serue for the whole tribe, the tobaccoes receaued from the three tribes (vizt) Sandis Southamp. and War should be repaid to them vpon accompt with George Wells.

43. Vpon the petition of the Inhabitants of S^{t} Georges and

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Sandis Tribe to be allowed for soe many dayes work as they had wrought at the new fforts, w^ch^ was now thought fitt to be stayd

It was thought good by the said Assembly that they should be paid 1½lb of Tobacco a day in respect of there worke and their dyett by a generall hand, and 1lb more a day from Capt Woodhouse in as much as he allowed them 1lb a day more then by the booke or orders & statutes here made he ought to haue done, and sett this greate worke on foote, without the approbacon of the generall assemblie Contrary to the hono^ble^ comp order in there booke of Constitutions Art 143

44. At a Counsell Table the 21st of July 1627

Present

Capt^n^ Phillip Bell Gouer^r^		John Miller
Capt^n^ Vincent Disney Sherriff		Stephen Paynter
Capt^n^ Miles Kendall		Hugh Wentworth
M^r^ Patrick Copeland	ministers	Capt^n^ Jennings
M^r^ Robert Staples		Willia Reyner
Capt^n^ Danyell Elfrith		Anthony Jenour
Capt^n^ Wood Secret^y^		John Stamer

(1) Whereas diuers good and holesome lawes haue beene made for the peece and prosperitie of this plantaceon, as namely against Swearing Drunkennesse &c which lawes throughe the remissnesse of some officers are not put in such due execution as is expedient. It is therefore ordered and concluded upon by the Gouernor and Counsell now assembled That euerie Counsellor in his severall Tribe and Parish shall verie carefullye attend the charge unto him comitted to represse those notorious vices so prone and rife amongst us by taking a due account of euerie prophane & vayne oath w^ch^ he shall heare or haue notice off. And to enquire of all such Drunkards as hee shall see or heare of within his said Tribe and parish. To the end the penaltie of the Statute may bee duly executed upon euerie pson soe offending As are in such provyded off w^ch^ if any counsellour or other officer, as churchwarden or Constable shall faile in performance of that trust comitted unto him hee shall upon due information and convictiō bee charged and lyable to double fyne of that w^ch^ the offender should have paid if hee had been thereof lawfully presented and convicted any lawe use or custome to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding

(2) Whereas complaint is made of divers apprentices, servants and artificers and other People whoe haue either none or but

small store of land to liue upon and yet take upon them to keepe and bring uppe great numbers of Turkeis to the great damage of their neighbours upon whose land they both breed and feed and oftentimes to their apparent losse, these apprentices servants Tradesmen and others dryving and marking their neighbours Turkeys (w^{ch} they keepe in greater store by reason of their greater proportion of land to feed them.) amongst their owne to their said neighbours approoved damage and prejudice To represse whereof It is ordered by the Gouv^{r} and counsell now assembled That it shall not from hensforth bee lawfull for an apprentice or servant recieving wages nor Tradesmen who are not Householders and have some reasonable p.portion of land to manure to have the priviledges of keeping any Turkeys upon any pretence whatsoever neither shall any householder or halver who hath not at the least 8 akers of land in his occupacon bee suffered to keepe any more than Two Turkey hennes to turne out for his increase use and benefitt, nor shall any haluer or householder couller any such upon any pretence whatsoeuer In paine and forfeiture of all such Turkeys so kept aboue this number, and 20 lb of Tobaco fine for his contempt & breach of this order To bee assessed by the Sherriffe upon due tryall of the offence and disposed for general use of the plantacon

(3) And whereas the like complaint is made that throrrugh the Tolleracoen of some Indulgent masters who give leave unto their apprentices and hyred servants to keepe hogg (or swine) under them which doe oftentimes great damage to their sayd masters and their neighbo^{rs} by breaking loose, and spoil their corne and other provisions upon the ground It is for reformacōen thereof ordered That no apprentice or seruant receiving wages shall after one month time ensueing, keepe any Hoggs or Swine either directly or indirectly to the breach of this order and damage of their said masters and their neighbours Their said Masters taking consideracōen of their well deserving servants having other waies and meanes to recompense their said servants according to their severall merits, upon the losse and forfeiture of all such swine so kept by the apprentices and servants and a fine of 20lb of Tobacco to bee levied upon everie such master so giving way to his servant to be converted for generall uses of the plantatcōen

(4) Upon complaint of the great abuses now used in grubbing downe and cutting of Palmeto Trees for procuring of Bibbie whereby servants and other ill disposed persons doe meet, and spend much time and thrift in drinking thereof to the prejudice of their masters and undertakers and evill example unto other good inhabitants of this plantacon for redresse whereof

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it is ordered by the Governor and counsell assembled that from this time forward no palmetto trees shall be grubbed up or Cutt to procure Bibbie by any tenant or halver or any other person whatsoever without the speciall leave or license of the owner of the said land or his assigney or the approbacoen of the Councellor[s] of the respective Tribes for the preservation of the grounds & fences where such trees shall bee grubbed up or set for the Tennts use and necessitie. And that no Bibbie shall be sould or exchanged by any person either for Tobaco corne Potatoe or any other provision whatsoever upon the paine and penaltie of one months imprisonment and 20 lb of Tobaco fine for everie time so offending Any use or custom heretofore in any wise notwithstanding

(5) A complaint beeing made by William Mitchell a Tenn[t] of the R[t] Honor[ble] the Earle of Warwick who being warned to have a parcell of Land w[ch] hee holds in occupacōn in Southampton Tribe The businesse having a due hearing and discussing It was at length ordered that the said William Michell shall enjoy the use of the said land this croppe and the next and that hee shall plant the same with Tobacco for my Lord's best benifite And then so leave it quietly unto my Lords assignes to be disposed of for his Lps use.

(6) Capt Disney and Leutnt Buckley clayming each of them a calfe as their due by keeping two cowes of the Compa to the halues according to an agreement by w[ch] they received them from Captain Woodhouse but for so much as it appeared that these two calues so claymed were the first that these two kyne since they receaued them into their custodie The said calues were by a generall consent of the Counsell then assembled declared to belong to the Honor[ble] compa who ought to have the first of the increase of their cattell so let forth as aforesaid.

[These several orders are embodied in a proclamation by Governor Philip Bell, dated St. George's the 24th July, 1627.]

45. A Proclamation.

The damage which wee are all subiect unto in the losse of our p.uissions planted upon our grounds, by the straggling and going abroad of our swyne makes me endeavour all I may for pvention thereof now that the mast of figges begin to fayle whereby they have been some while fedd at S[t] Georges w[ch] yet

to remove all cause of complaint I am content to suffer until the 24th day of this present month of August Till which tyme everye Inhabitant of this Island is to take warning by these presents to puide sufficient styes to keep in such swyne as they intend to rear and keep for their store that they breake not forth to endamage themselves and their neighbors in their p.uisions aforesaid, ffor I will in no wise suffer any swyne to be kept tyed up with lynes or strings or otherwise than in there said styes, upon penaltie of the losse of their said swyne and trespassing as aforesaid, of w^ch^ lett eury one whom it concerns take notice and warning at their severall pills

And whereas I have of late forbidden all and euerie one and that in publique by proclamation to forbear gathering of figgs in my vinyard (w^ch^ I see is not regarded) and not my figgs only but powngrannetts also are allready pillaged and taken away and soe those fewe oranges and lemons are in like danger to be purloyned and what els I shall plant for my owne or the publique benefit wh. practize is more befitting Indyans and saluages than a colony of Christians who ought to make a difference between their owne goods and fruits, and other men's. And indeed this abuse doth disharten all Industrious people from planting when they haue no more hope and certaynty of reaping there fruits for w^ch^ they labo^r^, wh. seeing I am by my own experience sensible of, These are to forewarne and charge all and euery pson whosoever from making my vinyard there place of resort and pastyme at any tyme or so much as to frequent it for there pleasure and recreation except they have expresse leave and lycense from me the Gouern^r^ so to doe, houlding it just and equall that when my curtezey and patience is abused by the unbridled affeccons of such indiscreete p.sons who will not understand to use me civily (in there priviledges soe freely graunted by me) even to deprive them of the use of it altogether. And although my occasions will not as yet suffer me to impale it in as I intend hereafter to doe, yet the limitts thereof being well knowne unto all men I expect a conformance hereunto as they will answer there contempte by the contrarye at there utmost pills

(Signed) PHILLIP BELL.

46. A MILITIA RIOT. The declaration of Mr Anthony Jeno^r^ upon oath.

Who saith that after the dismissing of the Compa. of Souldiers w^ch^ were appointed to keepe watch and ward upon the

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Alarme[1] This declarant being in Mr Burrowes House upon some buisines, and hearing the Drum beating and the shooting of Gunnes bethought with himselfe what disturbance it might be thorough the land and thereupon went up to the place where he hard the noyse, and being come where the Companye was Henry Snayle stood in the way & cried kiuilaugh[2] and stand! Charging his Pyke close to this declarants face, but this declarant thinking he had but jested asked the compa mildly wherefore they kept such druming and shooting and persuaded them to leave off for it might cause a new alarm in the country. The Compa answered they had but a little drinke to drinke and they would beginne. Then this declarant charged the drummer p.ticularly to leave his drumming who answered with divers bitter oaths he would not. Ffurther this declarant charged them that shot to leave of their shooting and Ensigne Taylo[r] being by told this declarant that the drummer should beate and the muskitiers should shoote and he would answer for them soe this declarant depted away from them thinking they would have leftof and he being somewhat of his way p.sently hard the Drum beate and the gunners shoote of, where upon this declarant came back againe and asked the Compa. the reason whie they left not of. Ensigne Taylor made answer again that they should not and that he would beare them out, and this declarant came to the drum, and layd his hand upon it and bad the drummer either deliver up his drum or begone But the Ensigne snatching the drum, from this declarant sayd he should drum on and soe growing to further speeches the said Taylo[r] cald this declarant Clawback and said he would be found out shortly, and that he was a man unfitt to bear office and that he was a busier fellowe than any officer in England wth many other reproachful speeches upon wch base speeches this declarant charged the said Taylo[r] in the Governo[rs] name divers times to deliuer up his sword wh. he refused to doe and there upon this declarant tooke hould of the hilt and Ensigne Taylo[r] struggling with this declarant this declarant fell downe backwards he being ouer this declarant, and this declarant rising up Taylo[r] fell back and drewe his sword as said whosoeu[r] came to take it from him he would be there death or chopp them in peeces So this declarant charged the Compa to assist him and to disarm the said

[1] The incident referred to seems to have been the arrival of a vessel called 'The George,' in March 162$\frac{4}{5}$, when the garrison of King's Castle was reinforced by one man from every tribe (see p. 424).

[2] Kiuilaugh—ki-vi-la—Qui va là? A cry which carries us directly back to the gates of Dunkirk, perhaps to those of Calais, lost to the English in 1558, but still dear to the popular mind, and still claimed for England, as we have evidence, p. 459. The use of these words as a challenge in the Somer Islands so late as 1627 is one of the most curious details of this record.

Taylo^{r}. and this declarant drawing neare to disarme him Thomas Dallamore came betwixt them holding up his pyke acrosse and the said Taylo^{r} strooke diuers tymes ouer the pyke at this declarant and at length seeing this declarant avoyding by one side of Dallamore the said Taylo^{r} suddenly made at him with the point of his sword wth in a hand breadthof his breeches upon which this declarant seeing a boy goe by sent him for the constable, and charged Taylor divers tymes in the king and the Gouvern^{rs} name to stay until the Constable came but he refused saying that he would not stay to be tortured by any Counsell^{r} or Constable of them all, but he would answer what he had done before the Gouvrn^{r} & soe dep.ted.

(2) The examination of Thomas Burrowes upon Oath taken the 5th of September 1627

Who saith that Mr Jeno^{r} coming from Cap^{tn} Yates and his company to this examinants house this examinant wished M^{r} Jeno^{r} to stay to dinner which he did and after dinner was done Capt^{n} Yates came down to this declarants house where he stayed not long but went his way after w^{ch} tyme M^{r} Jeno^{r} and this declarant hard about a dozen peeces shottoff and the Drumm beating w^{ch} M^{r} Jeno^{r} taking notice of and fearing some disorder, was desirous to goe to them to aduise them to leaue of and this declarant seeing him goe alone told him if he pleased he would goe along wth him, for it might be els that hee being but one and the Compa. beeing merry he might sustain some damage w^{ch} he accepted and going up to Woodwards where they were This declarant seeing some of the Compa. going about to discharge their peeces wisht M^{r} Jeno^{r} to make a stand awhile lest the powder should flash in his face w^{ch} he did, and after coming to them Snayle stood in the way wth his pyke charged wthin haff a yard of M^{r} Jeno^{rs} face and sayd kivilough: stand: the word: w^{ch} M^{r} Jenour not regarding past on to the rest of the Compa. and asked them in myld tearmes why they kept such drumming and shooting psuading them to leave of for it might breed ells a newe Alarme in the Contry. The Compa answered, they had but a little drinke to drinke and they would begine Then M^{r} Jeno^{r} charged the Drummer p.ticularly to leave his Drumming who answered with diuers bitter oathes he would not . .

[The evidence proceeds to the same effect as before, and so three other depositions. 'The drummer made answer, the Drumm was his owne and he would beate, for who had to doe wth it.']

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47. Att a councell Table held the 6th day of September 1627.

(1) The Goovrnors answer is That Ensigne Taylor shall bee cashiered from his charge and comand at the head of the Troope and that his sword w^{ch} was drawen against the magistrate shall be there broken before his face, and bee disabled for ever bearing office of comaund in these Islands hereafter. Also to pay 500^{lbs} of Tobacco fine to be disposed of for generall uses of the plantacon And to be bound to his good behaviour (wth sureties) so long as he remains in the Summer Islands.

William Coxon and Henry Snaile were each censured to pay 300lbs of tobacco for generall uses To make open acknowledgement of their fault at the head of the Troupe and to suffer ymprisonm^{t}. during his pleasure.

(2) The acknowledgement of Coxon and Snaile.

Wee William Coxon and Henry Snaile doe here acknowledge and confesse that we haue (by our disobedience in opposing and resisting the Authoritie and lawfull comaund of the Magistrate) incurred his Ma^{ties} Highe displeasure against us and either of us and thereby given very evill example unto others for wh. wee are now very heartilie sorrie and doe craue forgivenesse of Almightie God Our worthy governo^{r} and his counsell and doe here promise a reformation of our liues, more submission and obedience unto the governo^{r} and his subordinate officers in all things that we shall be required to performe in all our liues hereafter.

[A like apology was required from several others, who were fined each 100 lbs. of tobacco, and Mr. John Yates, the captain of the armed men in Smith's and Hamilton Tribes, was dismissed from his charge and command.]

(3) Nicholas Jones of Hambleton Tribe (for saying he was as good a man as M^{r} Devenish although hee was one of the Governo^{rs} counsell) was censured to bee laid necke and heeles togeather for one hour upon the wharfe at S^{t} Georges near the Pillorie with this Inscription written over his head FOR SLIGHTING, CONTEMNING AND COMPARING HIMSELFE WITH THE GOVERNOURS COUNSELL.

(4) Upon the complaint of Bedwells wife that shee feared her husband would make away with all his croppe of corne and reserve little or none for her and her children ot liue upon for the winter. It was ordered by the Govern^{r} and promised by Bedwell to deliver 6000 eares of corne in deposit into the hands of John Devenish Counsellor of Hambleton tribe for the use of his wife and children as aforesaid

48. Letter of Marque, 26 Sept. 1627 [*abbreviated*] 3 Car I.

George Duke of Buckingham, Earle of Coventrie, Viscount Villers, Barron of Whaddon, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Lord High Admirall of England Ireland and Wales and the Dominions and Isles thereof of the towne of Callice and Marchys thereof, of Normandie, Gasconie, and Guines, and Captaine Generall of His Ma^ties^ seas and Navie Royall. *To* All Xtian people to whom the prsents shall come Greeting in our Lord God euerlasting. Whereas our Soueraigne Lord Charles by the Grace of God King of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland Defender of the faith &c. (because many of his loving subiects have sustained divers and sundry great wrongs loses and Damages, as well at See in surprizing and taking their shippes goodes and merchandize &c as Otherwise by the King of Spaine or his subjects Inhabiting in sundrie places vnder the saide kings obedience, and notwithstanding all faire courses and due p.ceedings accordinge to the formes of Princes and states being in Amitie have bine observed and vsed in demanding & seeking restitucon and reparacon for the saide wronges losses and damages noe restitucon or satisfaction can yet be obteyned Vppon the humble sute of his saide subjectes for letters of reprisall they haueing no other meanes by order of Justice for their releife, and that they may be licenced to stay apprehend and take the shippes and goodes of the saide Kinge of Spaine or his subiects according to their sue^r^all cases whersoeuer the same shalbe founde vppon the Seas or in any Porte or pte within or w^th^out his Ma^ts^ Realmes and dominions, to answer the losses and damadges by his saide subiects sustained as aforesaide, or otherwise for a full satisfaccon to be made to them of the shippes, goodes and marchandizes soe taken and deteyned from them respectiuely wth their reasonable chardges w^ch^ they shalbe at for the recouering of the same Hath by his Ma^ts^ Letters Patentes bearing date the second day of November Anno 1625 vnder his Ma^ts^ Seale authorized me as his highnes Admirall to graunt comissions for the app^r^hending and taking of the shippes goodes and marchandizes of the King of Spaine or any of his subiects whersoeuer they shalbe found, to such his loving subiects so dampnified and in such manner and forme and according to such Articles and orders as are or shalbe agreed vppon and aduised by his priuie councell or any ffive of them in writing vnder their hands, and deliuered the same into the high Courte of Admiraltie for my direction therein which articles and orders be and remaine there of Recorde. And whereas further *John Dyke* and others haue sustained great losse and damadge to the

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value of Tenn thousand pounds [1] by the subiects of the Kinge of Spaine lately surprizinge and taking theire shippes goods and marchandizes wherevpon the said John Dyke and others haue alreadie equipped furnished & victualled a shippe called the *Sumer Island Pinnace* of the burthen of about one hundred and ffortie tunnes whereof John Rose is Captaine And haue likewise entred into bond in his Mat^{s} highe courte of admiraltie that neither the saide shippe Captaine nor companie shall attempt anythinge against any of his Ma^{ts} loving subiects especially the Inhabitants of Jersey and Guernsey, nor against the subiects of any other Prince or states in good league and amitie with his Ma^{tie} but only against the king of Spaine and his subiects, and alsoe shall bringe or cause to be broughte all such shippes goods and m^{r}chandizes as they shall soe take of the kinge of spaine or his subiects togeather with three or ffower of the companie of everie such prize as shalbe of most account (whereof the master & pilott to be two) to some Porte of this his Ma^{ts} Realme of England as shall be most convenient for them, and shall keepe in safetie the saide shipp and goods soe taken and not breake bulke sell spoile waste or diminish or any pte thereof vntill judgement hath firste passed in the highe Courte of Admiraltie that the saide goodes are lawfull prize, or the same shall be decreed to be appraised and sould as p.ishable (according to such comission as shalbe issued out of the high courte of admiraltie in that behalfe Knowe yee therefore that I the said George Duke of Buckingham &c doe license and authorize the saide John Dyke and others to sett forth to the seas the saide shippe the Sumer Islands Pinace and there wth by force of armes to sett vpon take and app^{r}hend any the shipps goods moneys and m.chandizes of the King of Spaine or any of his subiects . . .

[This commission was to be in force for twelve months.]

49. At a Counsell Table 17th of July 1628.

(1) The generall [Letter] beeing read, and therein that Passage w^{ch} concerneth John Croft Gunner of Pagets fort And the copie of his letter being also read, and his complaints therein for want of meanes considered. It was then and there questioned what meanes hee now hath in possession for his maintainance w^{ch} is approved to be as followeth

Inp^{s} from Capt Wood yearly in Tobaco 60 lbs

[1] A legal and fictitious amount.

(2) All the profits of the Island called Penistons Island w^ch^ is one of the two shares appropriated vnto Capt^n^ Wood for his Capt^s^ place of the said Fort

(3) A proportion of Land in Davies Island to the quantitie of 60 acres of ground allowed by the last Generall Assemblie to the gunner of the said fort, w^ch^ he hath had in his possession these 3 yeares, gratis, and w^ch^ he now lets forth for 100^lbs^ of Tobacco p. annum and reserues a part there off for corne ground for his owne use

(4) Also a negroe of his owne which hee hires forth this yeare for 160 lbs

All which beeing knowen to bee true It is the generall opinion of all the counsellors now assembled that the said John Crofts gunner of Pagets fort hath a good and sufficient maintainance for a man of his qualitie and deserving

(5) . . Concerning the Compa. proposition of preferring Thomas Higgs vnto the marshalls place to saue such extraordinarie charge as his povertie requires to bee relieved with. It beeing taken into consideration by the Gouernor and counsell. It was by them desired to gratifie Tho^s^ Higgs with any thing hee shall be capable off to saue a generall charge, w^ch^ they resolue to doe so soone as it shall seasonablie fall out for that end. But it is concluded by the vnanimous consent of the Gouernor and counsell now assembled that Thomas Higgs is no way able to supply the marshalls place, as well throughe want of meanes to furnishe his house with provision to serue the cuntrey when their occasions drawe them downe to S^t^ Georges [1] as also through other personall defects, whereby hee is vtterly vnable to serue in that place. And therefore the marshalls place is by an unanimous consent conferred still vpon William Watlington, and his land in S^t^ Georges according to the former rent, vntill the Honnor^ble^ Compa shall signifie their pleasures to the contrarie

(6) Upon M^r^ Grames his motion vnto the Governor and the counsell to knowe the certeine place of his charge and residence whereby hee might be settled and followe his studies more cheerefullie in his ministerie &c

W^ch^ beeing taken into consideracoen by the Governo^r^ and y^e^ counsell, and the Honnor^ble^ Compa letter in that respect beeing publiquelie read. It was vpon good grounds and reasons then shewed, and desired, by the most voyces of the counsell that there might be a respite and stay made for the

[1] The Marshal had the privilege of retailing liquor (p. 315), and appears to have been expected to keep a house of entertainment for the public accommodation.

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settling of Mr Grames vntill such time as there shall bee a returne from the Honorble Compa by the next magasine shippe. At wch time a due course and order shall bee taken both for his settling and satisfaction Till when his residence is continued at St Georges to supply that place and Hambleton Tribe wch was so ordered accordingly

(7) It is also ordered That all the corne wch is allowed vnto the souldiers of the kings castle for their yearly maintenance, beeing after the computacoen of one bushell the moneth for everie souldier Togeather with all the arrearages yet behind and vnpaid, shall bee levied now at this croppe ensueing And bee paid into the kings castle vnto the souldiers there serving for the whole yeare beginning at the last day of August next ensueing. And so for ever to continue

(8) John Grigge executioner beeing called before the Governor and the counsell now assembled Hee made humble sute vnto them to release him from his office of comon executioner And hee would willingly pay an annual rent in Tobaco for the share of land wch hee houldeth in Davies Island gratis, in respect of that place, wch beeing taken into consideracoen by the gouernour and counsell aforesaid, it was ordered by a gennerall consent that the said John Grigge shall hould his land and his office togeather vntill the next assizes, and then hee shall bee free from his said office for euer, and be entred vnto the Honnorble Compa and to pay yearly 50 lb of Tobacco for his said share of land, wch hee now enjoyeth and houldeth in the Island aforesaid

50. At a Generall Courte holden for the Somer Islands the 22 day of August 1628.

Present Mr Gabriell Barber Deputy
Mr Richard Caswell Treas.
and seventeen others

Whereas this courte hath binne informed of a grieuance in the behalfe of William Seamer concerning a negro woeman whoe is marryed to a negro man of Mr Paulson's whereby the said negro woman is deteyned from the seruice of the said William Seamer by living with her husband; whereupon it is ordered that if the said Mr Paulson doth not giue satisfaction to the said Seamer by this shipp as he hath promised to doe, That then the said negro woman shall remayne in her

seruice with the said Will Seamer or his Assignes And that her husband shall repayer to her euery Saturday night, and so remayne with her till Munday morning

51. Conflict of civil and ecclesiastical authority.

The declaration of Willm Smith constable of Hambleton tribe. [Before the Governor, September 9, 1628.]

Who saith that on Wedensday last they mett togeather at the church to choose a Church warden in the place of John Hubberd which by all their consents fell vnto Goddard Asser[1] which done a motion was made to choose their vestrie (but by whom he doth not well remember) Answer was made by Goddard Asser that he heard from Goodman Devenish that there should as yet bee no meeting of a vestrie, notwithstanding w^{ch} they proceeded and chose two men to fill up their vestrie viz Henrye Sharpe and Henry Bishoppe

Goddard Asser corroborates and affirmes that M^{r} Grimes answered That the Governo^{r} had to doe wth civill causes, but not with ecclesiasticall. John Yates That M^{r} Grimes replyed that they might choose a vestrie without goeing to the Governor, or to that effect. M^{r} Stoughton That M^{r} Grimes replyed that the Governo^{r} had nothing to doe in that place for choosing of the church officers, or to that effect. John Huson That M^{r} Grimes replyed If hee had not a vestrie he would not preach. And that the Governor had nothing to do with ecclesiasicall matters or to that effect. Thomas Brown-John That M^{r} Grimes replyed That the Governo^{r} had nothing to doe with Spiritual matters, for that belonged vnto the ministers, or to the same effect. Thomas Sparks That M^{r} Grimes replied That all the ministers would joyne togeather to sue to the govenor or their vestries or to this effect.

[These seven depositions are all upon oath.]

52. The true copy of the L L[5] of the Privy Council's Letter unto Capt Philip Bell Governor dated 21 July 1628.

After our hearty commendations. Whereas Henry Woodhouse the younger, John Pilner, and Thomas Buckley have a

[1] The name is more generally written in the Puritanical form Godheard Asser, which suggests an origin for the proper name Goddard.

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desire to leave the Summer Islands; and to the end they may be permitted freely to return for England without any interruption, have made humble suit unto us for our Letters in that behalf. We do therefore think fit hereby to will and require you to permit and suffer them quietly and peaceably to embark themselves with their wives and families, together with such goods as do belong unto them, they giving full satisfaction to all such persons unto whom they are in any sort justly indebted, thereof we require you not to fail; and so we bid you heartily farewell. From White Hall the last of July 1628.

Your loving friends,

THO: COVENTRYE, MARLEBURGH, KELLYE, GRANDISON, DORCHESTER, THO: EDMUNDS.

53. At a Counsell Table held at S[t] George the 11th of [October] 1628.

The Gouernors relation to the councell of the businesse betwixte himself and M[r] Abraham Grame

Before I proceed to the businesse in hand I thinke it fitt to let you knowe how much I haue borne and suffered from the Minister alreadie before I layde the hand of Authoritie vpon him, as most vnwilling to haue medled at all in way of controversie w[th] any of his coat and calling

First vpon some difference betweene M[r] Staples and himselfe concerning M[r] Graimes comming into his charge to pray and to baptize whether hee would or noe, wherein M[r] Graimes was once formerly satisfied by my owne presence and will declared vnto M[r] Staples w[ch] hee was willing to submit vnto, but yet M[r] Grames did not still cease most violently and obstinately to declare and tell M[r] Staples that hee would come thither and pray and baptize in dispight of him, and whether hee would or not, vnto w[ch] Mr Staples replyed hee should not, breaking into these loud and peremptorie termes of contention in my owne house & presence w[ch] though I winked at a long time, yet at last I could not choose but take notice of, and requiring an account from them of the same Mr Staples related as is alreadie expressed And Mr Grames replyed that in respect M[r] Staples had reported, and now said, that hee should preach and baptize no more in his charge without his leaue, therefore he would preach there againe, or els hee would preach no more in the lande. I answered that was no good speech howsoeuer, because his preaching and ministerie was not free and dispen-

ceable according to his owne passion and humour Neither was this the fitt language of a minister for S^{t} Paule saith of himselfe, that woe bee vnto him if hee preach not the ghospell—and yo^{u} say vnlesse yo^{u} may preach where and as you list you will preach no more a great and vnheard of difference betweene gods ministers. From thence I proceeded to tell him that I hoped hee desyred nothing but what was just and right, and so to doe M^{r} Staples no wrong Hee answered, this was no wrong, and that where M^{r} Staples now lived was his owne proper charge, and hee but a lecturer, and therefore hee would preach there when he list and in dispight of him I replyed in something he was mistaken, and in other some quite out of the way. As first M^{r} Staples was no lecturer as hee alleadged, having the same annuall allowance and recompence himselfe had, neither is nor ever was any such thing in this land[1] but that hee was as truly and legallie confirmed in that charge hee held, as himselfe was for the present in S^{t} Georges where he now lived That tis true the companie had appointed him vnto that charge where M^{r} Staples now lived and that it was never accordingly denyed vnto him, not the present possession thereof Only Mr Staples beeing seated and having served halfe the yeare or thereabouts therein before his arryvall It was desired of him by myselfe and whole counsell at our sitting that hee would be content to let M^{r} Staples continue out the whole yeare in that place, and that himselfe might and should continue at S^{t} Georges wth the Governor in the meane while, whereunto he gaue his owne free consent. Now this beeing done and passed by his owne consent I tould him did equallie establish and authorize for the time beeing M^{r} Staples in that charge as himself in his Soe that hee could noe more rightfullie goe thither and preach there against M^{r} Staples will, than M^{r} Staples could come to S^{t} Georges and preach against his. But his reply was still that M^{r} Staples was but a lecturer, therefore the case not all one, and soe hee would either preach there when he list, or no more in the land I then plainly tould him that if he would not be reasonable hee must be made soe and that I must be forced to send for my counsell to order him and the businesse, and indeede anew to confirme what was alreadie determined and concluded by our lawfull and supreame authoritie Hee tould mee againe I might send for them if I would but he would doe no otherwise than he had said. I answered he must and should be subject to our authoritie, and not bee his owne Judge, whereat in great passion turning about and

[1] The relation of Curate to Incumbent is still unknown to the law of Bermuda, and cannot be legally recognised.

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goeing out of dores hee replyed, that if I should send for 1,000 men or counsellors more than I had hee would never bee drawen to preach or doe other waies than hee had said. And if this was not a great insolencie and contempt against authoritie I leaue you and the whole world to Judge. Yet all this I was willing to beare withall, hoping hee would prove like that sonne in the Gospell w^ch^ denyed to doe his fathers will, but did it. And so indeed it proved, for hee was ashamed euer after to vrge or offer any pformance of the same.

Wherevnto hee then replyed that hee gaue not his consent otherwise then by Sylence w^ch^ doth not alwayes ymply soe: but the contrarie of that was proved by the wholl counsell to his faith, and that he did willingly and freely offer to referre himselfe to bee ordered in this businesse by the Governor & them. Another time not long after coming out of the mayne, hee beganne with mee of himselfe Roger Wood the Secretarie beeing present That hee had donne a thing hee knew hee should be complayned off, hee therefore did rather choose and desire to complaine and make it knowne of himselfe. Soe demaunding what it was, hee tould mee hee had called a vestrye in Hambleton Tribe I demanded then the occasion. Hee tould me to choose a church warden & a sidesman. I tould him againe that might haue beene done as alwaies heretofore without a vestrie. And then demanded further whether he knew of the suspension of that act of the Assembly (vpon good reasons and consideracoens) by myselfe and counsell. And so of our order and commaunde to the contrarie Hee told mee yes, hee knew of it after hee came hither, (though it appears since hee knew of it before, and was advised to the contrarie) to w^ch^ I answered that if it was not before, I could beare with any ignorant or unwilling fault: but then the venom and truth of all broke out, for hee answered that there were alwaies vestries wheresoeuer he had beene or had any knowledge, and that for his part he would haue so now likewise or els hee would preach no more in the Lande. I tould him againe, that was as ill a song or saying as hee could possiblye vse or take vp, and did argue little or no conscience in him at all, either of his charge or calling And I said further that vestries were not only allowed but instituted, and authorized by myselfe since my coming, and in all likelihood might haue alwaies continued soe their owne pride or ignorance had not occasioned the contrarie, by desyring and goeing about to advance them aboue all authoritie or governm^t^ in w^ch^ respect it was thought and found very fitt and expedient by myselfe and counsell to put them downe againe, and to reduce things to their former order and constitution of the companie, and that soe they should alwaies con-

tinue Hee then replyed that wee could not suspend or disannul that Act of our Assemblie, whereat beeing somewhat moved I tould him for all his learning, he spake now without booke, and that hee was sent hither to preach and bee our minister, not to bee our governo^{r} or superintendent, neither to teach vs what we could or had to doe. But to showe him his owne ignorance in these things, notwithstanding his schollershippe otherwise, I tould him that we had equall power and authoritie vpon good reasons and consideracoens to suspend & disanull lawes againe as to make them, that it agreed with the practice and policy of all governm^{ts}, and no lesse of our owne in England (to w^{ch} wee must and ought principallie to haue recourse) though it seemes vnknowne to him for it was frequent to suspend Acts of Parliament in England when by practice and experience they were found more inconvenient than wholsome and profitable, as at the first they were presupposed and concluded to be. To all which notwithstanding hee still obstinately replyed, that hee would either haue a vestrie or not preach any more. And I tould him hee should never preach then, for there should never be any more vestries heer so long as I liued and had the Governm^{t} And so I comaunded him sylence for the present, and to leaue these thinges to the decicion of a fitter time. And so as before I appeale to yo^{u} all and the whole world whether any man of my place could haue suffered more at any man's hands than I haue donne at his in both these passages And now Mr Graimes if any thing of this bee vntrue or that you haue any reply to make herevnto you may freely speake

To this he made no other answere but y^{t} hee could not deny it.

After this the Governo^{r} tould him hee had two questions to propose further unto him before hee came to the maine businesse

(1) Whether according to Gods Ordinance hee did not thinke there was an absolute subjection and obedience to bee given by all persons to all lawfull Magistracie and authoritie

(2) Whether he did not count himselfe vnder such a lawfull magistracie and authoritie as ought to bee accordingly absolutely obeyed and submitted vnto

To both these hee refused to make any answere at all.

The Governor then proceeded and tould him that though hee would not answere to these things, yet there was two other great misdemeano^{rs} of his w^{ch} hee must nowe giue account of and make answere vnto

First for calling a vestrie in Hambleton Tribe against the whole Authoritye and governm^{t} of the land

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2nd For requiring another publickly in the same kinde at S Georges

Hee answered there was a lawe in gods booke That said it was better to obey god than man.

Wherevnto the governor replyed that was very true w^ch^ hee had said, but what was that to the purpose, for the Lawe of God had nowhere comaunded him to call a vestrie or any thing els against all authoritye and Gou^r^mn^t^ but contrariewise that that should bee obeyed and submitted vnto everie where And therefore hee must answer why and by what Authoritie hee called that vestrie contrary to y^e^ order and comaund of the Govern^r^ and counsell

Hee then answered By the power that belongs vnto a minister

Beeing then demaunded why, are not ministers vnto Temporall power and Authoritie? Hee answered noe, but beeing a little prompted by his fellow minister M^r^ Coapland, who bad him not say soe But that his ministrie was not vnto temporall power and authoritie hee then corrected himselfe, and said his ministrie, and so desyred to haue it sett downe

Beeing further questioned why hee did so insolently require a vestrie publiquely of the Parish and auditorie at S^t^ Georges not only against the aforesaid authoritie, but the absolute declared will of the Gouernor to himselfe but two days before, wherein hee had beene mutinous in himselfe, and in stirring vp the people vnto sedition unlesse he could showe some better and greater authoritie then the Gouerno^r^ had, Hee was therefore demaunded by what authoritie hee did it and that hee would showe the same His answere to this was as to the former, by the power of a minister, and further added that the calling of a vestrie belongs to the minister whether the Gouernor will or noe The Gouerno^r^ then asked him if hee knew what hee said And whether the king of England whose power and authoritie (though most vnworthilie) he now represented was not in all causes, and over all persons as well ecclesiasticall as civill supreame head & governor?

To that he refused to make any answere. Wherevpon the Governor tould him hee wonndered that hee w^ch^ was the youngest minister, and but newly arryved in the land should thus offer first to meddle and stirre in that w^ch^ all the rest were contented withal, or at least obeyed. And that at this time his fellow minister M^r^ Coapland now present, a farre more graue and ancient minister then himselfe when hee sawe that there was the nature and effect of a vestrie allowed, declared that he was well satisfyed and contented, for that the name of a vestrye was not to bee found in gods booke, nor to bee stood vppon And

therefore why should not hee be satisfyed likewise with the same To that hee replyed All mens consciences were not alike

It was further demaunded of him, in as much as he had mentioned in his speech publiquely after his sermon that vestries had beene the vse and practice of preceeding Governors. In what Governors time it had been soe

Whereat pausing a little vpon his answere Capt. Chadocke made answere for him In Capt Butlers time w^{ch} by many counsellors then p^{r}sent was denyed and prooved contrary. And that there was only a generall meeting and convocation then appointed by M^{r} Lewes for the whole land w^{ch} hee termed and would haue called by the name of elders, but not vestrie ever named or mentioned att all There having been no vestries before the Government of Capt. Woodhouse, who also shortly after the election disanulled them againe

And after some rebuke then given by the Governor to Capt Chadocke for his vndiscreet answere and answearing Hee demaunded of M^{r} Grayme againe what he said himselfe to that question Who replyed that the Answere was alreadie made The Governo^{r} then told him that he was prooved vntrew, and so it seemes hee vttered an vntruth in his pulpitt

Mr Graime being required to absent himselfe The counsell proceeded to a censure

The Secretaries censure That M^{r} Graimes for his presumptuous contesting against the Governo^{r} shall bee dismissed from the counsell and that hee shall make an acknowledgement of his fault in that pulpitt where hee committed it And that hee shall now craue p.don of the governo^{r} before vs all at the counsell Table or in refusing so to do to suffer imprisonment during his pleasure. Four other members concurr with the Secretary. Five others vary the terms but slightly.

The Governo^{r} That M^{r} Grimes shall make an acknowledgement of his fault as well in Hambleton Tribe as at the Church in S^{t} Georges. As also now to acknowledge his fault against the present Government at the Counsell Table, or lye in prison vntill he doeth it. Which was at large deliu^{r}ed vnder his hand wryting beginning 'for my part.'

The Governo^{r} beeing then desyred by M^{r} Coapland & M^{r} Stirke that a forme of acknowledgem^{t} might bee drawen to w^{ch} Mr Graimes might subscribe and bee free from further trouble (w^{ch} was drawen as ff.th.)

Whereas the Governor vpon speciall causes gaue comaund that all vestries should bee suspended and surcease in the Sumer Islands. I Abraham Graime minister doe acknowledge. That contrary to this commaund of the Governo^{r} beeing made knowen vnto mee I notwithstanding erected and established a

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vestrie at the Church in Hambleton Tribe And also my sermon in the Church at S[t] Georges I made a speech vnto the congregation that I requyred and expected a Vestrie there also Wherein I acknowledge I did derogate from the power of the p[r]sent gouerno[r] and gouernm[t] for w[ch] I am very sorrie and craue pardon of the Gouerno[r] for my soe doeing

(Signed) Abraham Grame.

54. The last of October 1628.

The passage betwixt the governor and M[r] Graimes formerly heard at the Counsell Table beeing now again read over and approved by the counsell in generall was committed vnto the Secretary to bee put vpon record, in manner and forme as it was now engrossed

55. At a Counsell Table held the 6th of [November 1628].

Captain Phillip Bell Governor Roger Wood Secretary 1628

Upon M[r] Delbridge his shipps arryvall and his proposition to trade and sell his goods unto the inhabitants of the Island as formerly hee had done, and leaue to Transport his owne Tobacco in his owne shippe offering that if the magazine shippe of London should want of her freight homeward bound That then hee would pay dead freight for his owne Tobacoe unto the said shippe for so much as hee carryed over and aboue that the said shippe could take in soe that the freight exceeded not aboue j[d] per lb. [9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per ton] Upon which the counsell then assembled being sensible of the Countries want of Provision and other necessaries wch the Shippe had brought for there reliefe desired the Governor in the countries behalfe that the said shippe might haue Trade according to M[r] Delbridge his request for answer whereunto the Governo[r] produced the Honorable comp[ies] orders to him in his instructions and general ltre to phibite Trade unto the said shippe and all others from the West parts to the hinderance of the magazine shippes sent by the said Compa in regard whereof unlesse hee might be assured of the necessities of the cuntrey as well from the Inhabitants themselues as hee was by the severall counsellors of the respective Tribes in their behalfe hee should by no meanes hazard the infringing of the Company's orders in that case

Wherevpon the counsellors in the Countreys behalfe required 5 or 6 days respite thereby to acquaint the inhabitants

of there Tribes with the Governors resolution not to grant Trade to this shippe nor longer stay than shee had unladen those goods brought to severall adventurers of theise Islands, who returned upon the 6th of November w^th^ a severall petition from the Inhabitants of every Tribe and signed under their hands according as they are here recorded w^ch^ being all read and considered by the Governor and the rest of the counsell they could not in justice and conscience as they were bound but yield unto their desire for the present reliefe of there great wants and necessities

Upon w^ch^ it was ordered that M^r^ Delbridge should supply every Tribe with an equall proportion of his provision for their necessitie to the end it might be distributed generally throughout the whole countrey and not bee engrossed into a few mens hands

Concerning his other request to carrie home his owne Tobacoe in his owne shippe upon his offer to pay dead freight for so much as the said shippe tooke in and that the London shippe could carrie away w^ch^ motion and offer seemed so just and reasonable unto the governor and the counsell now assembled that they could not finde any cause of exception against the same but condescended thereunto considering that the compa Magazine shippe could bee nothing prejudiced thereby in her freight homeward bound

56. To the right worshipf. Captn. Phillip Bell Esqre Governor of these Islands and to the rest of the worsh^ll^ the Counsell assembled.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of Sandys Tribe [— November 1628]

Forasmuch as your Petitioners are given to understand that your worship hath receaued order and Directions (as) by private instructions and general letters from the Hon Compa^y^ of England for this plantacon for the p.hibiting of the good shippe of Barnstable now in harbo^r^ to discharge herself of her lading here, and thereby your petitioners frustrated of the benefitt they doe expect and w^ch^ formerly they have receiued in tymes of scarceitye by the shipps sent from thence

Yr Petitioners throughe the necessitie of the present tyme are become humble suitors unto your wors^p^ that w^th^ your counsell now assembled (amongst other your weighty affairs) would be pleased to take into consideration the p.sent distresse of your supplicants the most of whome are destitute of provision and especially of Corne. Soe that it is to be feared that many

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of them will be forced to spende more upon provision to be bought of theise Islands growth then theire whole years growthe will countervaile, and besides they greatly feare that if they would store themselues wth p.vision it is not to be had in the land

Ffor w^{ch} cause your suppl^{ts} most humbly and earnestly pray that your worships would be pleased in your accustomed compassion and tender consideration of all your petitioners welfayres to graunt to the said Mr Delbridge his factors, free leave to Trade and discharge their shipp of their lading, whereby your petitioners may at some easier rates provide for themselves and families

Signed JONATHAN STOKES
and 29 others of whom 6 sign with marks.

57. Order of Court, Watling Street, 26 November, 1628.

There shalbee yearly sent from the Somer Islands a list of the Councellors names and other Officers and men of worth whereby the Company may sometymes make choice there of a Gouerno^{r} & other prime Officers for the sayd Islands, if any such may be found worthy & sufficient men which will giue great encouragement to the planters and ease the Company of much charge in sending such from hence

58. The following regulation of the Bermuda Company, made at a General Quarter Court 26 November, 1628 (No. 1), is not to be found recorded under that date, but a certified copy of it was transmitted in February 1663. It has evident reference to the Company's struggle with John Delbridge, and to the subject matter of the next extracts, which are entered out of place and without explanation in that year.

(1) . . . Every man that shall adventure to the Somer Islands, shall lade all his goods in the London ships set out by the Company. And not in any other ship or ships, but by License from the Company. To which end there shall be two ships at the least every year set forth from hence, by which two ships or any other so set forth, all the Tobaccos made in the Somer Islands shall be laden and in none other, and so brought to the Port of London.

(2) Whereas by the generall Ltre dated the — August 1628 These words following are expressed Wherefore wee are constrayned to require that hereafter vpon no pretence you admitt any Tobaco to be laden in any shippe vntill our London shippes bee first fully freighted home, the power to dispence with w^{ch} order wee reserue vnto our selues only &c.

(3) Also whereas there is expressed in a Ltre to the Gouernor dated the 30th of August 1628 this passage following, and signed by the Right Honorable and worshipful here vnder mentioned

And likewise if any or more of our shipps doe come for England and want lading—then wee desire that you will bee a meanes to furnish them with some Tobaco having libertie by the court to take home thirtie thousand &c

Signed. R Warwick Gou^{r} John Dike
Gabriell Barber Dep. Rich. Caswell
Nathaniell Rich

(4) Both which being taken into consideration it is at last resolued by the Gouernor and the counsell in obedience vnto the honor^{ble} Compa Generall Ltre That the London shipps shall be first fully freighted or provided of their freight before the Somer Islands Pinnace [Delbridge's vessel] shall enjoye the Priviledge of taking in the 30 thousand pound of Tobaco desyred as aforesaid

59. Counsell Table 2nd December 1628.

(1) According to the Honnor^{ble} Compa order for the settling of M^{r} Grames (Graeme, Graham) in his charge of Pembrooke and Devonsh Tribes. It is ordered that the counsellors of the severall Tribes shall bee readie at his desire when hee pleaseth, to put in quiet possession of the Parsonage house in Pembrooke Tribe, and to preach on Sunday come sennight in Pembroke Tribe Church for his institution and induction And the like for Devonsh Tribe

(2) Benjamine Delbridge made suit vnto the Governor & Councell to haue that order & agreement accomplished w^{ch} was made at the Counsell Table vpon the 6th November last. And further desired the shipping of 6000 lb of Tobaco only, and that of M^{r} Delbridge his owne, and not to take any of the cuntrey's or other adventurers aboard. And also that he would pay j^{s} pr pound for the said 6000 lb vnto the London shipps for freight of the same The w^{ch} beeing taken into consideration. After long debate and dispute about the same It was at last concluded by an vnanimous consent of all the Counsellors The

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Gouernor only excepted That M^r Delbridge should be permitted to enjoy the benefite of the former order, and now to take aboard the said 6000 lb of Tobaco by him requyred, according to his request aboue said w^th this pviso that an officer shall be aboard, and haue expresse charge that there bee no deceit nor connivance therein, and that no more bee shipped then the quantitie of 6000 lbs afore said

(3) It was ordered that a competent number of men shall be sent from Pagets Tribe to carry vp the Timber w^ch is appointed for the rearing of Somerset Bridge In respect that all the other Tribes haue beene lately ymployed in the same kinde for the service of the cuntry in other places.

60. At a Counsell Table 18 Dec 1628

(1) A proposition beeing made to knowe the day for the gennerall veiwe and division of Tobaco in theise Islands it was by the major part of the Counsell now assembled appointed to beginne vp the 29th of December next

(2) It is also ordered that the Assizes shall beginne at S^t Georges vpon the third day of febuary next The councel to be here the second day beeing Candlemasse day

(3) Vpon a motion made in the behalfe of M^r George Stirke to receive satisfaction for his paines in comeing downe to preach at S^t Georges once everie 3 weekes since M^r Morgans decease, for w^ch he desires a recompence according to the agreement made w^th M^r Coapland by the Honor^ble Compa.

W^ch motion beeing taken into consideracoen It was put to the question, whether it was convenient for the Governo^r and counsell to resolue vpon this proposition yea or noe After w^ch it was by a gennerall consent concluded that M^r Stirke should be referred vnto the Honor^ble Compa in that behalf

A second proposition beeing made in his behalfe to enjoy the moietie of the profits of the 6 acres of gleabe land in Southampton Tribe for this yeare ensueing, as also to have possession of the said 6 acres as his own by virtue of the Compa^s guift as belonging to the minister of that Tribe. It was also ordered that hee should haue the said moietie of the profits, and possession of the 6 acres of land according to his desire

A Third motion beeing made in M^r Stirkes behalfe to haue satisfacoen for such corne as he did growe vpon the 6 acres of Gleabe Land in Southampton Tribe that yeare when he came last over, the said land beeing then in possession of M^r Coapland And hee beeing removed the corne was sold and ymployed to a generall vse As also the halues of Tobaco then made vpon

the garden plott being 21 lbs, w^ch done, It was by a gennerall consent of the Governor and counsell now assembled, concluded, that the said corne and Tobaco could not be recalled from the vse to which it was alreadie ymployed M^r Stirke having never made any pretence therevnto vntill this time.

(4) Vpon M^r Coaplands proposition to have satisfaction for his labours extraordinarie in comeing downe to Hambleton Tribe for 14 months space at certeine Times, for w^ch he required 350 lb of Tobaco, w^ch by the compa^s agreement w^th him is to be paid in that Tribe where this extraordinarie paines is taken. W^ch beeing taken into consideracoen and finding that Hambleton Tribe is contributarie to the generall Levie, and that without their great prejudice so much Tobaco could not be levied from them for this particuler. And that soe much could not in justice bee required from the country in generall, and the rather because his labour was no more then the rest of the ministers, for while hee preached at Hambleton Tribe, his charge at War. or Pagets Tribe was vacant and wanted him. in respect whereof It is concluded by an vnanimous consent of the governor and counsell that this 350 lb of Tobacco shall be deferred vntill the next yeare That the Honorable Compa^s pleasure may bee knowne how or by what means this 350 lb of Tobaco by M^r Coapland required may be payd.

(5) Vpon M^r Coaplands motion for repayment of £6. 5. 0 w^ch he hath disbursed in England for catachismes for the vse of the inhabitants of these Islands. It is ordered y^t M^r Coapland shall receive of M^r Stirke this £6. 5 in English commodities at the English rates, from that £13 sterling w^ch hee hath in his hands as an overplusse of that 700^lb of Tobaco w^ch was sent into England for the payment of his stipend of 100 markes sterling money the last yeare [1]

(6) Vpon M^r Staples his suit and request to haue an allowance for his charges layed out about his house, amounting vnto 66 lb of Tobaco, and beeing now to leave vnto M^r Graimes It was ordered that the said 66 lb of Tobaco shall be paid him out of the gennerall levie

Also in regard of the 6 acres of Land w^ch is appropriated vnto him for a garden plott, and conveniencie about his house

[1] These catechisms must either have been Church catechisms of the version of 1604, or the translation of some catechism put forth by one of the Reformed Churches on the Continent: because the catechisms of the Westminster Assembly were not compiled until nearly twenty years of religious dissension had elapsed (1647). Copeland himself, although at this time in Church orders, ultimately joined the Independents, and hence it has been suggested that they were a translation such as Butler is supposed to have made in 1620 (p. 151). For this conjecture there is not the slightest support, and the writer considers that there is no reasonable doubt that they were Church catechisms.

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It is likewise ordered that 14 lb of Tobacoe shall bee defalked from the rent w^ch^ M^r^ Staples shall pay for the shall of land he houlds vpon rent beeing one of the shares of the gleabe land in Pembrooke Tribe

(7) Vpon Will^m^ Watlingtons bill of charges for keeping of prisoners in his custodie according as it is hereunder written

Cranfield was my prisoner 10 weekes and 3 days William Hinson was my prisoner 6 weekes Will^m^ Stiere was my prisoner 5 weekes and one day

According to a former order at the counsell Table in this behalfe It is now ordered That Hambleton Tribe must pay for Cranfield

Devonshire Tribe is to pay for Hinson

And the Compa are to pay for Steire hee beeing their servant

[Then follow, in order of entry, the extracts from letters from the Company of August, already inserted, p. 472.]

(8) John Hanmer being questioned at the Counsell table for the arrearages of a debt due vnto the Honnor^ble^ Compa for Tobaco w^ch^ he carryed into Ireland in the Barque Lyon of Barnstable: more then he entred and gaue securitie for, Answered that so much as was due vnto them he hath paid. And whatsoeuer else they can proue against him, hee will answere them by law: hee entending this yeare to take his passage into England

(9) Whereas M^r^ Perrie hath disbursed £5 in England vnto M^r^ Graimes for his necessarie provision and encouragement in coming hither, w^ch^ said some is not yet repayed It is now offered by Lewis foord, that if the Governor and counsell will release his fine of 100^lb^ of Tobaco w^ch^ hee is now to pay at this devision Hee will then giue satisfacoen in England vnto the said M^r^ Perrie concerning the some of 5^lb^ aforesaid vpon w^ch^ consideracoen it is be a generall consent accepted, and that the said fine bee not of him required as other wise it should haue bene

(10) It is ordered for the yeare ensueing that the souldiers at the Castle shall haue for their sallarie 170 lb of Tobaco for each of the 11 souldiers w^ch^ comes vnto 1870 lbs and the Lieutnt shall haue for his yearly maintenance the some of 240 lb of Tobaco The whole 2110 lbs

61. The p.ticulers of the gennerall Levie [1628].

	Tobaco lbs.
Impr^{s} for the rest of the 42 workmen for Sandis tribe at the forte which was left vnpaid the last year .	636
for the 4 watchmen at Pagetts forte in Penestons Island	280
for the 4 ministers stipends at 700^{lb} for each . .	2800
for M^{r} Nathaniell Ward since his entertainment . .	200
for the 2 mount keepers at S^{t} Georges and Port Royal.	200
For John Steward and Thomas Wright for building of Houses and worke at the new forte . . .	97
To Henry Long for repayreing of Armes . . .	200
To M^{r} Nathaniell Bernard for 2 yeares and 5 months stipend yet behind and vnpaid	1288
To Stevenson and Palmer for sawing of Boards and Joice (*sic*) for generall work	62
	5763
To Lawrence West for sawing 2000 ft of board and Joice for the Platforme at the Kings Castle and to make cesterns there	60
To Phillip Wright for cutting 800 ft of a Cedar, planke and joice	24
To John Yates for 30 days worke	60
To Henry Snaile for 24 dayes worke	48
To Maximillian Brett for 20 dayes worke . . .	30
To Richard Stroud for 8 dayes worke	12
To Jacob Clarke for 66 dayes worke	100
To Elias Huntington for 16 dayes worke . . .	16
To Arthur Smith for 22 dayes worke	20
To Richard Milles for 10 dayes worke . . .	10
To Thomas Mixe for 16 dayes worke	16
	396
To M^{r} Staples by his request, for worke done vpon his house since last yeare, w^{ch} now he leaves to M^{r} Graimes	66
For the two mount keepers of Pembroke and Somerset	50
To Hugh Atkinson for dyeting all the workemen that sawed the Timber for generall workes . . .	200
To Joseph the Smith for keeping fix the armes vpon the Collony	50
To Capt Elfrey for keeping the boat at y^{e} kings castle	50

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	Tobaco lbs.
for a grapnell & chaine for her	50
To the Souldiers at the kings castle, beeing 11 at 160 lbs and 1 at 200 lb	1960
To goddart Asser for 400 of shingles	16
To Capt[n] Elfrey for water caske at the castle . .	15
To Roger Waller for keeping the ferrie . . .	300
To Joseph the smith for Iron worke for generall vses, as in his note of p.ticulars	69
	2826
To M[r] Jenour for Tobaco disbursed more than his due for the levie of that Tribe last yeare . . .	7
To Richard Barefoote for his worke at the kings castle in cutting the Rocke for the more easie bringing the Ordinance to serve there	30
	37
Sum . . .	9022
Payments due towards the gennerall Levie . . .	2471
Levie	6551
(marginal addition) . . .	50
	6601
Impri[s] for the rent of the gleab land at the overplusse and hire of 8 servants for the ministers . .	1100
for the hire of 2 servants more	224
of Capt Jennings for the hire of Taylor . . .	112
of William michell for the hire of Jn° Grace . .	80
of Hugh Atkinson for Jn° Walker	112
for 2 shares of Gleabe land at Spanish Point . .	106
for 2 shares of gleabe land at Tuckers Towne . .	100
for 2 shares of gleabe land at S[t] Georges . . .	100
for the hire of William Boden of Rob. Isley . .	100
of Richard Griddle for so much left vnpaid the last yeare	17
of Richard Griddle for his fine [1]	100
of William Terrell for his fine [2]	150
of Jacob Jacobson for his fine [3]	50
of Thomas Wilkinson for his fine [3]	50
of Rowland Sheene for his fine [3]	50
of Michael Seywell for his fine [3]	20
	2471

[1] The occasion is not found.

[2] For a violent assault.

[3] For disorderly conduct in entering the house of John Burrows and helping themselves to a pot of potatoes in October 1628.

	Tobaco lbs.
Sandis Tribe is to bring in for the generall Levie .	1620
Southampton Tribe	1417½
Warwicke Tribe	814½
Padgets Tribe	580
Pembrooke Tribe	754
Devonshire Tribe	522
Hambleton Tribe	449½
Smiths Tribe	551
	6708½
The generall Levie is	6601
The surplusage is	107½

The three vpper Tribes are to pay 22½ lb per halver
And the 5 lower Tribes are to pay 14½ lb per halver

62. To the right ho^ble the Lords and others of his Ma^ts most ho^ble privy Councell. [C.P. 1628.]

The humble peticõn of a great Company of poore adventerers and Planters in the Somer Islands.

Whereas yo^r humble supp^ts have brought home a small quantity of Tobacco, the fruits of all their labors theis 15 & some 16 yeares; w^ch Tobacco hath long lien in the Custome house, and being of a perishing nature suffereth great damage

And for that yo^r poore Sup^ts have no other meanes in the world either to mainteyne themselves, or their poore families in the said Ilands. And for that the tyme approcheth when they are to returne to the said Ilands, & to make necessary provisions for theire poore families there, for the yeare ensuing.

They therefore most humbly beseech yo^r hono^rs in respect the said Tobacco is all the pet^rs have wherew^th to provide the said necessary provisions for the maintenance of themselves & poore families in the said Ilands and for propagating the Plantacõn whither a shipp is very shortly to goe, That you would be pleased to take their necessities, & the small worth of the said Tobacco w^ch will not yeild above ij^s *p* pound at most into yo^r ho^ble Consideration. And to vouchsafe speedy order for deliv^ry thereof unto them out of the Custome house, they paying such reasonable customes therefore, as in yo^r grave wisedomes shalbe thought meete.

And (as most bound) they will eu^r pray for yo^r hono^rs

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63. To the right ho^bl the Lords and others of his Ma^ts most hon^ble privy Councell.

The humble peticōn of the poore Planters in the Sommer Islands, beeing above Threescore.

Most humbly sheweth,

That whereas y^e greatest part of yo^r poore peticōn^rs have lived in y^e said Islands ever since y^e Infancy of y^e plantacōn there, and imployed all their estates and Industry in fortifying the same by the space of six yeares, without any proffitt att all.

So it is may it please yo^r Llps that yo^r poore peticōners cōming of late for England w^th some small meanes in Tobacco to relieve themselves and familyes, the same hath remayned neare 4 moneths in the Customhouse under an Imposicōn of 9^d in the pound: and since the detayning thereof the price of Tobacco is fallen a third penny, and will not yield us 9^d the pound cleare although wee pay no duties to his Ma^tie.

May it further please yo^r Llpps the most part of yo^r pet^rs have ever since their coming into England, gone upon the skore for victualls lodging and Clothes and those worne out yet unpaid for. And some are arrested, and y^e rest of us in daily danger to bee arrested; And some are turned out from the places where they lay to shift for themselves, amongst w^ch are woemen and Children, And all of us driven to that extremity, that wee shall never bee able to retorne to our children and families in the Islands (who are like to perish there) w^thout yo^r Llpps speedy favour herein.

All w^ch their necessities and distressed case, they most humbly p^rsent to yo^r Ll^pps. Beseeching yo^r Hono^rs the time for their retorne (if at all) beeing short, That yo^r Llps wilbee pleased to vouchsafe yo^r favourable mediation and meanes to his Ma^tie that his poore miserable subjects, yo^r supp^lts may have their Tobaccos by bills of store for this present yeare. And when any further order shall by his Ma^ty and yo^r Ll^pps wisedomes, bee taken for regulating of that Cōmodity, wee will in all dutifull obedience submitt unto it, and ever pray for his Ma^t^rs and yo^r Llp^s long lives and eternall felicity.

Robert Staples minister	Richard Phillipps	John Parrett
Richard Leicroft	John Marsh	Henry Johnson
Willm Bullock	John Waters	John Webb
Abraham Sheeres	John Howell	Edward Dixe
Richard Wallet	George Tenant	Henry Treadwell
	Willm Raggsdall	John Haddon

Robt Crofts	Willm Bennett	Walter Wood
Samuell Tatem	Robert Harrison	Robt Downman
John Hall	James Wharly	Tho: Lullett
Xpofer Crofts	Robert Thurlington	William Banister
Peregrine Brittaine	Henry Dixon	Henry Clark
	Alexander Mare	Edward Plumer
Simon Barrett	Percivall Neale	Charles Overton
Edward Burges	Francis Boulton	Richard Bosse
Thomas Dalamore	Robert Burgesse	Daniell Sares
James Teige	Ben: Harrison	Mathew Thomas
George Vittall	George Needham	William Hornwall
Edward Crafts	Nicholas Rainton	Willm Baker
Howell Morris	Giles Marsh	Phillipp Freeston
Daniell Funoz	Thomas Powell	Anne Heyes & her children
Thomas Dewe	Christopher Lafield	
Abigall Bents	Anne Havard	Anne Smith
Sara Prosser & her Children	Mary Coales	Elizabeth Bishop
	Anne Woolsey	Jane West

64. Assizes Febuary $162\frac{8}{9}$ Pleas of the Crowne.

(1) Thomas Cammocke gent indicted for that hee beeing one night on Shoare on the 2nd July 1628 at the house of John Hubberd upon the person of one Teeman a quarter master of the ship called the Blacke Robert of Plymouth did make an assault and with a certain knife w^{ch} hee the said Thomas Cammocke had in one of his hands, price vj^{d} did strike the said Teeman quarter master of the shippe aforesaid vpon the vpper part of the left breast and gaue him then and there one deadly blow whereof the said Teeman instantly dyed

To w^{ch} Indictment hee pleaded not guiltie and for his Tryall put himselfe vpon God and the country who beeing a Jury of 12 sworne men brought in their verdict as follows

Wee find that M^{r} Thomas Cammock is guiltie of Manslaughter, and what hee did was se defendendo.

(2) William Orme of Pagets Tribe labourer. Found guiltie on 3 indictments for enticing and stealing Turkeys viz 2 price 5s one cocke Turkey price 5s, 3 price 4s. 6d. In consideration of his youth and the inticement of his master he is pardoned. Edward Heis (Heyes, Haies) and William Clapham convicted of instigating him craving the benefite of their clergie were burnt in the hand. The same Randoll Birkes of Paget Tribe convicted of concealing 5 Turkies price 10s and selling two of them

Archarie Davies for stealing one Bunch of Plantains price 10*d* received 6 lashes upon the naked backe at the poast in S^{t} Georges.

65. Presentments by the Grand Inquest Feb $162\frac{8}{9}$.

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(2) Wee doe present Judith Bagley the wife of Roger Bagley of Pembroke Tribe for unreuerent behaviour in the church swearing Gods blood shee would Stabbe John Stamers for only desyring her to still her chylde shee had with her, having her knife drawen in the Church, insomuch that the said John Stammers was fayne for to fly to the furthest part of his pew when hee was reading of diuine seruice To be bound over to appear at the next assizes to answer this disorder.

(7) Wee doe present Lewis Evans, and Alise the wife of Huehe Atkinson both of Tuckers Towne for suspition of Incontinencie. Lewis Evans to receive 39 Lashes and the woman to do penance wth a white sheete in the Church in Smiths Tribe. Five other men, and two women are presented for offences of the same character.

(9) Wee doe present John Bedwell for that hee contrary to the ordinance of God liues not with his wife, neither will allow her any maintenance. To be sent for to S^{t} Georges to worke vpon the generall worke.

(13) Wee doe present Mary Frith the wife of Henry Frith for breaking of the Saboath by making of an Apron and one sauegard vpon that day Admonished to reforme herselfe and her household

(16) Wee doe present Will^{m} Alberie, and Edward Harman and Thomas farrer for prophaneing the Saboth day by fishing. Admonished for this beeing the first fault

(20) Wee doe present Richard Sitch of Smiths Tribe and Edward Wolsey for that the said Richard sitch hath neglected to sett corne according to the statute made on that behalfe, hee not having planted any at all. And the said Edward Woolsey for coulloring the same by vnlawful pretences, beeing a matter of great consequence Concerning the prosperitie of o^{r} Island, w^{ch} wee desire may be speedilie redressed, for p^{r}vencoen of future want, it beeing a fault too rife amongst vs. The counsellor to view the land and make a report thereof

One man is presented for keeping a common tipling house, ten men and one wife for drunkenness, one man for beeing drunk and for swearing

(23) Wee doe present the bridge of Somersett desyring that it may bee repayred before it fall quite downe, and then will put the countrey to a great deal of more charge. To be repayred with all conveniencie

(24) Wee doe present the Prison, desyring that it may bee repayred and a chimney built in that roome that is appointed vnto prisoners in debt

(26) Wee present vnto your graue consideracoens the Fort called Pagetts fort, that it bee provyded with a convenient house that may bee dry for the keeping of the Powder, beeing a thing as wee vnderstand that wants repaire at present, and therefore very needfull

(27) Wee doe also desire That the forts in generall, may bee more carefullie watched, beeing a thing that wee finde by men of creditable report to bee neglected

66. At a Counsell Table the 10th day of Febuary $162\frac{8}{9}$.

(1) The charge of the Governo^{r} at everie Assizes in dyeting the grand Inquest, beeing now again taken into consideration The counsell generallie confirmed that order made at the counsell Table following the Assizes in febuary last $162\frac{7}{8}$ in that behalfe

[This order is wanting.]

(2) Whereas there was twoe negroes calld francisco and Anthonia his wife, belonging vnto the Honnor^{ble} Companie, w^{ch} were in the possession of Leiftnnt Buckley, and at his goeing for England they were ymployed by the Governor to make up his number of 32 servants, w^{ch} negroes were given vnto Leiutnt Buckley by the said Compa at a Quarter court in England, by virtue whereof the said Leiutnt demanded and received the said negroes francisco and Anthonia and the Tobaco due vnto them for their wages w^{ch} was 180 lb w^{ch} Tobaco being defalked from the governors Salarie due to him for their wages this yeare It is thought very just and reasonable, and so desired that the Honnor^{ble} Compa will be pleased to allow vnto the governo^{r} the said 180 lb of Tobaco from the wages of their owne Servants, to supply that defect and losse susteyned by the 180 lb of Tobaco paid vnto Leiut. Buckley for the hire of the negroes afore said

(3) Jeames Warley Leift of the Kings Castle is appointed to vndertake the charge thereof in the absence of Capt Elfrey now bound for England

(4) Concerning the Bull mentioned [in an order from the Company] hee was sould according to his value, prised by three sufficient men vpon the 18th of Aprill last 1628 at 60 lb of Tobaco, and found a deare peniworth to them that bought him, who haue now paid so much vnto his Assigney Leiutnt Buckley.

(5) Vpon M^{r} Coaplands motion and desire to haue his Stipend of 700 lb of Tobaco paid him here this yeare in satisfaction of his 100 marks w^{ch} is by agreement to bee paid in

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England. It was consented vnto and ordered that the said 700 lb of Tobaco shall be deliuered vnto M^r^ Coapland and thereupon an acquittance bee taken of him in satisfaction of his 100 markes w^ch^ should haue been paid in England vnto his assignes vpon the receipt of his Tobaco aforesaid [1]

(6) Vpon Mr Delbridge his request to ship his 6000 lb of Tobacco allowed him to carry whome, as by an order of court in that behalfe it more at large appeareth And that to the end he might avoyde the damage and danger it lay in in leaved Cabbens subject to be spoiled by the winde or fire and many other casualties. It is ordered that M^r^ Delbridge shall shippe the Tobaco so formerly concluded on to avoyde the daunger it now lyes in, provided that the said Tobaco be brought vnto the Bridge at S^t^ Georges,[2] and there to be viewed by the compa officer, that the true quantitie of the same may be knowen, and taken notice of accordingly.

(7) Christopher Bleigh the agent for M^r^ Richard Perrie presented a Bill of debt, signed by M^r^ Abraham Grame, for payment of Tobaco in respect of fiue pounds sterling w^ch^ M^r^ Grame received over and aboue the allowance from the Honnor^ble^ Companie for furnishing himselfe for his voyage hither bound w^ch^ beeing taken into consideracoen The counsellors now assembled resolued to [save] the countrey from a levie in this kinde, and to make vp the sum of 60^lbs^ of Tobaco, out of their owne gratuities, euerie man of his owne good will

(8) M^r^ Staples having beene formerly dismissed from *his employment in* the compa and countreys service, Was now againe *reinstated therein and* re-appointed to his charge at Hambleton and S^t^ Georges

67. At a Counsell Table 10 day of March 162^{8}_{9}.

A very long and detailed examination of claims preferred by the late Governor Captain H Woodhouse after his return to England against his successor Capt. P Bell for 1 heifer left in Cowpers Island 150 Turkies left in S^t^ Georges 30 duckes Capons and poulterie of that sorte a great number. Together with numerous articles of Household furniture Governor Bell disputed many of the items, especially the possibility of telling or knowing the number of the Turkeys considering

[1] 100 marks amounts to 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* at 13*s.* 4*d.* the mark.

[2] There is now no bridge in or near St. George's, but there formerly was a bridge crossing a creek just to the westward of the present Town Hall. Many of the early laws are endorsed 'Published at the Town Bridge this — day of — .'—J. H. D.

they were all wilde and flying foules about the grounds which could never bee taken so much as *one of them without* driving of them, or the helpe of a dogge.

[How the claim was finally settled does not appear, some pages being deficient.]

68. Mr. Nathaniell Ward his declaration vpon his oath, and written by his hand [date wanting].

M^r^ Greames tould mee that it was a generall report in everie man's mouth that I Nathaniell Ward got the counsellors by a wyle into my chamber, and took out my bottles and caused them to drinke while they were merrie and then persuaded them to subscribe to a letter framed to the Compa which otherwise they would not haue done And that hee the said M^r^ Graems, had written it in two letters to be sent for England, but vpon a former letter sent to him from mee he had blotted it out of one of his letters and would doe the like in the other. Also hee tould mee that M^r^ Painter had written it as hee had donne but hee had sent to M^r^ Painter to put it out.

(Signed) Nathaniell Ward Presbiter

69. The declaracoen of Mr Anthony Jenour written by himselfe and vpon his oath.

At the time of the making vp of the generall levie [Dec. 1628] M^r^ Ward having 200 lb of Tobacco for his time spent since his enterteniment (*sic*) I went home and tould M^r^ Grames of it, and of other passages concerning his owne salarie, and then hee became angry that hee had not the same allowance yssued vnto him, and in furious sort said that the gouerno^r^ and counsell *like a sett* of Idle fellows did anything whether *right or wrong, they listed* . . Hee also said that vnlesse hee could *have and enioy a* governo^rs^ preheminencie over his *owne church* he would not stay here. And I askt him why hee should stand vpon these things more then his breetheren the ministers here his answere was that they might doe what they pleased, for himself hee would haue it thus. And hee did not doubt but the rest of the ministers would bee of his minde, and hee did tell me oftentimes that they had so concluded now (but I neuer found it soe) More hee said hee had power

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to excommunicate the Gou^rno^r and any else if they angered him, and did not mend their courses. Then I asked him who should sign his excommunication, and he said himselfe with the rest of the ministers Then I asked him what the Gouernor should doe the meanwhile, and wherefore hee stood here, his answere was that hee had nothing to doe with him, nor with his calling, and for his part hee did not meane ever to be judged by him, for hee was an irreligious man, without conscience or honestie.

M^r Grames beeing called before the Governor and the counsell to giue a reason of this scandalous report made by him vnto M^r Ward concerning the counsell in generall as is in M^r Wards relation Hee answered it was a generall report but he would not reveale his authour as yet, whatsoeuer became of him

Vpon w^ch the Gou^rno^r tould him he was now before the Magistrate, and Government of the Land whom hee had defamed Hee therefore charged him in the kings name to declare his authoritie if hee had any To w^ch hee answered that hee would not vntill hee heard from the companie to whome hee would write that hee might haue a legal tryall, and till then he would not reveale it: hee would rott in prison first affirming that the governo^r was his adversarie, and no competent judge for him, hee therefore would appeale vnto the companie &c.

Vpon w^ch answere The Governo^r and counsell taking notice of these and other scandalous reports, made by M^r Grames vnto M^r Jenour as appeareth vnder his hand and oath. Vpon mature deliberacoen for the peace and quietnesse of this plantacoen, with an vnanimous consent subscribed this censure following w^ch they will constantly mainteine

Fforasmuch as M^r Grames hath beene a stirrer vp of strifes debates and contentions beetwixt the inhabitants of the Sumer Islands and an open opposer of the Governor and government . a defamer of the whole consell, A man . contrarious, seditious and turbulent. Our censure is That he shall bee sent to the court of England by the first shipp, whither hee hath appealed As a man vnworthie to exercise the ministerie in the Sumer Islands.

Phillip Bell gou^rno^r
Nathanyell Ward presbiter
Danyell Elfrey
Thomas Chaddocke
Richard Leycroft
John Miller
Hughe Wentworthe
Thomas Jennings
John Welsh
Anthony Jenour
Roger Wood Secret^ie

70. At a Counsell Table held the 3rd December 1629 being p.sent

Captain Phillip Bell Gou^{r}o^{r}
M^{r} Nathaniell Ward minister
Captain Miles Kendall
Captain Thomas Chadwicke
M^{r} John Miller, Sandis
M^{r} Richard Lucroft, South.
M^{r} Hugh Wentworth, War.

Capt^{n} Tho^{s} Jennings Pagets
John Stammer Pembr
John Welsh Devons.
M^{r} Anth Jenour Secr.

[This is the latest record of the presence of Capt. Philip Bell as Governor. He appears as a councillor down to April 1630, when he left for Catulina or St. Catalina, adjacent to Providence Island, of which he became Governor in 1630. He was Governor of Barbadoes in 1650, then described as 'a weak old man and a fearful' (C.P. p. 384).]

The day for the general view of Tobacco for this yeare being proposed it is by the Goue^{r}no^{r} and the Counsell agreed to begin upon the 15th day of this present moneth of December 1629 And ordered that all such Tobacco as shall bee found upon the view to be base and not worthie to pass between partie and partie for paiement, shall by the Counsellor of the said Tribe be weighed and left in the custodie of the Halver owner or renter where it is found to be kept in deposite untill by order of the Governor or Counsellor of the respectiue Tribe hee be permitted to put the same away if it be marchantable

And whereas there is a generall complaint that there is not Tobacco ennough made by the habitants of the seu^{r}all Tribes to pay the generall Levie this yeare according to the p.ticulars thereof It is ordered that there shall bee so much levied as may bee gathered from each Tribe of eu^{r}ie man that hath made any w^{ch} being soe gathered into one entier some shalbee repayed in part unto such where it shall bee found most needfull And that the rest shall stay until the next yeare that the said Levie shall be gathered upp to pay them in full satisfaction of their debts due unto them from the countrey And that all such persons as are not able to pay their levies this year shall give unto the Counsello^{r} of the respectiue Tribe a specialtie under his hand to pay the said levie now due, the next yeare over and aboue what hee shall bee then assessed to pay.

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71. The p.ticulars of the gennerall Levie 1629.

	Tobaco lb.
Impris for 4000 of Shingles borrowed of Southampton Tribe when the Kitchen was builded .	0160
To the Gou^{r}no^{r} for dieting of the grand inquest according to the order at the counsell Table the 12th of Febuarie 1627 for 4 assizes whereof one is yet to come at 120^{lb} for each	0480
For 4 ministers stipends at 700^{lbs} of Tobacco p annu .	2800
For the Souldiers at the Kings castle beeing 11 at 170^{lb} a man per annu	1870
To the Leiutant of the Kings castle for one yeare .	0240
To Henry Long for keeping of Armes there . .	0200
To Joseph the Smith for keeping the Armes of the Collonie	0050
To Roger Waller for the ferrie	0300
To foure Watchmen attending at Pagets forte from the first of may to the last of September at 70^{lb} p. each	0280
To Thomas Higgs as a gratuitie for his releife & his familie	0100
To John Davies for a rest to be paid him for worke at the Forte	0025
To the two Mount keepers at S^{t} Georges and Port royall	0200
To William Jones for burning a Kiln of Lime . .	0020
To Laurence West and Jeames Palmer for sawing of Boards and Juists and making of Pits ? for the work at the Kings Castle	0050
For the mount Keeper of Pembrooke Tribe . .	0020
For the repairing of Somerset Bridge as by the pticulars it appears	0117
To Capt^{n} Wood for long spikes and nailes for the platforme at the Kings Castle	0021
To John Markey for 3 dayes labour done wth markes .	003
To Leiutant Wharley for dyet for the workmen at the Castle	0090
For 20 lbs of Rosen to pay the cesterne at the Kings Castle	0006
For 50 fatham of sealine for the float . . .	0004
For j pottle of oyle to Temper the Rosen . . .	0002
To Hughe Atkinson for one monthes diet . . .	0014
To the Marshall for diet for the workemen. . .	0020

	Tobaco lb.
for 1050 sixpennie nailes used about the workes . .	0006
for 1400 of single Tenns	0008
for 0300 of double Tenns	0003
for Okum to calke the Cestern and 4 gallons of Tarre .	0024
To Robert Stanley for helping sparkes 9 daies . .	0006
	7129
To Thomas Emmett for digging the Channell at the flatts mouth	0050
To Madlers and Smith for gathering up the shingles and Timber of the court of Guard after the storme	0010
To Thomas outerbridge for building the lime boat .	0080
To Joseph Goodfaith for Smiths worke for the carriages and otherwise as by his noat	0142
To Henry Snaile for his worke at the Kings Castle and the bridges	0074
To Joseph Hudson for his worke.	0039
To Evan Owen for his worke and his mans at the Kings Castle	0155
To Richard Smith for his worke 30 daies . . .	0045
To the Castle souldiers for fetching and haling of Timber for the Platforme Tunnell and cesterne at the Kings Castle	0070
To Maximillian Brett for 16 daies worke . . .	0024
more for 10 daies worke . .	0015
To Thomas Pit for 3 daies worke	0004½
To William Naylor for 6 daies labour. . . .	0006
To Robert Newman for 22 daies worke at the Castle .	0012
To Thomas Emmet for 18 daies worke . . .	0027
To Thomas Sparkes for 8 daies worke done at the Castle	0016
To Captain Elfrey for the maintenance of the Castle boate at 50lb Tobaco per annum	0050
To Symon Wyat for 800 of half crowne nailes for the cesterne and platforme of the Kings Castle and lime boate.	0021
[Total of charges]	7965½

Paiements Toward the generall levie.

Imprimis the Gleabe land at the overplusse and hire of 8 servants	1100

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	Tobaco lb.
for the hire of 2 servants belonging to the gleabe	0224
for the gleabe land at S[t] Georges	0100
for the gleabe land at Spanish point	0126
for the gleabe land at Tuckers Towne.	0100
for the hire of John Grace.	0100
for the hire of Bodin	0100
from Mr Staples as due from an old account	0066
from Thomas Pye for a fine	0020
from Arthur Price for the breach of his good behaviour	0100
from Walter Abbot for the breach of his good behaviour	0100
from Hughe Atkinson for the breach of his good behaviour	0100
	2236
Sandis Tribe is to bring in for the leavie	1368
Southampton Tribe „ „	1168
Warwicke Tribe „ „	0693
	3229
Padgets Tribe is to bring in	0480
Pembrooke Tribe „	0552
Devonsh. Tribe „	0480
Smiths Tribe „	0576
Hambleton Tribe „	0360
	2448
	3229
	5677

[This total from the eight tribes, added to 2236 lbs. above, nearly balances the charges, but leaves 52½ lbs. short.]

72. The 10 of December 1629. [It is not stated who were present.]

(1) William Symonds beeing questioned for his base behaviour towards the wife of Richard Stamer whom he had injured in a Scandalous manner, though not dishonesting her, humbly craved pardon of the Gou[r]no[r] and Counsell upon his knees, offering freely that if ever hee committed any crime

hereafter worthy of censure that hee would be contented to serve 7 years upon the Collonie and required that it might be so recorded

Besides the said Symonds having broken his bond for his good behaviour was comitted unto the marshall's custodie until hee put in securitie for his good behaviour hereafter

(2) William Griffin of Pembrooke Tribe for publishing a scandal against Stephen Parker concerning George Stavers wife was censured by the Gou^{r}no^{r} and counsell now assembled to be publiquely whipt in Pembroke Tribe and to receiue 20 lashes upon the naked Backe

CHAPTER VIII.

CAPTAIN ROGER WOOD GOVERNOR.

1629-1637.

1. At a Counsell Table held the 29th December 1629.

Captain Roger Wood Gouernor. Mr Anthony Jenour Secretary.

A note of such of the companies servants as were freed this present day.

From the Gouernor	5
From the Secretary	7
From the Gleabe	5
From the Sherriff	3
From Capt. Seymer	1

[The names are given: all English.]

2. A proclamation by Captn Roger Wood Governor.

Whereas it hath bene an abusive custome amongst diuers and that of the worst sort and condition of the Inhabitants of thiese Islands to presse on ship board wth there tobaccoes and there to buy strong liquors and other pr.uisions and commodities of the Seamen whereby they doe not onlie enhance the prices of comodities brought vnto us at the first hand but also by there engroceing of the same doe wrong and oppresse the poore Inhabitants who are compeld to buy their necessaries of these forestallers and regrators[1] who make theire bargaines

[1] 'All manner of Felonies, Trespasses, Forestallings, Regratings, Ingrossings, and Extortions whatsoever,' are by the latest Commission of the Peace of Bermuda (1875) made cognisable by the magistrates.

and often tymes bring there tobaccos on Shippboard to pay for them before they receaue there goods w^{ch} is of evill consequence, and turnes to the overthrowe of all cō̄erce amongst vs and breach of those good Lawes and orders that haue bene made for the p^{r}vencon of the said abuses, of w^{ch} least anyone plead Ignorance I thought it expedient at this tyme to publish in the very word and letter of the same that what p.son or p.sons Inhabiting wthin theise Islands, and shall from henceforth carry any tobacco on shipboard to buy or truck for any comodities brought from England or any other countrie (if any such shalbe) that then the same tobacco so brought shall be forfeited and lost by the owners thereof, and be imployed vpon generall vses of the Plantacon To which I add that what p.son or psons shall notwithstanding this Proclamacon p.sume to doe the contrary to the true meaning and contents thereof shall besides the losse of his tobacco suffer imprisonment as the quality of his contempt iustlie deserve to be inflicted vpon them. Of w^{ch} lett eu^{r}y one whom it concernes take notice at there severall p.ills

ffurthermore theise are to aduertize all and euery Inhabitant that intends to shipp his goods or his pson in this good shipp the Tiger of London that they p^{r}pare wthall expedicon to make ready there goods and p.sons to be shipped soe soone as the said shipp shalbe redy to receave and take them aboard, and their p.sons to be ready to goe aboard by the seccond day of ffebuary next coming, for yf God sende winde and weather, if the said shipp stay longer than the tyme prfixed it shalbe on there one default. In the meane tyme to giue vp there names to the Secretarie of theise lett euery one whom it concernes take notice and warning at there seu^{r}all pi.lls

3. With the following last extract from Smith's 'History of Virginia,' edition of 1629, we take leave of that amusing and faithful work.

Proceedings and present Estate of the Summer Isles, from Anno Dom. 1624 to this present 1629.

From the Summer-Isles, Mr Ireland, & divers others, report, their forts, ordnance & proceedings, are much as they were in the year 1622, Captain Woodhouse govenor. There are few sorts of any fruit in the West-Indies, but they grow there in abundance, yet the fertility of the soil in many places decayeth, being planted

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every year; for their plantains, which is a most delicate fruit, they have lately found a way by pickling or drying them, to bring them over into England, there being no such fruit in Europe, & wonderful for increase. For fish, flesh, herbs fruits & roots, and all sorts of most excellent wines & figs they have in abundance. In this governor's time, a kind of Whale, or rather a Jubarta, was driven on shore in Southampton tribe from the west, over an infinite number of rocks so bruised, that the water in the bay where she lay, was all oily, & the rocks about it all bedasht with parmacitty, congealed like ice, a good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any boil, hurt or bruise; some burnt it in their lamps, which blowing out, the very snuff will burn so long as there is any of the oil remaining, for two or three days together.

The next governor was Captain Philip Bell, whos time being expired, Captain Roger Wood possessed his place, a worthy gentleman of good desert, and hath lived a long time in the country; their numbers are about 2 or 3,000 men, women and children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest complaint is want of apparel, and too much custom, and too many officers; the pity is, there are no more men than women, yet no great mischief, because there is so much less pride. The cattle they have increase exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the merchants here, & planters there; to be brief, this isle is an excellent bit to rule a great horse. All the cohow birds and eggbirds are gone, seldom any wild cats are seen; no rats to speak of; but the worms are yet very troublesome; the people very healthy and the ravens gone; fish enough, but not so near the shore as it used by the much beating it; it is an isle that hath such a rampire and a ditch, and for the quantity so manned, victualled and fortified, as few in the world do exceed it, or is like it.

The 22nd of March, two ships came from thence; the Peter-Bonaventure, near 200 tons, and sixteen pieces of ordnance; the captain Thomas Sherwin; the master Mr Edward Some, like him in condition, a goodly, lusty, proper, valient man. The Lydia, wherein was Mr Anthony Thorne, a smaller ship, were chased by eleven ship of Dunkirk; being thus overmatched, Captain Sherwin was taken by them in Torbay, only his valient Master was slain, The ship with about 70 English men they carried betwixt Dover and Calais to Dunkirk; but the Lydia safely recovered Dartmouth. These noble adventurers For all those losses patiently do bear them; but they hope the Kings State will understand it is worth keeping, tho' it afford nothing but tobacco, & that now worth little or nothing, custom & fraught pay'd, yet it is worth keeping, & not sup-

planting; tho' great men feel not those losses, yet gardiners, carpenters and smiths do pay for it.

From the relation of Robert Chestevan and others.

End of the Extracts from Smith's 'Virginia.'

4. Upon a complaint against Mr Jeromye Ewer by Capt Bell [Council, 9 Feb. $16\frac{2}{3}\frac{9}{0}$] It was ordered that Mr Ewer should subscribe to these lines following.

Whereas I Jerome Ewer in private conference betwixt Mr Warde and myself about the late generall Assembly did tearme it to be a dissembly and dissemblers, I confesse I did therein unbecominglye taxe the Justice and p.ceedings of the countrie for wch I am very sorrye, and doe crave the Governor and councell favor to passe by it

(Signed) Jerome Ewer.

5. A Law of the Bermuda Company, 10 Feb. $162\frac{9}{0}$ that all persons haveing Lands in ye Somer Islands shall enter there Claimes and that all Deeds, and Conveyances of Land there shall be registered, and that feme Coverts shall be examined [recited in 1662].

Whereas by an Ancient Law of this Company made at Quarter Court held for this Company on ye tenth of ffebruary $162\frac{9}{3}\frac{9}{0}$ It was ordered and enacted that noe Alienacon or Transferring of any Lands by any Lease, Mortgage or other Conveyance whatsoever should be of any vallew or fforce except ye same should be inrolled wth ye Secretary of this Company in A publique Register within one Moneth after ye Date thereof To ye intent such as should from thenceforth make any purchase of Lande lyeing in the Somer Islands might have recourse to ye sd Register to see how the land proposed to them to be sold stood engaged. Notwithstanding wch law many shares of land in ye said Islands have since been comonly Transfered from man to man and conveyances thereof made, wch have not beene duly Registered according to ye sd Law, by meanes whereof the Company are kept Ignorant of there owne members, but ye said deeds and Conveyances are in strictnesse of Law void, soe as noe estates passed to the severall purchasers thereby, wch if Advantage should be taken as hath binne endeavoured, many

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and great Suites and Controversies would arise to y^e^ great disquiet of the Company and Country, and many other greate & Generall Inconveniences have ensued by the neglect of what is by y^e^ s^d^ Act enjoyned, ffor Remedy & prevention of all wch and the like inconveniences And for settleing all mens Estates and Inheritance in y^e^ said Islands for y^e^ ffuture. Bee it ordained and enacted, &c.

[Then follows an Act of 1662, to the same effect.]

6. Assizes 24–26 March $16\frac{29}{30}$.

(1) Christopher Leifeild and 4 others all of the Somer Islands planters [indicted] for that whereas in the time of the Gou^r^ment of Captain Daniell Tucker an Article was made by him the saide Gou^r^ that whosoe^r^ Seaman or Landman, of what degree or qualitie soev^r^ that shall lay any plott to run away w^th^ any Boate Barque or Pinnace belonging to this Plantacon shall bee punished with death And what person or persons soev^r^ that shall have knowledge of any treacherous p^r^tence and not reveale the same unto the Gouvernor or some principall officer appointed by him within the space of one houre shall receave like punishment as the principall offender As by the same Article relacon being thereunto had it doth and may more plainely appeare And whereas alsoe by an order made in the time of Captain Henry Woodhouse his Governm^t^ in October 1625 It was ordered that whosoever from and after that time should bee founde to plott the running away with any boate or Barque from these Islands and bee thereupon iustlie convicted should suffer death within three dayes after as by the saide order relacon being thereunto had it may more plainely and at large alsoe appeare Yet notwithstanding this order and Article soe made they the said Christopher Layfield &c of the Islands aforesaide planters nothing at all regarding the saide Article and order nor the penaltie therein conteyned about the 20th day of August last past did secretly conspire and plott to run away from theise Islands in a boate belonging to Jerome Ewer of Pagets Tribe in the saide Islands and in her the saide boate to take there a voyage to Virginia or elsewhere w^ch^ is utterly against the forme of the saide Article and order before recited and of dangerous consequence to this plantacon and contrarye to the peace of our Sou^r^aigne Lord the king his crowne and dignitie

To which Indictment (they being found by the grand Inquest) pleaded not guiltie and for theire further triall put themselves upon God and the Countrey w^ch^ being a jurey of 12 sworne men acquitted them.

(2) Lewis Pollard servant to John Numan of Devonshire Tribe Indicted for that hee the saide Lewis uppon or about the 19th day of ffebuary 1629 last past, into and uppon a certaine peece of ground of the said John numans by force of armes did enter and come and there and then beeing did felloniouslie milke drawe and carry away the milke of one cowe belonging to Symon Wyett of the same Tribe in the Islands aforesaid planter: the goods and chattells of the saide Symon price 6^{d} Contrary to the peece of our Souveraigne Lord the King his crowne and dignitie

This indictment being found a true bill by the grand inquest hee put himself for his further tryall uppon god and the Country w^{ch} countrey being a Jury of 12 sworne men they found him guiltie of this Pettie Larceney for w^{ch} hee adiudged to receive 25 Lashes at the whipping poast in S^{t} Georges which hee accordingly received the 25th of March 1630

[The same man was charged with stealing three turkeys, but acquitted.]

(3) The other indictments of this Assizes were as follows:—Infanticide; the wife of Thomas Pie; bill ignored. Rape; abuse of a female child under 10 years of age. Hunting poultry with a dog and staves. Robbing a boat. Assault. Stealing two rolls of tobacco weighing 36 lbs. price 26s. Of all these the parties were acquitted. In all 16 men and 1 female tried; two convictions.

7. Presentments. Assizes March $16\frac{29}{30}$.

(1) Thomas Humphries doth present unto the grand inquest Christopher Smith of Smith Tribe in that hee did conceale and detayne certaine Tobacco from the viewe of the counsellor and constable of the saide Tribe at the appointed tyme of division which Tobacco did belong unto the Landlord and owner of the Land whereuppon the said Christopher Smith doth remaine and dwell, and contrary to an article expressed in the booke of orders (viz^{t}) 169 Article

This presentment being affirmed by the Oath of Humphries The Courte having considered the attestacon of the Secretary in the behalfe of Smith, The Governor with an admonishment discharged him

(2) Wee the Grand Inquest doe psent Mary Wellman the wife of Francis Wellman for her nucivell life and base demean-

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our towards the wife of Thomas Dory as namely by calling of her old Bawd and the like

This presentment being approved in Court she oppenly submitted herselfe to the Gou^{r}no^{r}s mercie and uppon her promise to liue quietly shee was acquitted

(3) Wee the grand Inquest doe p.sent Henry ffaith of Devon Tribe fo^{r} that hee did in the last figg tyme contrary to an order published by Proclamacon in Captain Bells Gou^{r}nment entertaine and harbour at unlawfull times in the night by drinking of figg drinke (viz) Richard Guy Robert Hartley and one Willm Huntley comonly called Pickaninee and sometimes servant unto Samuel Richardson, whome in drinking of figg drinke did fall at debate to the breaking of his Ma^{ties} peace and the great danger of the life of Richard Guy being performed by a Stabb.

(4) Also wee doe present the saide Richard Guy Robert Hartley and the saide Huntley al^{s} Pickaninee, for being absent from there masters Houses at the aforesaide unlawfull tymes and seasons upon such unfitting employment and contrary to the aforesaide Act provided for the redresse of such abuses

This presentment being considered uppon by the Gou^{r}no^{r} And hee finding that Henry ffrith was the cause and instrument of these abuses ordered that hee should be bound to his good behaviour

(5) Arthur Price p^{r}sented for incontinencie with a woeman lately called Ann Cooke the daughter of Anthony Cooke now wife of Leiftenant Wharley w^{ch} being proved on his parte hee was sentanced to receave 25 lashes on the naked backe at S^{t} Georges poast w^{ch} was performed the 25 of March $163\frac{0}{1}$

(6) Arthur Price and Ellen Pie presented for suspicion of Incontinencie as by depositions to be taken will appear

ffor this suspicion Thomas Pie her husband is bound for her good behaviour and Arthur Price bound to his behaviour

(7) William Clacie p^{r}sented for Incontinencie confessed on his parte with one lately called Ann Cooke and wife to Lieut Wharley

Clacie bound to his good behaviour

(8) William Clacie again presented for suspicion of Incontinencie with Ellen Pie as by depositions will appear Clacie for this received by the Gou^{r}no^{r} order 15 lashes at the Poast in S^{t} Georges on the 25 March $163\frac{0}{1}$

(9) The saide Ann Cooke p^{r}sented for suspicion of Incontinencie with the saide Price and Clacie ffor w^{ch} shee is to make a publique acknowledgement in the parrish Church where shee liues before the whole congregacon

(10) Captain Jennings p^{r}sented fo^{r} permitting a gang of his to carry a caske in a boat for ffig drinke on the Saboth day. Capt^{n} Jennings being admonished promised a reformacon for future times and soe was freed.

(11) William Symons and Mary his wife lately called mary Bland p^{r}sented uppon suspicon of frequent incontinencie before they were married w^{ch} incontinencie was confessed by William symons to Samuell Cooke and Arthur Price, and that they were seene in bed together by the wife of Richard Stammers and George Porter and w^{ch} the saide Mary confessed as may appear by attestacon

ffor these presentments they were ordered to acknowledge their faults in the open church where they liue.

(12) Thomas Powell p^{r}sented for being drunke w^{ch} being it was the first time hee was admonished and freed of his behaviour

(13) Thomas Higgs p^{r}sented for deferring the baptising of his child beyond the accustomed time. And his wife for not coming to the communion. But in that they were not warned they are deferred until the next Assizes

(14) Edward Heyes p^{r}sented uppon suspition of Incontinencie ffo^{r} w^{ch} being admonished hee was discharged

(15) The wife of William Mitchell p^{r}sented uppon suspition of Incontinencie with Christopher Leifield Referred till the next Assizes

(16) The wife of Martin Wellman p^{r}sented uppon suspicion of Incontinencie with William Greenoway Referred to the next Assize

(17) Thomas Moore p^{r}sented uppon the concealment of Tobacco ffor w^{h} being admonished hee was discharged.

8. An act made for the Advancement of the Silke worke

Whereas in the Assembly held in the Somer Ilands in the time of Captain Phillip Bell's Governm^{t} 1626-8 It was enacted that every owner Tenant or occupiers of Lands in these Islands should plant in there seu^{r}all shares in places most convenient the number of fiftie mulbery trees for three yeares together then next ensueing, as by the said Act may appeare And for as much as the said Act hath not produced as much good effect as was intended and expected by reason that the Inhabitants of these Islands in thiere wonted negligence seeking only to saue themselves harmeless from the saide Act and the Penalty thereof and not in care of posteritie to further hopes w^{ch} by theire industrey and true performance thereof may arise to this

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plantacon by thrusting mulberry slipps into the ground under fences and other waste places without any care of theire ffructifying and growth This present assembly being sensible of the iust hand of God on these Islands by the late woefull storme (16 Aug 1629) and other inseasonable weather ever since whereby our hopes of Tobacco have been frustrated and that God doth as it were leade us by the hand to the setting on foote that noble design of the Silkworke in the naturall increase and growth of the mulberry Trees.[1] It is therefore enacted by this grave and generall Assembly and by the Authoritie of the same That every Inhabitant of the Somer Islands from this time forward shall every yeare continually nourrish all ould stockes of mulberry trees, and by plashing the spriggs and sprouts into the earth, shall seeke by all meanes and endeavours that way. As also by making of nurseries with the seedes of the mulberry trees uppon all soe much land as eu^ry owner and tenant shall have in occupacon amounting to the quantitie of one acre at least for one share of land (25 acres) in ffower yeares. And whereas the main lett and obstacle of this noble worke may seeme to bee the doubt which the inhabitants here haue of the enioying of the Labors and benifit thereof to them or theire children in case of thier owne decease before the said worke can produce them profitt, by reason of the short time and terme of yeares that many of the inhabitants haue of their severall shares of land, and thier being Tenants at will, w^ch inconvenience this Assembly hath thought fitt to remedy by signifieyng unto all the inhabitants that this worke is and will bee pleasing unto the Honorable Compa (as may appeare by thiere bountie in promising a reward of ffiftie pounds sterling to him that shall first obteyne and send over ten pounds of silke or ten gallons of *coccoons*) as by there order appeareth so that noe industrious man here of these Islands shall have any just cause to feare any such thing, but rather with comforte shall recuive from his Landlords noble encouragement.

[The Act proceeds to enact a fine of 30 lbs of tobacco, besides imprisonment for neglect, and to direct a searcher

[1] A belief that the climate and soil of Bermuda are favourable to the growth of the mulberry and the breeding of silkworms has never been eradicated. It was entertained by Sir William Reid, and under his influence great numbers of the *Morus multicaulis* were planted all over the islands. A petition was presented to the legislature so late as 1851, praying for the encouragement of this industry, but it has never succeeded. The fault is not with the climate. It is an industry ill adapted to the temperament of either the English or African race, requiring a minuteness of observation and patient attention foreign to both. The East India Company about 1830 went to great expense to introduce it into St. Helena, where it totally failed, and it is believed that very qualified commercial success has hitherto attended it in Australia.

and viewer to be selected for every tribe, who should begin an annual inspection by the 10th of March of each year.]

9. An act for making and repayring three Dockes viz in Pagets Tribe Hungry Bay dock: in Pembroke Tribe Bitefinger Bay a dock and that in Devonsh. Tribe to be repayred.

[The last alone exists as a small boat harbour to this day.]

10. An act for the Alteration of the comon Path in part of Smiths tribe.

Whereas it hath been formerlie provided that a comon path should bee made through the mayne leading towards the Kings Castle by the Inhabitants of the severall Tribes ffor theire more speedie passages to their Randivooes vppon any alarm which may happen, as well in the night as in the day, and therefore thought requisite to bee made without inconueniency, for those reasons before mentioned and that the highway in parte of Smiths Tribe be altered for the avoyding of highe hills w^{ch} are full of cedar roots and dangerous rocks and very troublesome to passe over in the night vppon any such service &c Orders a new path to be laid out.

[The three preceding Acts are upon one leaf, together with part of a fourth appointing a Searcher and Viewer, or Rural Inspector of Industry, who was to distinguish meritorious and industrious tenants. The rest of the Acts of this Session, if there were any more, are lost.]

11. Councell Table the 26th March $162\frac{9}{0}$. Captain Roger Wood Governor.

(1) Whereas by reason of the want of a minister to supply Pembroke and Devonshire Tribes it was now thought fitt that some consideration should bee had about the supplie of the same Tribes and the Gouernor and Councell now present did request Mr Ward to continue his course as formerlie hee had done (vizt) to preach every third Saboath day at Devonsh Tribe w^{ch} request Mr Ward did consent unto conditionally that hee

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might receave a valluable consideracon for that his service, to w^ch^ demand it is generallie consented unto, and withall that the saide Tribes should bee served every third Saboth day by Mr Ward and the rest of the ministers as formerly they haue done.

(2) At this p^r^sent Capt Saile demanding satisfaction for those things that were left by Captain Elfrith with an accompt for all other things belonging to the Castle To w^ch^ demand Captain Elfrith, with an account that those accompts should rest till there was order for anighhilating of himselfe, or the establishment of Capt^n^ Saile w^ch^ demand was granted.

(3) At the motion of Captain Chaddocke that Capt Elfrith should give an accompt what Tobacco hee shipt for Ireland in the pinnace he went in, that thereby the company might recieve a due satisfaction for their rights accordinglie from the same. Capt^n^ Elfrith desireth that this accompt should alsoe remaine as it is until hee doth receave an accompt from his ffriends with whom he left the saide Tobacco and withal Capt^n^ Elfrith doth promise that according to the p.portion of Tobacco that hee shall receive accompt for, they shall also receive accompt from him accordingly for thier pence.

* * * * * * *

(4) It is likewise ordered that whereas Judith Watkins having formerly been censured to bee whipt for diuers misdemeano^rs^ and hath not yet received the same, that what counsellor soever shall finde her within any of their respective Tribes shall p^r^sently cause the saide punishment to bee inflicted uppon her That is that she shall be whipt upon the backe until the blood come

12. At a Councell Table held that 13th day of April 1630

Capt^n^ Roger Wood Gou^r^no^r^	Mr Paynter
Capt^n^ Bell	Mr Perencheife
Capt Miles Kendall	Capt^n^ Jennings
Capt Chaddock Sher.	Mr Foorde
Capt Sayle	Mr Moore
Capt Elfrith	Mr Staughton
Capt Seymer	Mr Stowe
Mr Milner	Mr Anthony Jeno^r^ Secr.

(1) Whereas Capt^n^ Bell being to go to Catulina [1] and being excepted against by diuers p.sons in these Islands for some

[1] One of the Providence Islands, of which he was commissioned Governor February 7, 163$\frac{0}{1}$—Sta. Catalina of modern charts. (C. P. p. 126.)

wrongs they conceived he had done them and doe appeale to the Gou^{r}no^{r} for justice against Capt^{n} Bell for the same, and Capt Bell having received an order of Courte touching Capt^{n} Woodhouse his troubles here, by w^{ch} order hee doth claime the same priviledges that therein were granted to himselfe touching the said Capt^{n} Woodhouse w^{ch} is to say that no Gou^{r}no^{r} here hath power to questione his predecessor for any thing done in his Gou^{r}m^{t} and our p^{r}sent Gou^{r}no^{r} being desirous to have this pointe cleared in respect of his owne safetie did referr the consideration thereof unto the Counsell himselfe being absent Who doe passe their censures as followeth.

The Secretarie his opinion is that in respect Capt^{n} Bell is not to goe to England whereby it is not certaine when the Compa. shall speake with him but goeth to Catulina to settle himselfe there, that Capt^{n} Bell shall before his departure put in sufficient security to answer all such things as shall bee brought against him Either by the Inhabitants of the Somer Islands or by the Compa in England.

[With him agree ten of the Council.]

Capt^{n} Elfriths opinion is that Captain Bell should be cleared by a certaine order hee received from the Company touching Captain Woodhouse bearing date the 28th of Novemb. 1627

Capt^{n} Jennings his opinion is that Capt^{n} Bell ought not to put in securitie to any exception.

(2) Miles Port being desirous to goe to S^{t} Catulina It was thought fitt to be considered whether or noe he should goe without his wife and being putt to question at the Council Table The Gou^{r}no^{r} and all the Councell did consider (excepting Capt Bell and Capt^{n} Elfrith.) that he should not goe without her

(3) Whereas there is a great and lamentable want of provisions by many of the Inhabitants of Devonshire Tribe, soe that some of them are likely to famish for want of convenient food for their reliefe and withall there is information given to the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Council that there are some persons that have a superfluitie of corne w^{ch} may bee conveniently spared to relieve the saide distressed people withall It therefore being taken into consideracon it is concluded by consent of the Gou^{r}nor^{r} and Councell that a survey shall be made by the councellor of the Tribe and y^{e} Constable of the same with Anthony Cooke and John Shadwell who finding such overplusse shall distribute the same to every person in such want according to their severall necessities and alsoe it is ordered that theise parties recieving this Corne shall leave a sufficient

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pawne or securitie in the owners hands until hee or they doe make payment for the same, and that the owners shall receave 6 lbs of Tobacco p. bushell for all such corne deliv^red at the next division in theise Islands, provided alwaies that they leave the owner a competent quantitie of corne accordinge to his ffamilie

(4) Whereas there was diuers levies unpaid the last yeare by reason of the unseasonable gust w^ch pleased god to send uppon us It is ordered that all and eu^ry councello^r shall pvide against there next meeting here all those accompts that doe any way appertaine the Tribes and to bring them downe that thereby it may bee discovered how many are behinde that payment may bee accordingly made

13. At a counsell Table held the 27th of July 1630.

(1) The Gou^rno^r and councell having taken into their consideration the great and fearfull iudgmen^t w^ch it pleased god to Inflict uppon us the 16th day of August 1629 and how their buildings and croppes in generall were utterly ruinated by the saide gust without taking away the life of any man woeman or childe w^ch ought neu^r to bee forgotten but to be euer an acknowledgement of much thankefullnes to God for y^e great deliuer^ce it is therefore ordered by the Gou^rno^r and counsell now assembled that uppon the said 16th day of August next ensueing that all and eue^ry of the Inhabitants within these Islands shall then repaire to their seu^rall parrish churches and there shall attend to the hearing of those godlie exercises which they shall have prvided for them both in the forenoone and afternoone during which eu^ry one is required to behave himselfe both reuerently and religiously as becometh Christian men and woemen abstayning from all vaine delights and sportings for the reste of the saide day.

(2) Uppon the Goue^rno^r p.position about building of the prison the Courte of Guard and of repayring Warwicke and Pembroke fforts w^ch were blowne downe the last yere with the great gust.

It is agreed by an unanimous consent of the Gou^rno^r and Councell assembled that all those aforementioned workes shallbe forthw^th repaired soe far forth as the estate of the Countrey will permitt But seeing there bee many disbursements to bee made this present yeare, there ought a consideration to be taken to lessen the levie as much as may be.

(3) Upon the request of Mr Staples aboot the psent building of a house on the Gleabe land in Hambleton Tribe for his better and more convenient residencie being at psent at no

certaintie for his aboad It is taken into consideration by the Gouernor and Councell and ordered That in respect it is alsoe approued on by the Honnorble Compa in England that the saide House shall bee built soe soone as the rest of the other generall workes and buildings wch are in hand are effected In the meane time that Mr Staples shall haue convenient roome provided for his prsent being uppon the saide Lande

(4) Lewis ffoorde having in his possession one Negro of his one named Paraketo and a woman negro called Katulina of the honorble Companyes, wch negroes having 2 children and the saide Mr ffoorde being desirous to knowe wch of the said children p.perly belong to himselfe and which to the Compa. did desire to haue it ordered at this present Council table and being taken into consideration it is ordered that the said Mr ffoorde shall haue the eldest being a woeman child called Alice and the Compa the next being a woeman child called Ann according to a former order in that case made in Captn Woodhouse his gournmt.

(5) Whereas in the time of Capt Woodhouse gournmt there was provided an order for the redresse and abuses of such as did gather ffiggs in Tubbs and Basketts out of theire owne Tribes and ground without leave from the owner of the saide lande since wch time diuers insolent persons have abused the saide order by their wrong interpretacons of the same Wherefore it is now thought fitt that the meaning of the saide order shall bee interpreted which is that it is not lawful for any person or persons whatsoeur at any time to gather ffiggs from the ffigg trees that groweth upon any mans perticular lands with tubbs and basketts or any other way but only for his eating whether they stand within the compasse of any comon or private path or otherwise without licence aforesaide and if any man shall hereafter seeme to breake the saide order that hee shall bee presently sent downe to St Georges to answer his contemp before the Govern

(6) At the motion of Edward Eldrington for the laying forth of Ireland and Yates[1] Island that every owner thereby of Sandis Tribe may knowe what doe p.perlie belong to theire Shares and their Tenants may enjoy the same for their seul uses, wch being taken into consideration by the Gournor and counsell assembled it is thought that in respect of the Inconveniency of the time being now full of businesse otherwise by reason of other Imployments about Tobacco and corne Harvest that it might rest untill the next meeting of the counsell at which time Mr Perencheiffe the Surveyor hath warning to

[1] Now commonly called Boaz Island.

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bring downe his notes and instructions that thereby it may bee the better effected.

(7) It is likewise ordered that eu^{y} counsello^{r} of the Seu^{r}all Tribes doe soe provide that the kings Castle shalbee forthwith supplied with corne according to the same p.portion formerlie allowed: w^{ch} is a bushell of corne a month for eu^{e}rie souldier in the kernell, or 130 eares of good and sound corne w^{ch} is to bee brought in by the last day of August next 1630, wthout further delay w^{ch} eu^{r}y councellor haue p.portoned, according to 24th the month.

14. A proclamacon for thanksgiving to God for his deliuerance of the Inhabitants of theise Islands in the greate gust the 16th August 1629.

Like as the church and people of God were in former tymes comaunded to remember the greate Judgm^{ts} and deliuerances of Almightie God, and to teach them to their children and posteritie Soe wee in them are admonished to remember those Judgm^{ts} and deliuerances, w^{ch} in our ages and tymes wee are witnesses of, and to leaue them vnto our posterity, as an example not onlie of our remembrance, but repentance also for our sinnes past, and desires to walke before him in holie obedience, for the time to come w^{ch} hath moued me the Gouerno^{r} and *the Counsellors* of the Somer Islands at our late sitting to sett *apart the* 16*th day* of August as a day of prayer and thanksgiuing *to Almightie God* who in his greate Judgm^{t} on the said *Islands hath not spared to destroye our* houses and our croppes, yet *hath mercifully preserued* our liues * * *

[The remainder is wanting.]

15. At the Assizes Sept. 1630.

(1) Lewis Pollard late servant to John Numan of Devonshire Tribe for that hee on the Saboath day beeing the 13 June last 1630 between the hours of 12 and one of the clock of the same day, by force of Armes into the cabben or dwelling house of the saide John Numan scituate in Devonshire Tribe aforesaid by pulling breaking or cutting out a barr of the window of the said Cabben did enter, and then and there beeing did felloneously take steale and carry away 24*s* 10*d* in readie money one ould pair of shoes price 12*d* and a sword price 10*s* sterl. the

goods and chattels of the said John Numan contrary &c. ffor w^ch^ he was adiudged to be hanged which was performed the 2nd October 1630

(2) Two boys one not above 12 the other not above 10 years of age received respectively 12 and 10 lashes on the bare back at the whipping post in S^t^ Georges for having taken away a certain boat called a canoe from Spanish pt. They were also indicted for taking away a Periago but found guiltless and so were acquitted

(3) Henry Long indicted for stealing Tobaco. Guy Sears for stealing one half-round file for a whippe sawe price 6*d*. Bills ignored.

[The record of this assize is imperfect.]

16. A Proclamacon. By the Gou^r^no^r^. 6 October 1630.

The poore estate and esteeme that this plantacon of the Som^r^ Islands is now in at p.sent and soe likely to continue in by reason of such base Tobacco w^ch^ for theise 3 or 4 years last past hath beene generally returned into England unto the Honor^ble^ Compa and Adventurers unto us (whereby they are utterlie discouraged from supplying theise Islands with necessarie comodities for our subsistance and welbeing hath moved me with the whole body of the counsell to consult by what way and meanes wee may recou^r^ ourselues from this our dangerous maladie and regaine the lost hono^r^ and reputacon of this poore deiected plantacon w^ch^ uppon matured deliberacon wee have unanimously concluded and ordered at our last sitting to bee done on this wise following

The Order.

Whereas there hath been an order made formerly by Capt Woodhouse that there shall be no Tobacco gathered within these Islands past the 10th day of October and the Hononnor^ble^ Compa having observed the necessitie of the same have desired the said order to bee put in execucon. Yet nevertheless for diuers good causes & consideracons had by the Gou^r^nor and councell assembled (well weighing the times as they are) haue concluded that for this p.sente yeare the Inhabitants of theise Islands shall be tollerated to geather Tobacco untill the 20th day of October. And that noe manner of person shall prsume to geather Tobacco after the said perfixed day uppon paine of

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forfeiture of 100lb of Tobacco and to endure one months Imprisonment for soe doeing. And further it is concluded and ordered that whosoeur shall conceale any Tobacco either newe or old from the viewe of such officers as are appointed for view and tryall thereof shall for the same forfeite 100lb of Tobacco and the like imprisonment as aforesaide and all such base Tobacco as shall bee made this psent yeare or hath beene made in theise Islands heretofore shalbee presently cut in peeces and burned at theire doores by whome it is made or in whose possession it shall bee found whether it bee new or old.

And for the better pformance of this so weightie a matter on wch doth consist the prosperitie of theise Islands It is alsoe ordered that besides the councellor and constable there shall be a third man chosen for theire better assistance wch man is thought fitt to be chosen at this present councell Table and theire names are theise following vizt ffor Sandis Tribe Duport Paulson, ffor Southampton Tribe Mr Leicroft, ffor Warwicke Tribe Thomas Wood, ffor Pagets Tribe Mr Ewer, ffor Pembrooke Tribe Mr Dunscombe, ffor Devonshire Tribe John Wilch, ffor Smiths Mr Penistone, ffor Hambleton Tribe William Guise, ffor St Georges and the Coloney Captn Chaddocke Nathaniell stowe and the marshall, wch men are to take theire oathes for the due performance of this soe weightie a busines *and forasmuch as it may be suspected that the councillors* may herein favour themselves *in there owne tobacoes for that none but the constables* wth themselues *veiweth the same, It is further ordered that* Capt Chadwicke [*Chaddock*] at the beginning of the division *being the 10th of Nouemb' shall* goe to the Genrall councellors houses, with those men appointed in *this behalfe, and there* shall viewe all their Tobaccos as aforesaid and shall do *therewithal as it is ordered for* other the Inhabitants.

Wherein may appeare *our care of the poore* Inhabitants by adding 10 dayes vnto the time wch the former order doth allowe, thereby to take away all case and clame from every planter against us, hoping they will answer or expectacons by there care and good endeavour to make up none but very good and sweet Tobacco all this time lymited for their Labouring therein, and will alsoe freely and honestly shewe all they haue made and are possessed of, as well ould as newe, which comeing to the tryall may either be allowed of by those men who are for the good of the country now betrusted in this soe great and weightie an affaire and quietly submitt unto their Judgemt and proceeding herein, without murmuring or repyning thereat, wch wthout doubt after one yeares sufferance will regaine treble honor unto us and cause this our plantacon to bee as famous for making good as now it is despised for making base Tobacco

But as patience provoked turnes to fury Soe let all and eu^ry Inhabitant bee assured that if all this lenitie and mild proceedings will not prevaile, but they will still continue in theire fraudulent all wilfull courses by concealing any Tobacco from the Councello^r and those appointed to veiwe their cropps, to the end they may afterward couzen their creditors or deceive such as shall betrust them at the arrivall of the London shipp (wherein is a great and good Magazine of all necessary como dities sent from the Honorable compa at my earnest suite and entreatie) Lett them bee assured to undergoe the penaltie ordered as afore expressed that no man hereafter may plead ignorance but wisely p.vent w^ch^ dishonest and base courses doth iustly drawe uppon theire one heades of w^ch^ lett all and eu^ry one take warning at theire sev^rall perrills

I further comend unto yo^u^ the administering of the oathe of allegiance unto all men in y^o^ Tribe from 16 yeares old and upward and require a list of their names to return unto the Honor^ble^ Compa by the next magazine Shipp.

(Signed) Roger Wood.

S^t^ Georges this 6th of October 1630.

17. The forme of the Oath for the Tryers of tobacco this present yeare 1630 as followeth.

You shall sweare to take a full and diligent veiwe of all such parcells of tobacco, as is this yeare made vp in your Tribe (the w^ch^ shalbe showed vnto you, vpon the perrill of the planter soe concealing it) the w^ch^ you shall with all carefullness and stricknes throughly prove and try. & that without any partiallity, as neyther beeing led w^th^ respect of ffauour or ffreindship on the one side, nor by passion or malice on the other side Among all such said parcells, all such part & parts there vpon your oathe as you shall find to be sweete & very good, worthy to pass in payment amongst vs for comodities, the leuies and hier of worke men & servants wages, you shall p^rserue lett passe and seale w^th^ the Seale of y^r^ tribe, now sent ouer by the hono^ble^ compa, and such as you shall find base, foggie, stinking, soued in salt water, or any other waies fraudulently and deceiptfully made vpp you shall instantly Burne, or cause to be burnte at the owners doores according to the late proclamacon in that behalfe All this you shall sweare to performe and keep to your uttermost abilities—Soe helpe you God

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18. At a Council Table 6 October 1630.

Present, Capt Roger Wood Gov^r^, Capt Miles Kendall,
Capt Thomas Chaddock, M^r^ Patricke Copeland
Capt William Sayle, M^r^ John Milner,
M^r^ William Moore, M^r^ Nathaniel Stowe,
and others.

(1) It was ordered by an unanimous consent of the Governor and Council now assembled, that the day of the general division of Tobacco, shall be on the 10^th^ of November next.

(2) Whereas there hath been an order made formerly by Capt Woodhouse, that there should be no Tobacco gathered within these Islands past the 10^th^ of October, and the Honoble Company having observed the necessity of the same, hath desired the said order to be put in execution, yet nevertheless, for divers good causes and considerations had by the Governor and Council assembled (well weighing the times as they are) hath concluded, that for this present year the Inhabitants of these Islands shall be tolerated to gather Tobacco until the 20^th^ October. And that no manner of person shall presume to gather Tobacco after the prefixed day, upon pain of forfeiture of 100lbs of Tobacco, and to endure one months imprisonment for so doing * * *

And forasmuch as it may be suspected that the Councillors may herein favour themselves in their own Tobaccos, for that no man but the constable with themselves vieweth the same. It is further ordered that Capt Chaddocke shall upon the beginning of the division day, being the 10^th^ of November go to the several Councillors houses, and shall view all their Tobaccos as aforesaid, and shall deal with it according as it is ordered for other the Inhabitants.

(3) Whereas there was diuers levies vnpaid the last yeare by reason of the vnseasonable gust w^ch^ it pleased God to send vpon vs. It is ordered That all and euery councellor shall provide against their next meeting here all those accompts that do any way appertaine vnto the Tribes, and to bring them downe that there by it may bee discouered, how many are behinde that payment may be accordingly made

(4) Whereas at the last assize that Capt Bell held in these Islands [1628] Christopher Leyfield was indicted arraigned and condempned to death according to the Lawe, yet these Islands beeing then destitute of an executioner It was offered to him by the present Gouerno^r^ that if he would take vpon him to be Executioner he should not die, and hee the said Leyfield beeing desirous of life did therevnto agree yet notwithstanding he hath

besought the Gouerno^{r} and councell at this councell table (by petition) for his freedome out of this soe infamous an office But the Island beeing destitute of such an Officer the Gouerno^{r} and councell doe not think fitt to free him vntill some other hainous malefactor may be put in his roome, and then it is agreed he shal be acquitted and not before.[1]

(5) The conclusion of this councell table was that the Gouernor and Councell should take the Oath of Alleagiance and hath *resolued that* the same Oath of Alegiance should be administered to all the Inhabitants of fitt yeares within theise Islands vizt from 16 yeares and vpwards, and a returne of their names to be sent to the councellors of the seuerall Tribes.

[This oath can scarcely have been connected with the accession of Charles I. in March 1625. It seems more probable that it has reference to the beginning of the troubles of the king with his subjects, marked by the Petition of Rights, June 1628, and the imprisonment of nine of the leading members of the House of Commons, 4th March, 1629.]

19. The Oath of Allegiance as it was administered.

I A B doe truly and sincerely acknowledge testifie and declare in my conscience before god and the world that our Souv^{r}aigne Lord King Charles is lawfull and rightfull king of this realme and of all other his mat^{ies} dominions and countreys And that the Pope neither of himselfe nor by authoritie of the Church or See of Roome, or by any other means (with any other) hath any power or Authoritie to depose the king or to depose any of his Mat^{ies} kingdomes or dominions or to authorize any foraigne prince to invade or annoy him or his countreys or to discharge any of his Mat^{s} subiects of their Allegiance and obedience to his Mat^{ie} or to give license of leaue to any of them to beare armes raise tumult or to offer any vyolence or hurt to his Ma^{ts} Royall person, estate, Gou^{r}nm^{t}, to any of his Ma^{ties} subiects within his Ma^{ties} dominions. Alsoe I do sweare from my heart

[1] Although it is not so stated anywhere, there can be no doubt that the administration of lashes at the whipping-post was a frequent duty of the executioner, which contributed, more than occasional capital punishments, to his extreme unpopularity. The writer is informed by Mr. John Harvey Darrell that so lately as the beginning of the present century there was in almost every parish an officer called the 'Jumper,' whose duty it was, when required by the owner of any slave who had committed some offence, to inflict upon the slave a punishment not exceeding 39 lashes with a heavy thong or whip made of cowskin. It was very common at that time to speak of 'nine and thirty' as 'the lash of the law.' His fee was a pistoreen, 1*s.* 4*d.* currency, equal to about 10½*d.* sterling.

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that notwithstanding any declaracon or sentance of excommunicaton or deprivacon made or graunted or to bee made or graunted by the Pope or his successors by any authoritie derived or to bee derived from him or his See against the saide king his heires or successo^{rs} or any absolucons of the saide subiects from their obedience I will bear faith and true alliegience to his Matie his heires and successors and him and them will defend to the vttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever w^{ch} shall be made against his or theire persons, their crowne and dignitie by reason or collour of any such sentance or declaraton or otherwise and will doe my best endeavour to disclose and make known vnto his Ma^{tie} his heires and successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies w^{ch} I shall knowe or heare of * * and I doe [sweare that I doe from my heart[1] *abhor, detest and adjure as impious and heretical* that damnable doctrine and position that Princes *excommunicated or* deprived by the Pope may bee deposed or murthered *by their subjects or any other* whatsoeuer [*a*]] and I do belieue and my conscience *doth declare that no foreign Potentate* Pope nor any other person whatsoeuer hath power to *absolue me from my oathe nor* any part thereof w^{ch} I acknowledge by good and full authoritie to bee lawfullie administered vnto mee and doe renounce all pardons and dispensacons to the contrary [And these things I doe plainely and sincerily acknowledge and sweare according to these expresse words by mee spoken. And according to the plaine and common sense And vnderstanding of the same words without any equivocacon or mental evasion or secrett reservacon whatsoeuer And I doe make this recognicon and acknowledgement hartiely willinglie and truly vpon the true faith of a Christian [*b*]] Soe helpe me God.

20. At a Council 2 November, 1630.

The Atestacon of Capt Thomas Chaddocke taken upon his oath this present 2 of November 1630.

Who affirmeth that according to the Governors comand he went unto M^{r} Staples[2] to demaund a cowe calfe belonging to the company and after some other discourse mildly and

[1] I am indebted to the Hon. John Harvey Darrell, late Chief Justice of Bermuda, for supplying the words in italics, which are taken from the oath of supremacy prescribed by the statute 1 Geo. I. St. II. c. 13, and were used in Bermuda until abolished by the statute of 1848. The oath of abjuration, which was aimed against the Pretender James III., and his descendants, continued to be administered down to 1869, and contained the words in the brackets [*b*]: The oaths of allegiance and supremacy contained the words in brackets [*a*] down to the same date; the substitution of more simple forms following in Bermuda, as elsewhere, from the enactment of the Imperial statute 31-32 Vic., ch. lxxii (1868).

[2] This gentleman was minister of Pembroke and Devonshire Tribes.

Lovingly deliuered his minde unto him who asked if he came to attach the calfe to w^ch^ hee answered it needed not for hee knew it to bee the company's and none of his Then the said M^r^ Staples tould him that he had wrote to the company for it. Then this deponent answered that it was more than hee knewe or the Governo^r^ either Then he tould him hee came for the Calfe and the calfe hee would haue. To which M^r^ Staples answered That if you take the Calfe away I would I might hang on Hell if euer I preach in the Islands more. To w^ch^ Captt Chaddocke replyed that hee did not well to flie in the fface of his maker for soe poore a thinge and such Imprecations did not become him. At w^th^ words hee revived those words againe and stamping with his foote saide If euer I preach in the Islands againe I would I might smoke where I stand . Soe this deponent left him fo^r^ the psent and desired his son-in-lawe to shewe him where the calfe was. But M^r^ Staples forbad any bodie to showe where the calfe was Soe hee went to a peece of ground harde by the house where he sawe the house calfe tyed and beeing there hee deliuered Captain Sayle the possession of the Calfe who seemed unwilling to receiue her But he tould him hee would giue him possession of the saide Calfe according to the Gouerno^rs^ order If afterwards hee would deliuer her backe hee might Soe hee going away with the calfe this deponent returned to M^r^ Staples his house againe & being come hither hee asked him what hee meant to use such speeches as hee did who answered That what hee had spoken in Collar hee would make good in his coole bloud

THOMAS CHADDOCKE

Capt Saile affirmeth unto all that Capt Chaddockes attestation onely hee was not by after the delivery of the calfe & by that meanes did not heare the speeches then used

WILLIAM SAILE.

M^r^ Staples being questioned at this Counsell Table about these attestacons aboue deliuered by Captain Chaddocke and Capt^n^ Saile And it being then demanded of him whether or noe he would still rest in his former resolution according to his imprecacons then made, whose answer was that hee had spoken it with his mouth and therefore must make it good and was soe resolued w^ch^ beeing taken into consideracon It was consented unto by the Gouern^r^ and Counsell by the irrection of hands that hee should be discharged from the Honor^ble^ Compa^s^ service and should take his course as may seem best for himself for tyme to come

(2) Uppon the motion of M^r^ Copeland in the behoofe of

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Mr Nathaniell Ward who demandeth a proportion of this yeares salary properly belonging unto the vacant charge for his paynes in Pembroke Tribe as other ministers haue. whereuppon it is ordered in regard hee hath the one halfe of the said salary of 700lb of Tobacco for his paynes extraordinary in Devonshire tribe hee shall therewith bee contented and satisfied and that hee shall bee allowed noe parte of the other halfe But the said other halfe to bee distributed untoe the 3 other ministers in equall proportions for their labours extraordinary in Pembroke Tribe aforesaide

[These are Mr. Ward's demands following under his handwriting:—]

My demands of the Countrey are for the last yeare and present yeare as followeth.

1. Ffor the yeare 1629 I want of my salary 0128 lb Tobacco
2. ffor my paines at Brackish Pond 0350.
3. ffor my paines at Spanish Poynt 0175
4. The basenes of my Tobacco was such that it amounted not to aboue 20d sterling if soe much, as I shall make to appeare if need require and for this I desire such satisfaction as other ministers in the like case shall iustly demaund, or howsoeuer such satisfaction as may with equitie and justice be required

The summe of Tobacco due to me for the last yeare besides my want of satisfaction for the basenes of my Tobacco amounteth to		0657
1. ffor St Georges	700	
2. ffor Spanish Poynt	175	
3. ffor Brackish Pond	350	
The summe is	1225	

Soe the totall summes of Tobacco due to mee from the Countrey besides the aforementioned satisfaction through the meane price of salarye the last yeare ariseth—1878 lbs.

(3) Uppon Mr Nathaniell Wards owne motion unto the Gournor and counsell for a salary for his extraordinary paynes taken in preaching in Devonshire Tribe for those two yeares past according to a note deliuered under his hand writing the coppy whereof is afore written The Booke of Records being produced wherein an order was made by the Governor and Cousell upon the 18th day of november 1628 uppon Mr Copelands demaund for salary for his extraordinary paines taken in Hambleton Tribe wch order was then made by the approbation of Mr

Nathaniell Warde aforesaide who Complayned much against M^r^ Copeland for making any such demande for those reasons w^ch^ the saide order expressed, w^ch^ order then made is now againe ratified and confirmed in M^r^ Wardes behalfe, as it was before in M^r^ Copelands. . . .

(4) Mr. Stirke and Mr. Morgan presented unto the Gouvernor and Councell as followeth.

An accompt of the Monies received
In the Islands for my salary

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis for my first yeare I received 700 lb of Tobacco w^ch^ being sould by M^r^ Rowe and M^r^ Alcocke It yielded all charges caske custome ffraight Treats and other charges being deducted	79	9[1]	
I paied unto M^r^ Copeland being required by the Gou^rno^r & Councell	6		
The next yeare M^r^ Alcocke sent me word that the Tobacco had not yeilded so much as hee expected and whereas hee supposed that hee owed me lb 4 s 4 d 10			
The next yeare for the same Tobacco I owed him lb 3 s 9 d 6 soe that I lost of my reckoning .	lb 7	s 13	d 1
The next yeare Capt^n^ Sherwins shipp was taken (by the French?)			
The third yeare for my Tobacco I sent home I receiued	lb 13	s 2	d 0
I made use of 100 lb of Tobacco in the land w^ch^ I take at the same rate the rest yeilded			

An account of that which is due to me

	£	s	d
ffor the first yeare I finde nothing due . . .	£00	0	0
ffor the second yeare I finde due w^ch^ is the one halfe of that w^ch^ was lost at Sea w^ch^ the markett could not yeilde	33	3	00
ffor the third yeare there is due	53	8	06
ffor the fourth yeare there is due	66	10	06
Summa	£153	1	0

[1] This gives 2*s.* 2¼*d.* a lb. in 1624, a price which fell to less than one-half before 1632.

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(5) Whereas heretofore the ministers of the Som Islands were allowed for their seu^rall stipends 533^lb of Tobacco valued at 2^s 6^d p. pound to rayse them one hundred markes per annum But finding the saide 533lb of Tobacco not to raise the said stipend It was advanced in the year 1627 by an Act of the Assembly unto 700lb of Tobacco for 3 ministers then residing in the saide Islands The saide Assembly promised unto M^r Stirke and M^r Morgan that if the said 700 lb of Tobacco for 3 ministers upon the saile thereof in England did not yeild the saide sume of One hundred Markes That then the countrey should make it upp the next yeare as by the saide Act more at large may appeare

Now forasmuch as it appeareth by M^r George Stirkes affirmation that albeit he hath received his yearly stipend of 700 lb of Tobacco every yeare since the making of the saide Acts, yet by losse of markett not yeilding the full p.posed summe hee is behinde and unpaid in the 4 yeares £146 4 10 sterl w^ch accompt being perused by the Gou^rno^r and counsell, who taking notice of the promise of the late Generall Assembly unto the saide M^r George Stirke They doe acknowledge sincerely that the saide summe of £146 4 10 to bee due to bee paied unto him from the Inhabitants of the Som^r Islands according to the promise of the whole assembly in that behalfe

ffor payment of w^ch summe Wee the Governor & Councell of the Som^r Islands doe humbly pray the Honorable Comp that one halfe penny in the pound be added unto yo^r impost for the psent yeare of the cropp of Tobacco now shipped into England and received by your Treasurer and by him paied unto M^r Stirke or his assignes in satisfaction of the summe of £146 4 10 w^c we will take as a great favour unto us in the behoofe of M^r George Stirke unto whom it is due

ffurthermore wee the Gou^rno^r and Councell now assembled being sensible of the lowe price of Tobacco, and the pouertie of the people in generall of the Som^r Islands and to manifest their zeales for Gods glory and theire reverance and respect unto their ministers here residing doe for themselves now present and in the behalfe of the whole countrey w^ch they doe assure themselves will be confirmed by the next generall Assembly, propose and allowe . . . [The rest is defective. It would appear that ministers were to be thenceforward paid in tobacco at 1000 lbs. per annum, and take all risks.]

21. The Particulers of the generall Levy for this present yeare 1630.

Inp[r]mis fo[r] 5 ministers stipends albeit but 4 resident in the Islands	3500[lb]
To the souldiers at the Kings Castle being 12 in number a 170[lb] of Tob. fo[r] eue[r]y soldier	1870
To him that supplyeth the Leift: place at the said castle	200
To Joseph Goodfaith for keeping the Armes at S[t] Georges & in the mayne	130
To M[r] Nathaniell Barnard for the studdie at S[t] Georges by order from the Compa	160
To 4 water men at Pagets Fforte at 70 lbs a man	280
To William Welch for the Courte of guard yet to [be] built	500
To Roger Walworth for keeping the fferry and repairing the bridges	600
To Thomas Higgs for a gratuitie from the Countrey	100
To the 2 mount keepers at S[t] Georges and Porte Royall	200
To William Welch for building the prison according to the Sherriffe's bill of parcell by accompt from Welch	548
To the marshall for diett about building the prison	140
To Jacob Clarke for 10 daies worke and diett	26
To M[r] Staples for 3 yeares behinde for the benefitt of 6 acres of Land allowed out of the Gleabe as to the rest of the ministers	42
To the Goue[r]no[r] for Tobacco lent to M[r] Staples in the behalfe of the Countrey.	106
To Richard Barefoote for certain worke done formerlye at the King's castle	20
To Grimsditch for sawdering the Leades of the Sessions House.	16
To Robert Newman for worke done in anno 1628 at the Kings Castle	20
To Roger Walworth for worke done about the Gou[r]no[r]s house in Captain Bells gou[r]nm[t] and yet unpaid	30
To Capt Saile for 2 tubbs and one budge barrell for the Castles use	18
To Capt Saile for repayring of the Castle boate w[ch] Captain Elfrith left and alsoe for the yearly allowance of the boate	100

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To Joseph Goodfaith for worke done to the Castle about the carriages 33
To George Wells for wages behind & since last yeare . 5
To William Baker being formʳly a coloney servant & now fallen layme & to be sent to England . } 100

8734

Payments towards the generall Levy aforementioned as follow$^{th.}$

Ffor the gleab land at S^{t} Georges 100
Ffrom the gleab land at the overplusse . . . 900
Ffrom the gleab land at Pembroke Tribe . . . 126
Ffrom the gleab at Tuckers Towne 160
Ffrom John Grace being a gleabe servant . . . 100
Ffrom John Baker being a gleabe servant . . . 100

1486

Payments for this present yeare are . 8790
Receipts towards the payment are . 1486

Being subtracted to . . . . 7310 in this yeares levy

Sharers in Sandis tribe are . 82
Sharers in Southampt Tribe are . 67
Sharers in Warwicke Tribe are . 38
Sharers . . 187
} Theise Tribes are to pay by a third parte at 22^{lb} 4^{oz} per sharer 4254^{lb}

Sharers in Pagets Tribe . . 40
Sharers in Pembrooke Tribe . 46
Sharers in Devonʳ Tribe . . 46
Sharers in Smiths Tribe . . 40
Sharers in Hambleton Tribe . 30
Shares . . 202
} Theise 5 Tribes are to pay p a second parte at 15$\frac{1}{4}^{lb}$ p sharer 3080^{lb}
Both wᶜh somes make 7334

Divided as followes.

Sandis Tribe for 82 sharers at 23^{lb} Tobacco per sharer is 1886
Southamp. Tribe foʳ 72 sharers at 23 Tob per sharer is . 1541
Warwicke Tribe foʳ 38 sharers at 23 Tob per sharer is . 878

4305

Pagets Tribe fo^{r} 40 shares at 15¼ p sharer is . .	620
Pembroke Tribe for 46 sharers at 15¼ p sharer is . .	713
Devonsheir Tribe for 46 sharers 15¼ p sharer is . .	713
Smiths Tribe for 40 sharers at 15¼ p sharer is . .	620
Hamble Tribe for 30 sharers at 15¼ p sharer is . .	465
	3231
Soe the Levy with the surplusage is	7432

Note.—In the original, here and elsewhere, in long columns of figures the place of hundreds and thousands is always supplied with ciphers. Thus 0074 for 74, a practice not extinct among accountants.

22. A note tendered by Goodwife Harvard of such necessaries and Household Provisions as shee hath bought since her husband's departure.

	Tobacco.
Imprimis to Mr Atwood for 2 hogsheads of corne	80^{lb}
To Mr Watlington for 100 eares of corn . .	16
To Mr Brookes for 3 bushells of corn and a halfe	28
To Mr Lea for 1 bushell of corne . . .	8
To my mother for 400 of Pumpions . . .	8
To ffrancis Jordane for Pompions . . .	4
To Marmaduke Dando for hooks and lines .	16
To Edward Edrington for a killick rope . .	22
To William Terrill for potatoes . . .	10
More for hookes and lines	7
To James Whitakers for potatoes . . .	12
To William Bullocke for 3 houes . . .	9
To Jacob Jacobson for trimminge the boat .	36
More for hookes	10
More for Sayles for the Boate	36
To Nicholas Buttrice for Pitch	12
To Evan Owen for oares for the boate . .	13
To Samuel Tatam for lines	10
To Thomas Browniohn for pumpions . . .	8
To Anthony Gilliat for potatoes . . .	6
To Mr Breeton for pumpions	3

To the Marchent 301^{lbs} Tobacco as ffth

Ffor one hogshead of meale	100
ffor one hogshead of salt	50

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And the rest to make up this 301 lbs of Tobacco was for apparell fo^{r} the servants and shooes at 4^{lb} the paire and canvasse suites at 8^{lb} the suite	151
	536

[The precise position in life of goodwife Harvard or of her husband does not appear. Fish, with sweet potatoes and pumpkins, and a little meal, formed the diet of the household.]

23. At a Council 20 Decem. 1630.

(1) In a contraversey betweene Thomas Jennings on the one part, and M^{r} George Ethridg on the other parte. We whose names are herevnder written being Deputed to decide the same difference, by order from the Right Wor^{ll} Cap^{t} Roger Wood Esquier Gou^{r}nor and Capt generall of the Somer Islands wth consent of both parties, doe conclude agree and Arbitrate in maner ffollowing.

Imp.^{s} on condition that Capt Jennings do absolutely leaue the Land that hee lately had in occupation in Pagett's Tribe into the hands of the said George Ethridg: in recompence thereof the said George Ethridg is to pay vnto the said Capt Jennings ffor his seuerall Laboures and Buildings The particular sommes of Tobacco ffollowing

ffor ffilling 3 acres of Land at 24^{lb} tobac per aker	72 lbs
ffor 150 ffoote of Tobacco Housing newly built	72½
ffor building 2 roomes and turninge a paire of stayers	64
ffor rebuilding a kitchen freely given	0
ffor newe buildinge Storehouse at the water side	15
ffor paleing of a garden	4
ffor a Locke and a key for the dwelling House	8
ffor setting a Table, Bench and Dresser in the kitchen	4
ffor a Locke on the kitchen dore	4
ffor making a greate water Trough	20
ffor making 2 Hog troughes	4
ffor arerages for seruants 2 yeares	220
ffor 8000 eares of corne at 12lbs tob per M.	96
ffor Potatoes on the ground alloweing vnto Capt Jennings 100 lb weight of planting roots	100
ffor a Diall and an Iron hoope	4
	687

Prouided alwaies, and it is expressely agreed that M^r George Etheridge shall not make It appeare by the next from England, out of John Brookes his letters to his Landlord Capt George Etheridg, that he the said John Brookes hath not accoumpted fformerly to the said Capt Ethridge the charge of Building the Warehouse at the waterside with Locke and hinges therevnto belonginge, and alsoe the charge of making 3 water Troughes now remaining about the dwelling house Then the said M^r George Ethridge shall pay vnto Capt^n Jennings soe much Tobacco for the said warehouse and Troughs as shalbe aiudged by Workemen. In witness whereof wee haue herevnto sett our hands the day and year aboue written

William Sayle	Thomas Wood
Christ. Parker	Richard Southworth

24. [Privy Council to Governor and Company.] 6 Jan. 163$\frac{2}{1}$. State Papers, Colonial. Vol. 6, 1631–3. No. 2.

After our hartie comendations. Considering what care hath been formerly taken both to settle your government and to incourage and inhable you in that plantation to return some real comodity to your contrie: we can not but mervel that you stil applie your selves wholy to tobacco, w^ch can not bee sufficient to make you valued or to subsist. Wee have therefore put you in mind by former letters to indevor other meanes: And now the rather to presse you thereunto by respect of your own proffitt. Wee must in his M^te name require you to proceed no further in the multiplying of this drugge by planting so much as hitherto you have donne; but that you p^rscribe a certen moderate quantitie not to bee exceeded in these Islands: and that accordingly to limit everie planter to his proportion. Beside you are not to suffer anie greater quantitie to bee exported then shal bee so directed. And of al masters merchants & others that export from you anie tobacco you are to take sufficient bonds w^th suerties that they bring it to the port of London w^ch his M^te hath made the staple wher this comoditie is to bee permitted & not elswher. We send herw^th his M^ts proclamation, that you seeing his care of this business may bee the more incited to performe theis directions: & specially to apply your selves to some better indevors then the nourishing of this weed. So resting uppon you care wee bid you farewel

Your loving frends

Governo^r and Companie of the Sumer Islands.

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25. At a Council Table 17 Jan. $163\frac{0}{1}$.

(1) Vpon the motion of Mr Warde for Salarie extraordinarie for his preaching this ensueing yeare, neverthelesse the order provided, that they should receive yearely a thousand poundes of tobacco, for their Salaries. It is concluded that in consideration of the said thousand pounds soe allowed that Mr Ward may please to rest satisfied wth the said salarie The great pouertie of the inhabitants beeing herein considered to be such as that ther cannott possibly be any further allowance afforded. Albeit wee are generally willing to contribute vnto them more than our abilities will permytt In consideration hereof It is left vnto M^{r} Wards conscience whether he will preach extraordinary or not, in Deuonshire tribe as formerly he hath done

This order being read to M^{r} Warde at the conclusion thereof his answere was, that hee doth not desier to intermedle wth the said Thousand pounds of tobacco But resolued to rest himselfe vnto that contracte made wth the compa for 700 lb of tobacco. Neverthelesse the Gou^{r}nor and counsel do agree that ther shalbe added 350 lb tob. vnto that seauen hundred for his preaching extraordinary this ensueing yeare Soe that he be content to agree vnto that 50^{lb} sterl p^{r} annum propounded vnto the hono^{ble} [Compa] by the Gou^{r}nor and Counsell for tyme to come: if yt be soe granted.[1]

(2) Vpon the complainte of Mr Nathaniell Ward against John Rose for the said Rose should speake Treason, or Petty Treason, in the heareing of diueres psons and desiering Justice for the same against the said Rose and mentioned Capt Chaddocke to be one of them that should be present when the said words weare spoken It was ordered that Capt Chaddocks attestation should be taken w^{ch} is as followeth.

That about the 22nd or 23rd of November 1630 himselfe with a boats gang and diuers others in the boate called aboard the Shipp Tyger Rideing at anker in the kings castle harbour in the Somer Islands for a Runlet of sacke: when some words grew betweene this deponent and John Rose master of the said shipp about stealeing the custome of Tobaco so that the said Rose replied and said That he would steale the coustome of his tobacco in despight of the Coustomers, and the kings teeth: ffor w^{ch} words this deponent did reproue the said John Rose, and beeing

[1] This seems to mean that £50 sterling had been proposed as the equivalent of 1000 lbs. of tobacco, so much had that commodity become depreciated. 'I beseech you,' writes Capt. Roger Wood to one of his private correspondents, 'vouchsafe the tasting of our poore Burmoodian Tobaco, w^{ch} is 2*d.* worse than nothing the lb.' (See Letter No. 14.) The king's customs at this time were 4*d.* per lb.; Company's duty, 1*d.*; freight, 1*d.*; other charges, 1*d.* (See Letters 68 and 84.)

soe Reproued he seemed very sorrowfull. And beeing demanded whether the said Rose were drunk or sober. His answere was Hee knoweth not.

(Signed) THOMAS CHADDOCKE.

(3) The attestation of Nathanyell Stowe vpon Oath who doth declare the same that Capt. Chaddocke hath declared word for word: onely he addeth That at Capt. Chaddockes reprofe he seemed very sorrowful and said you doe so vex me that you make me say you know not what

signed NATHANIELL STOWE.

(4) The attestation of Mr. Georg Etheredge vpon oath who saith that vpon some speeches that grewe betweene Capt Chaddocke & John Rose about coustome of tobacco, the said Rose said in his hearing that he would steal coustome of Tobacco in despight of his Ma^ties^ teeth and his coustomeres.

signed GEO ETHERIDGE.

(5) Vpon consideration of these examinations It is concluded by the Gou^r^nor and counsell now assembled that the said John Rose shall forthw^th^ be commytted to prison ther to remaine vntyll the departuer of the shipp. And then shall be brought on shipp board, and some order taken for his presentment to the hono^ble^ Compa To whose considerations he is left to answer for his high contempt against his most excellent Maiesty according as the Lawes of England will permytt in such cases

[This is probably the same John Rose of whom we afterwards hear as a Quaker. See under 1660.]

Here endeth the Record for Anno 1630 as it was sent vnto England to the hono^ble^ company in the ship Tygar who sett sayle the 20 Januarie $163\frac{0}{1}$

ANTHO JENOUR Secret.

26. At a Councell Table held at St Georges the 17 day of ffebuary $163\frac{0}{1}$.

Capt^n^ Roger Wood Gou^r^nor

It is now concluded that the Mounte at S^t^ Georges Blowne downe by the storme that happened on the 16th day of August 1629 (being necessary for the discouery of shippes that may be descryed on our coaste) that It shalbe forthwith reedified, & William Welch being held a workman sufficient to take the

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saide worke in hand, and being required hereunto, he doth promyse to goe in hand ther wth all expedition & it being now demanded of him what he requier for his workmanship therein: his demand is to be payd 1400^{lb} of tob^{o} at the next diuision: which is granted to be payd unto him, neu^{r}theless he doth couenant and agree that if he do not purforme yt workeman like, he is content to take nothing for his labor. His further agreement is to p.portion it as ffoloweth vizt to be 30 foote square below and 48 foote high and 8 foote square in the topp, and also that he shall find himselfe meate & drinke and also to provide all the tymber and tymber worke belonging to the said worke at his owne charg and trouble

(2) Upon Mr. Paynters motion unto the Gou^{r}nor and Councell to be assistant vnto him for settinge of peace amongst the woemen of ther Tribe who weare discontented for their seating and placeing in the Church of Southampton Tribe it was Taken into consideracon and thought expedient that ther should be a generall remove of them, for the peace and quiettnes of them all in that maner that is hereunder prescribed. Howbeit It is referred unto the minister and Vestry of the said church to take yt into consideration And If they find any difficulty therin to make ther report theron to the Gou^{r}no^{r} and councell who wilbe ready to assiste them for the redressing of all such inconveniences as may therby arise amongst them

The upper seat to be ffree and kept for marriages Christeninges and for churching of woemen accordinge to the ffirst institution

In the first seate

M^{rs} Paynter
M^{rs} Stirke
M^{rs} Elfrith
M^{rs} Bell
M^{rs} Leycrafte
M^{rs} Woodhouse

In the second seate

M^{rs} Inglesby
M^{rs} Trimmingham
M^{rs} Morgan
M^{rs} Downham
M^{rs} Parker

In the third seat

Goodwife wethersby
M Kemball
Goodwife Knowles
M^{rs} Ballard
Goodwife Harriott

In the fourth seat

M^{rs} Durham
M^{rs} Wilson
Goodwife Wells
Goodwife Payne
Goodwife Dando

And so on for the other two seats: proving incidentally that the custom of men and women sitting apart in

church prevailed in Bermuda in 1630, and it continued to do so in Devonshire parish at least down to a time within the memory of the late Mr. Richard Darrell, of that parish, who was born in 1767. The earliest act for the sale of seats in churches was that of 1775 (J. H. D.)

27. At an Assizes held at St. Georges on the 23-23-24 dayes of March 163^{0}_{1} Capt Roger Wood being Gou^{r}no^{r}. Pleas of the Crowne

(1) The Jurey of our Sou^{r}aigne Lord the King doe present Richard ffloyde, for an unnatural offence, for which he was hanged on the 26th of march. [This is a very rare instance of an indictment for the offence in question being followed by conviction and execution. In most cases, however specific the charge and apparently sufficient the evidence; the bill is ignored.]

(2) Hughe Noakes is indicted upon three charges

(*a*) That he did by laying of springes ketch nine House fowles price ffoure shillings and sixpence the goods and chattles of Raphe Gardener. Found not guiltie

(*b*) As accessory after the fellony committed by Henry Syms his servant by conniving at and concealing the theft of one bushell of corne price ffower shillings, and one sheete price two shillings

(*c*) For persuading and encouraging the same Henry Simes to steale and beare away seventeen dried ffishe price ffive shillings eight pence from before the door of Goddard Asser of Hambleton Tribe Cooper

On these two indictments he was found Guilty and adjudged to be hanged yett the Gouernor knowing the country destitute of an executioner did offer him pardon conditionally that he would accept of the said Office of Hangman w^{ch} the said Noakes did willingly embrace and tooke the Gouernors clemency therein very thankfullie

(3) Henry Symes servant to Hughe Noakes indicted for stealing the above named seventeen fish and also one bushell of corne price ffoure shillings and one sheet price two shillings was found Guiltie, and adiudged on the 4th march to be hanged. And on the 6th March hee was brought to the place of execution, and beeing readie to bee turned from the ladder, was called downe and brought backe againe by the sherriff at the command of the Gouernor

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(4) William Fookes late servant of Duporte Paulson of Sandis Tribe indicted for a criminal assault on a child of nine yeares of age Found not guilty

(5) John Horne for assault and Battery with a cudgell of the thickness of a man's wrist wherewith he did beate and strike William Oulds servant to John Yates so that the same William Oulds fell sicke thereof and within three daies after died. Bill ignored.

(6) Thomas Sparkes indicted for stealing one Lockram shirt price 12*d* and one Ceadar oare price 6*d* Adjudged to receive 15 Lashes.

(7) John Bunnion indicted (*a*) For felloneously stealing and carrying away from a certaine caske of figg drinke a quantitie thereof price —, also from a powdering Tubb one piece of Porke price — Acquitted. (*b*) For stealing from a dwelling one caedar ffunnell price 6*d*. Acquitted (3) For ffelloniously stealing and carrying away Two and Twentie strings of Tobacco price 6*d*. For which he was sentanced to receive 15 lashes at the whipping poast in S^{t} Georges, inflicted on 26th march

(8) Samuell Coote and Richard Palmer for stealing Three hundred, threescore and fifteen pounds of Tobaco price £40 sterling (=2s. 1½d. per lb.) Acquitted

28. Council, Oct. 1631.

At this councell table Leiften^{t} John Crafte demanded the halfe parte of the children of two negroes, the name of the one was Lewis who did properly belong vnto himselfe, the other a woman negro properly belonginge vnto the hono^{ble} Compa called maria. It was questioned whether a dead child that falleth out in the number of the 4 children should be accounted one in the number of Halueing or nott w^{ch} being put to the question and so the irrection of hands. It was concluded thereby that a negro child nott weaned from the mothers breasts shall not hereafter be accounted in the number of halueing in the Somer Islands. And therefore It was ordered that Leift^{t} John Craftes shall haue and enioye one negro man child named Roger w^{ch} is a ffourth child (and one of w^{ch} four beeing deceased) and sonne vnto the said Lewis and Maria, to haue and to hould him, as his lawfull right for euer hereafter W^{ch} child called Roger, and appropriated as aforesaid: the said John Crafts did assigne and freeley bestowe all his said right and interest vnto Capt Roger Woode now Gouernor, desiering him that he would be pleased that the said negro child should bee sett at liberty and made a freeman when he cometh vnto the age of thirty yeares: w^{ch} motion was willingly

consented vnto by the Gouernor Capt[n] Roger Wood, in the presence of the Councell then assembled. w[ch] negro child is said to be fiue yeares of age or thereabouts this present month October 1631

29. Council, 20 Oct. 1631.

(1) The general Levie for the 1631 is settled, amounting to 8149 lbs of Tobacco. Three ministers appear at 1000 lbs each, 8 souldiers at the kings castle at 170 lbs each.

[The other details are much the same as in the examples already given. The taxation is 24 lbs. tobacco the sharers for the three Upper or Western Tribes; and 16 lbs. per sharer of the five Lower or Eastern Tribes.]

(2) Rev[d] Nathaniell warde Preacher at S[t] Georges and Deuonshire Tribe presents claims for settlement amounting to 1115½ lbs of Tobacco, which are allowed, announcing his intention by Gods leaue to depart from this place by the next shipp.

(3) Samuell Cox Reader of Smythes Tribe for the enticing of other mens servants to embezell their masters goods w[ch] beeing examined and proued against him It is ordered that the said Coxe shalbe Suspended from his Readers place, vntyll he can prove himselfe an honest man

(4) Upon application of Mr. P. Copeland he is permitted, with the consent of the Parishioners, to exchange 6 acres of his own land for 6 acres of common land more convenient to his house in Pagets.

30. Letter of condolence Feb. 163½ from Capt. Roger Wood to the widow of Sir Edwyn Sandys.[1]

Honor[ble] Ladie I have not a little p.ticipated in *your sorrow at the* losse of my noble frend your beloued *ptneare* w[ch] not *these Somer Is*lands alone but the state of England haue cause to lament as well *your*selfe & yo[r] thrice happie Island, surviving whom *show* unto *the world* That S[r] Edwin Sandis having *served* his tyme on earth *hath entered* Into an eternall inheritance and leaves his memoriall *with those that bear* his name on earth

[1] The last will and testament of Sir Edwyn Sandys is recited in an indenture of sale elsewhere. It was dated August 24, 1629, and it appears that he left three sons:—Henry, who left no descendants; Edwyn, whose son, Sir Richard, inherited; and Richard, whose son, Henry, succeeded his cousin.

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w^ch I pray god that as they *be of* his *blood soe* they may *inherit* his wisedome & vertues for *your satisfaction and com*fort I am well acquainted w^th all your Busynesse here, *and have of late* written unto my late noble friend Sir Edwin at large *concerning the* same and know very well how small returnes of profit *can be looked for* in lieu of so much land as by y^r Tent^s is manured in *Sandis Tribe* Concerning w^ch I proposed unto S^r Edwin to let them for *a fixed* & proportioned 100^lb of Tobacco for euery share, but now *he is no more it hath* come to nothing, your rents will rather add a charge then *be a profit* unto yo^u, wee haue had 4 very good yeares togeather and *are thankfull* Humphries hath lyen very sicke & weake these 2 yeares and in *all likelihood* cannot liue 2 dayes I will not molest him w^th any *enquiry concerning y^r* busynesse hee being ready to leave the world.

31. A Proclamacon 6 Oct. 1632, against waste of Timber.

Such hath bene the Indignity of the Inhabitants of theise Islands notwithstanding the diuers and sundrie Lawes and orders w^ch haue bene enacted and ordeyned as well for the conseruacon of loue and vnitie amongst ourselues as for the punishing and reforming of such abuses as haue made a breach thereof, that still like ingratefull persons neither respecting theire owne p.ticular good nor danger and penalties of the same lawes, they persist and continue in theire accustomed and careless actions, especially in defrauding and abusing their Landlords and Masters in wasting burning and consumeing bartering for, removeing alienating and transporting, of timber and timber trees, boards plankes chests clefts and the like from the lands whereon they liue, either to other mens lands or aboard one shipp or other, not makeing either Gouernor or Counsell acquainted with such theire doeings. Contrary to the effect and true meaning of the same Orders and Institutions and especially of the 201st and 202nd Articles expressed in the Booke of orders Theise are therefore expresslie to aduise admonish require and charge all and euery pson and psons whatsoeuer that from henceforth a due care and respect be had for all manner of timber trees or other sufficient wood vnder the penalties hereafter expressed vizt that what tennt or seruant soeuer shall cutt down any timber trees, or transport them from any one owners land to another, without the owners consent vnder his hande and seale, or approbacon of the Gouernor and counsellor of the respectiue Tribes to the tyme beeing to the breach of the said 2 articles The 201 and 202, before specifyed shall be lyable to pay for euery such offence 50 lb of

tob. and suffer imprisonment during the Governors pleasure As also the like punishment shall be inflicted vpon euery such pson or psons as at any time hereafter shall be approved to haue conveyed aboard any shipp or barque that shall arriue here (not haueing a sufficient warrant for the same, either trees iuncks ceadar or yellow wood boards clefts chests plankes or the like contrarie to the true intent and meaning of this my proclamacon And lastlie I doe hereby ordaine and confirme for a law, by and with the consent of the whole counsell, that what seaman soeuer that shall hereafter arrive here, be he Captain or master or other officer or comon sayler that shall receaue and take aboard any ceadar or yellow wood trees, iuncks, clefts timber boards chests or plancks more than what they haue sufficient order for, shall for euery offence in this nature, forfeite and pay the some of 50 lbs of tobaco or the full value thereof in good comodities out of euery w^{ch} such forfeiture, the Informer of the same shall for his paines and fidelity receaue 20 lbs Of all w^{ch} seuerall offences a dilligent enquiry shall be had, the offendors duelie punished And the forfeitures shall be required

Giuen vnder my hand in S^{t} Georges the 6th of Aprill 1632

32. To the Rt Hon Ffrancis Lord Couentry Lord keeper of the great Seale of England.

The Humble Petition of the Companie of Aduenturers to the Somer Islands.

Shewing That whereas there is a suite depending before your Lord^{p} in the high court of Chancery betweene one John Dyke of London merchant on the one part and John Hall Inhabitant in the said Islands on the other parte concerning three shares of land lying there affirmed to be sould vnto one Hubbard predecessor to the said Hall by the aforesaid John Dyke. Now soe it is that the sayd John Dyke haueing the last yeare caused the forenamed Hall to come over into England to his exceeding great lost & charges, and there preferred a bill in Chancery against the said Hall and now sithence this present yeare hath also serued diuers ptyes dwelling the said Islands with subpœnas personally to appeare in England haueing no other couller for diuers of them but only to bee witnesses, one of them being captain of the kings castle whose comming from there might proove dangerous for the Islands Another of them being a young child of Eight yeares of age haueing an imperfection in his speech being the sonne and heyre of him who is said to haue purchased the foresaid 3 shares of land All w^{ch} is with greate zeale recommended by the Gouernor & Councell

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there to the company here humblie to implore your Lordship to restrayne these violent courses which tendeth to the utter Ruine and destruction for euer of all such soe fetcht from their Charges and Callings there in the saide Islands, the charges of coming ouer and staying till another shipp goe not being less than £30 or £40 for each man besides the damage they shall sustaine by leauing their wyfe famelie and affaires in the said Islands without a head or guide beside the hazard of their liues whereas all examination hath vsuallie heretofore bin executed by a comission out of this Court

In tender consideracon whereof and forasmuch as anie one who is euillie minded either to the said Islands or anie pticuler man there may vpon the like pretences fetch ouer anie p.ticuler man to the eminent danger of the said Islands, that your Lordship wilbe pleased to order that the examōn of all witnesses resydent in the said Islands may bee done by comission out of this court directed to such as in your Lps wisdome shall be thought fitt and not otherwise. And they shall as in dutie bound &c

Let this petition be shewed to Mr Dyke which since I hold both just and reasonable vnles he can speedily show mee good cause to the contrary Lett a comission be graunted as is directed.

20th Aprill 1632 FRAN. COUENTRY

33. There are a few more entries of April 1632, of no interest except the following :—

. . . And lastlie that whereas there was a presentment made for preuencon of the stealing of Oyle seeds. It is concluded that whoseur shalbe be found to steale any young trees or seeds, from any oyle trees, shall receaue such punishment as is inflicted vpon the purloyners of other trees, plants or fruits. [These were seeds of the castor oil plant, as Roger Wood plainly states in his letter, No. 17. It was not until 1660 (*q.v.*) that Norwood, by actually producing olive oil, induced the Company to make a strenuous but abortive effort to promote the general cultivation of the olive tree.]

Here terminates the portion of a Book marked E, and, with the exception of one or two Indentures and Attestations found in Volumes III. IV. and V., bearing dates in 1634–5–6, there is an almost total want of records down to November 1638. We learn from the private letter book of Capt. Roger Wood that he was continued for a second term of three years as Governor, which will have

commenced in 1633; and his name occurs 1640–52 as Captain of Paget's Fort.[1] The drafts of his letters bear various dates between February 1632 and December 1634. There is no portion of the MSS. which has come down in such a deplorable state as this letter-book, which is much to be regretted. The fragments and tatters of letters afford in general but a glimpse of their subjects; but among them may be gleaned several expressions of opinion or allusions to matters of fact which deserve preservation. One of the most interesting of these is a proposal made by Patrick Copeland nearly a century before that of Bishop Berkeley for establishing in the Somers Islands a place of education for missionaries for the conversion of the Indians of Virginia. Captain Wood's remarks on this proposal, like all else we have from him, are sensible and practical. He seems to have been a man of sincere piety of the Puritan school, sympathising warmly with the conscientious men who resisted and fled from the persistent endeavours of Archbishop Laud to enforce a uniformity of practice in the Church. Few of the letters have any dates: the extracts are entered in the order in which they occur.

34. Capt. Roger Wood's Letters, 1632–4.

(1) If you please to send vs ½ Bushell of Hempseed and as much flaxseed I hope wee shall make good use of it As you tender the prosperitie of this plantacon soe the *spiritual good thereof*, so if you now in our extremetie having but one *minister now* amongst vs can meet with an honest and *god fearing* man who will serve 3 or 4 yeares or more as hee liketh, *so send him* where he shall haue 1000 lb of Tobaco for his Stypend and his dyett free or at little charge vnto himselfe If I say to all yo^{r} former loving kyndnesse you will but add this you shall crowne the rest and bee euer honoured as now your beloued of all the Inhabitants of these Islands. Feb 163½ No. 6. (Probably to the Deputy Governor in London.)

(2) Has received 998 lbs Tobaco by way of rent from 'my Lord's' tenants and 860 lbs from my lady's tenants, 9 in number, whose names are given. No. 9.

[1] Situated on Paget's Island, near the present Fort Cunningham.

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(3) So long as the land is out of Lease and your tennants vpon small rent yo^{r} Honour and my young Lord may be assured to participate in what profitts can bee therevpon, in the meane tyme you^{r} Honnour may be pleased to endure the loss w^{t} patience as your poor tenants vndergo their miserie and labour almost in nakednesse w^{ch} is the generall affiction of this poore plantacon. I thanke God wee abound wth all kind of provision for our subsistance as corne, potatoes, hoggs, Turkeys, and foules in great plenty, besydes owr fruits of ryehe, w^{ch} makes our neighbour plantacons seeke vnto vs for commerce, and bring vs salte in exchange for our provisions, w^{ch} is very beneficial vnto us. God is thus mercifull vnto vs, that although [they] may haue almost naked backes and bare feet, yet they haue full bellies to beare out the brunt, and when God sees the time his hand is not shortened but it can revive and helpe vs if our sinnes dee not separate and hinder good things from us. No. 10, 2 Feb 163½

(4) To M^{r} Ballene I referr the reporte of his voyage vsage and affection of this very poore Island, only for lacke of Canvasse shirts and shoes and such things as will cloathe vs from sunne and cold nights I thank god wee abound wth victualls in varietye and plentie both flesh and fish, rootes and fruits, so that wee excell all the plantacons in the kings dominions, and wee desire to vndertake any travell and labour if wee had a subject to worke vpon to cloathe ourselues, but it is our miserie to liue in these tymes that the more wee labor the more wee are *vndone* through the extreame ympost laid vpon our goods w^{ch} exceeds the value of the commoditie, a thing without precedent and neuer before heard of. I pray God amend yt and send vs help from heaven for on earth I see but little hope And one miserie comes not alone, for o^{r} ministers seeing our comoditie decay in value, they declyne in affection and leaue vs two of them now togeather, and the third hath written to the noble gouernor to speake with the compa about his salary of 100 marks pr annum, if w^{ch} bee not payd hee will fly to the king and counsell, and my honnored friend take this from mee that I haue observed from my youth and since I was a souldier that I neuer knew a Skotsman to this day to loose the least pretence hee had to a Title of or thing due vnto him, and I am of opinion that you shall finde Mr Stirke meeke as he hath beene reputed, more vyolent in his courses than M^{r} ward who is professedly oppositious. . . No. 13. 1632.

(5) He refers in this to the grievous impositions laid upon tobacco, which exceed the value of the commodity, and pro-

ceeds: Wee haue made our grievanses known unto our thrice worthie Gouernor the noble Earle of Dorset by a letter written by myselfe and the counsell of this place and I make bould to send a coppie thereof to your Honor. . .

Ps. I beseech you vouchsafe the tasting of our poore Burmoodian Tobaco w^{ch} is 2^{d} worse than nothing the pound. No. 14. 1622.

(6) The runletts of sacke according to your vnvoice I haue received and have furnished the councellors of the three vpper Tribes with as much as I received 580 lbs of Tobaco for. I sould this wine for 20 lbs of Tobaco the gallon. I could haue sould it for more but I esteeme jlb of this worth 2 or 3 of such as I should haue had to take if I had sould it all for Tobaco the great runlet I sould vnto sandis and Southampton Tribe, and they payd me according to the contents of your letter without measureing The runlet of 17 Gallons wanted 6 or 8 inches at least of full. The runlet of 12 and 10 gallons wanted likewise little lesse betwixt them. So that I offered them to sell to the marshall for money not desyring to send you any more Tobacco And wee agreed for 6*s* 6*d* pr gallon to pay you the next yeare and when we measured the wyne I found but 20 gallons remayneing whereby either you or I was abused for I confess I am but a bad marchant for this kind of comoditie No. 16. 1632.

(7) My wiffe hath sent 4 Parrats in a cage vnto my Lady, to bee either kept for your Honor's pleasure to looke vpon, or to giue vnto who your Honor please who takes delight in keeping of them The parrat is a finne bird, and yellow vpon the head and necke—she desyres my Lady to accept it in as good part as she in all loue and duty doth tender the same

(8) I have giuen all the tennants orders to plant store of oyle Seeds and I do not doubt but within these two yeares to lade a shipp with oyle w^{ch} wee need not feare will goe a begging for customers to buy it as our Tobaco doth and brings vs in debt rather than supplies our necessities, a sample of this oyle is now brought ouer by Mr Painter who will fully satisfye you and the compa there is more than *seemeth therein*, hee having taken most paynes in fitting himselfe *with what is needed* for that purpose. May 1632

(9) I now second my desyre vnto you in the behalfe of a minister for the Summer Islands, and only for S^{t} Georges where I

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liue hauing received a commission from the company for continuacoen of my Gouernm^{t} for three yeares more I suppose the low opinion of our Tobaco may dishearten a good man from comeing so far and to labour for nothing, but Sir there is no feare of that but the Compa very honnourably supply our ministers stipend in Tobaco with money to a good value, as of late they haue done to M^{r} Stirke M^{r} Coapland and M^{r} Ward and will doe vnto the gent^{n} you shall send vpon agreement and request vnto them, vntill wee can provide for them in the country of w^{ch} I am not out of hope But now M^{r} Coapland doth propound another course to pay the ministers here, and that is by the Tythes of all things that wee raise, as by his letter vnto mee may appeare, the copy whereof I make bould to send vnto you, desyring yo^{u} to read it and consider of it and to bee persuaded that these men will loose nothing that may bee gotten, nor ought they to doe it beeing their due. this M^{r} Coapland is a good man, and hath Travelled farre, and now hauing purchased land here he hath builded therevpon, and will not remove to any pte of the world from hence hee hath a project to erect a free schoole here and to trayne vp children to bee preachers to send abroad to convert the Indians, and for that purpose hath written to Scotland for 1 or 2 able scollars to instruct them in philosophie and divinitie, and so to make them preachers, but where these children are I yet know not for wee have but a few and peradventure there parents haueing educated them will not send them amongst the saluages to turne them to the faith who will vnderstand them as well as the wolfe did S^{t} Francis when he turned him vnto civilitye but Sir these Scottish Schollars desyre to know their mayntainance before they will vndertake the Journey and I comend them for it. And to deale plainly and truly wth you Sir, I doe desyre not to haue any more of the nation amongst vs but will preuent it what I can I know England abounds in Learned men, and all are not benificed . . .

No. 34. 12 January 163$\frac{2}{3}$

(10) Probably addressed to Rev. N. Ward.

Reuerend Sir

Yo^{r} letter of the 20th August I haue rec^{d} & thanke you for it beeing glad of yo^{r} and yo^{r} *wifes* good healthes & desyring continuance thereof to Gods glory and yo^{r} owne benifits . . . . . Archbishop Abbot beeing at rest and so yo^{r} hopes of setling now frustrate, yet so long as Almightie god whose *are the hearts* of all Bishops yea and of all Princes in the same, and *turneth* them as he will yo^{u} haue no need to feare *for a pro-*

vision to your likeing when hee sees it fitt, and *I aduise* that yo^{u} doe not suddenly rush into a congregacon *before you* know them & they you & whose desyre is to haue *you to there* minister, for *then* yo^{u} may take comfort in yo^{r} *charge and* people, although that course is not now *practised, still* you know it is the most ancient and comendable sometimes. A reverend & good Patron may comend *a better minister to* a cure and keepe him in it by his own authoritie, then a people can choose for themselues, but still a people's liking concurring wth a Patrons presentation is to bee desyred w^{ch} I wish vnfeynedly you may enioy Here is a shippe come from New England for trade wth vs for victualls who reports that there comes over *to them the* most able ministers in England & their congregations, *where* their they build Townes and call them by the names of those from whence they came As Boston Lymne Plimoth Yarmouth and they fly thither for fear of persecution (they say) w^{ch} seemeth strange to mee, that they fear persecution in England and violation of their consciences.

I wish some of those that fly so fast into that could clymate would come more southerly to vs. We pay 2 ministers £40 per ann for each vntill wee are enabled to raise it higher. Here they may vse thier *discretion in* gods ordinances, for wee are growin soe poore that no Byshops will looke after vs, wee haue Homilies *set* to read in our churches w^{ch} are the same that were printed in king Edwards dayes, w^{ch} I am enjoyned to cause be *read so tha*t wee change for the worse, having the workes of the most famous divines in great plentie a mea*ns of grace much* to be preferred before those old Homilies . . . No. 38. 1633.

[These sentiments appear in several other letters, but they are in too tattered a state to be copied.]

(11) This letter is probably addressed to the Rev. N. Bernard.

. . . As there is a supposition that you intend to come for New England, and M^{r} Peeters, as many reverent Divines are gone from England before you, as I heare by the reporte of some men that are come now vnto vs in a shippe from thence, to commerce with vs for victualls and provisions from vs Then let me desire you to leaue that resolution and come to the Burmoodaes where you are most entirely beloved and reverenced, and where although wee are poore by reason of the lowe esteeme of our Tobaco which is the chiefest comoditie wee

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haue to subsist withall, yet here is plenty of poultrie and fish and delicate fruits as the world yields We haue but 2 ministers, both Scotish men Th' one is called Georg. Stirke who is very learned but I fear not long lyved, hee hath all your works that are extant, and admires yo^{r} . . . . . .,[1] and greatly applauds all the rest Th' other M^{r} Patricke Coapland who hath travelled long, twice to the East Indies, and now settled himselfe here, having purchased 5 shares of land on which he hath builded and disbursed £1000 sterling, and wee expect 2 more this next yeare. Theire means is now settled at £40 sterling p. annum, w^{ch} is as good as 100 markes in England for their disbursements are here very little, and for my p.ticular if there come a single man ever, I will thinke myselfe happie to enjoy his company, if hee will accept my house and his dyett with me without any disbursement Althoughe there is 2 parsonage houses readie built and very conveniently seated to entertayne such as shall come ouer to possesse them; Wee are alsoe farre more secure from the Hiarchicall Jurisdiction then New England is, for noe great prelate will leave his Pontificall pallace to take his journey to liue vpon a barren rock. And all our Islands are not worth a Bishopricke and there are many men of great wealth and estates and almost whole congregations gone wth their Pastors, where they build townes and call them according to those from whence they come as Boston Yarmoth &c Ours is a most holsome *air*, *that suiteth every* creature in these Islands Theires is a cold clymate full *of severitie* . . . thinke that when they haue well settled themselves they must be brought vnder the *Archbishop* of Canterburie and haue a suffragan sent to reduce them into the fould of their old shepheards for the king will not *be quit* of his subjects wheresoeuer they liue vnder his lawes and obedience. All this discourse I relate to divert you from any thoughts to *seek liberty* that way. . . . The letter concludes with an offering of a small piece of Tobaco for the correspondents owne drinking and a parcel of Potatoes for M^{rs} Ames. No. 14. 1634. [Joane Ames of Yarmouth Wydow ageed 50 yeares with 3 children was among the persons who were desirous to passe for New England and there to inhabit and remaine May 11. 1637][2]

(12) Sir,—Yo^{u} may see that wee haue payd the ministers their stypends for this yeare in Tobaco. Although all is not payd

[1] The name of the work quoted is unintelligible, Towins or Towius. The editor has only been able to find one publication of Bernard's. See Preface, p. xii.

[2] See Hotten.

that is proposed yet they haue accepted of it whereby now they haue by the receit of their salarie of £40 per annum j yeares pay aforehand. I hope and am confident, if this Duch barque aryve in safetie you shall notbe many dayes without your money, and that receaued that you will be a helper for our supply with 2 ministers; and wth Armes and powder, without requiring pay for them, beeing payd out of the 3 half pennies. This will be a meanes to allay the distemper of these vnsettled people whose grievances yo^{u} may consider, after the perusal of them, vnto w^{ch} they haue beene stirred vp by Ltres from Mr Dilbridge to supply them if they will keepe theire Tobaco vntill the London shippe begonne and serue vnto him that hee may bee suer to haue his freight, hee will then be with them in May, * * but I haue wearyed myselfe in wryting and I thinke shall tyre you in reading my teedious relation but presuming vpon your wonted acceptance of what I freely comitt vnto you I take my leaue and will euer remayne as by many friendly offices and kindnesses from you I am bound to contynue your very loving friend to serue you

No. 84. 1634. Roger Wood

(13) Extracts from a very long letter, probably addressed to the Deputy-Governor or the Treasurer of the Company.

If Mr Stones project had held good hee would haue fitted you for a joyntsale and made you come vnto him to buy the remaynder of the croppe. for he hath written vnto M^{r} kesterton to buy him 20 M of the best Tobaco at 6^{d}, and 20^{c} of the middle sort at 4^{d}, and make bills of exchange vpon him to pay it, and hee would stand the adventure If w^{ch} had taken place you may imagine what the rest of the croppe would haue come vnto, by that tyme that the seamen had stollen out their parts, w^{ch} I verilie thinke is $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Cargazoone, w^{ch} noe living man can prevent by these hyred shippes, w^{ch} passage of Tobaco I had forgot to acquaint M^{r} Ceswell withal there for I pray you to give him notice of it, that the company may knowe it

Concerning the ministers I knowe not what to say, save onely they are men subject to infirmitie like others, through whose earthly vessells god doth distill vnto vs heauenly Treasures. To vs they are alwayes haveing and craving and never thinke they haue enough, yet I sincerely acknowledge M^{r} Stirke is the most contented man wth his stipend of £40 p^{r} annum that may be; but as I haue writt to another I desyre

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not to see any more Scotesmen to bee minister or school master here for Mr Coapland would haue sent vnto Aberdeinne for a Scotesman to haue beene a schoolmaster but I verily thinke his project is to haue such a one to marry a daughter hee hath, and at his death to conferre *his estate vpon him*

Now for your oyle[1] wee have planted and gathered so much seed as it may bee lykened to Josephs provision for corne in Egypt for wee haue no place to lay it in, and now wee haue it wee know not what to doe with it, and before I will put a finger to a presse to make this oyl for 12*d* the gallon I protest I will plucke up all my trees and burne them. I like well of yor price proposed to sell a bushell as they be gathered from the Trees the long stalkes takes off the heape of 12*d* the bushell, and this is so little that men cannot liue of lesse ; but lett those oyle marchants make that good and I will deliuer them 50,000 bushells of seed from the Inhabitants of these Islands yearely for now they will not giue a groat a bushell for them, and I beleiue their mills will stand still if they continue so, yet Mr Jenour hath bought 1500 bushells for Mr Gowes cheape enough for such ones, and [he] is my best chapman, who offers me 2s 6d a bushell for cleare seed and 8*d* a bushell for seed excellently cleared to the white husk; but I heard yesterday Mr Painter sayth such seed will be worth 12d per bushell by his experiment, who made 22 gallons of oyle in one day, and I thinke will be able to send home a pipe or a butt or 2 hogsheads to get the tother £40 of the Compa. wch he makes account to haue but he is behoulden to your querne to cleane his seeds, for William will not meddle with that busynesse.

. . . Whensoeuer you intend to drinke a cuppe of sacke as I doe now to you in wryting this lyne of my letter (beeing quite tyred with continual wryting for 2 months time) come not at that Taverne from whence you had that sacke you sent vnto mee I protest vnfeynedly I would not giue 6d a gallon for it. I haue spent one runlet of it, and am glad it is gone, for besides the basenesse of the wyne, it was put into such a musty caske as no man could drink it withoutwondering at it, but bee it good or bad the sacke days are gone. If there should com a chance that any money should come into your hands of myne, send me no more sacke: yor aquevitæ was good, and is indeed the profetablest drinke that comes ouer, a dramme in a hott day when men haue beene to hear preach, or planting or hoeing other worke in the fields tastes well, but having no hope of money I will trouble you with no more memorandums, but only that you remember my, and my wifes harty salutacons vnto yourselfe and yours, and bee

[1] Castor-oil seeds.

assured that while I liue, you have a faythfull and thankefull seru[t] for all your care and paynes bestowed in the affayres of yo[r] ould and loving friend to bee commaunded

No. 85. 1634. ROGER WOOD

(14) . . . And whereas Capt Bell *when he was Gou[r]nor receiued* 20 lbs of Tobaco for dyeting the grand Inquest, w[ch] for *a yeare* amounts to 720 lbs of Tobaco, the one halfe whereof is paid by you This Tobaco beeing payd by the generall levie I haue for my former 3 yeares of Gouernment requyred none of it considering the povertie of the country in generall, and the vnreasonablenesse that they w[ch] are called to serue his Mat[ie] with their bodies without salarie, (as the grand Inquest properly doe) should also pay for their owne dyets with their owne Tobaco, as then they did. The truth is, it is your dues properly to pay it, by fines, if any such shall be [levied] or by your Rents, or to be levyed out of your part of Tobaco only But as I haue passed my 3 former yeares of Gouernment without requireing any such soe I will not for my latter stand vpon it, to make it a precedent for my successors, w[ch] is to my losse of what my predecessor receiued 1440 lbs. of Tobacco. Other things of charge w[ch] I have pformed by my Owne servants to saue a levie from the country I could recite if I loved ostentation. In w[ch] respects I hope you will conceive that by your free guifte of Sambo and his child vnto me, for the causes and considerations before recited hee is not absolutely cast away and lost [1]

[1] Sambo, one of the negroes belonging to the Company, was married to a woman belonging to Christopher Parker. A woman belonging to Wood was married to a man belonging to him. He asks to have this negro Sambo and his daughter Justina, aged three years, bestowed upon him, not so much, he says, 'to deprive you of your negroe for my own benefit (I protest before almighty God) As that thereby I or myne may euer be able to wage with him' (Parker, with whom he had a bitter feud) 'in his owne plea, and measure his corne by his owne bushell, his man having marryed my woman, my man having marryed his. And to the extent you shall see that I am not destitute of this blacke crewe during my government I think it fitt in this place to show you a catalogue of your negroes, men, woemen, and children, ten children and three woemen, lyving vpon my charge, for they doe little else than to looke to theire children for no man wilbe troubled with them; neither doe I desyre recompense for the same, neither will I, so long as you cloathe them as most nobly you have done this yeare, w[ch] I will cause to be husbanded soe that you shall not be deceived herein. This clothing and linen will serve I hope for next yeare also; as for this, I haue put out 3 of them to masters and after the cloathing of these will put out some others when I can fynd such masters as will be careful for their education.' The catalogue shows chiefly Spanish names: Mingo grando, whose wife Polassa is dead; Mingo and Isabella vxor; Anthonio the long; Anthonio the ould; two Katalinas, Isabella and Bridget; the children's names are English, altogether 8 men 'negroes, among w[ch] ould Anthonio is past service, 4 woemen negroes, and 13 children.' Besides this, he proceeds, 'I want 7 servants of my complete number w[ch] I am not pressing to bee supplyed withall, as not beeing able to cloath these.'

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I am vnwilling to presse further vpon your patience in this subiect but desyre that both our wrytings may bee referred vnto yo^{r} comm^{ie} appointed to hear and determine the controuersies of this troublesome plantation and resolue therevpon as according to your wisdomes shall appeare equall and juste.

And finally I doe conclude, that whereas a Gouernor is allowed 32 servants, and 12 shares of land for his maintenance, and his familie, I freely offer that if you will be pleased to reduce both land and servants vnto such proportion that I may manure all my owne land myselfe, and keepe my servants with me, without hyring them forth to others for Tobaco, which is a thing I neuer affected (although compelled of necessitie soe to doe) and supply mee yearely out of England wth necessaries for myselfe and family to subsist wthall, I for my tyme will rest myselfe very well content with 6 shares of land, and 12 servants and £50 per annum in supplyes. I would come lower if it was not to vndervalue the place and office of Gouernor vnder so noble a companie, for I am of opinion that some of you haue servants w^{ch} receaue more wages yearely but of this I assure you that if god bee not pleased that my 3 last yeares bee more prosperous than my 3 former haue been, In all likelihood I am utterly undone in your seruice, notwithstanding w^{ch} I will euer acknowledge your noble favours vnto mee, and good opinion of me w^{ch} I will strive to answere with all my best endeavours wherein I may expresse myselfe to bee your true thoughe poor seruant to bee comanded

No. 88. 1634. ROGER WOOD

(15) The next is probably addressed to the same correspondent as No. 11.

. . . When the apostles after o^{r} saviours ascension and sending downe the Holy Spirit, began to preach the gospel in Jereuasalem, the High Preists did so persecute them that they were faine to fly for there owne safetie, w^{ch} was the worke of God that by there dispersion the gospell might be preached and the kingdom of god enlarged throughout the world So now yo^{n} thought your selfe well provyded for, and awayted perhaps with too longing a desyre the departure of the good old man the parson of the church whom you were to succeed and perhaps came to some thing as not in the sinceritie of your hart [as] by the signe of the crosse in baptisme to gain the favour of the great ones, though thereby the weake and such as knew you formerly were offended, to rubb: you out of w^{ch} double or rather

vnsettled an opinion It pleased God in his providence to guide your tongue vnto such a strayne at Cambridge that swept you out of all your former imaginations and dreames of lyving at ease in Syon and for to make you more sensible off it the Highe Priest hath banished you forth of his jurisdiction What is this Els but a token that you are by the Imediate hand and Providence of God appointed to preach the Gospell further off. Wherefore let mee bee instead of the vision appeareing to Paule, who in the name and voyce of the most, honestest, and best people of the summer Islands say to you come (not into macedonia but) into America and helpe vs Imagine this ltre to bee brought vnto you by the hand of cornelyus' souldiers to come to their Capt. to preach vnto him And who knowes whether Almightie god hath neuer since y^r^ sylencing put a motion and desyre into y^r^ heart to preach in such a place where you may bee free and deliuer all the doctrine of the gospel and ordinances of our Lord Jesus in that sinceritie and simplicitie of them w^th^out adding or *suppressing*, and *hesitating*, yea or noe, if soe Imagine it is Peeters vision and come w^th^out delay, yo^r^ Parsonage House and study *are euen now readie for you* . . .[1] S^t^ Georges is peculiarly yours *receaue* your owne possession. if yt will not give you meanes sufficient wee will joyne Hambleton tribe vnto you, w^th^ the Collonie, w^ch^ shall all bee yours and contribute to you only and to noe other minister, and for your conditions of the place neuer think of them, nor despaire for want soe long as M^r^ Coapland liues hee will pleade for you all when the benifit doth accrue to himselfe, whose letter vnto me to this end I entreat you to peruse. And further because when wee haue you wee would keepe you I could advise you to bring ouer a good huswifely wife w^th^ you to keepe you from hungering after Ithaca as Vlysses did. Now if you by all theise will be moved and persuaded, then this remaines that you deal with M^r^ Ward for another that I haue written for to him naming S Georges: but I would settle him vpon Devonshire and Smith's Tribe, or if M^r^ Samuell Ward cannot procure and comend one Then be you in M^r^ Wards place and doe it yourselfe, and bring an able minister with you for those two Tribes whereby the country will be well served and the ministers well setled, and this settling and serving will breed abundance of peace, by settling a constant meanes for all our ministers maintenance w^ch^ wee will not deny when wee haue our competent number. I am ready to seale vp my letters and send them aboard This is the last I haue written but one, and I cannot inlarge it. I pray God send such successe vnto my desyre as may bee to his glory and

[1] See the Levy of 1630, p. 517, where provision was made for building a study at St. George's for N. Barnard.

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the winning and building vp of the kingdom of o^{r} Lord and Savior Jesus Christ To whose blessed direction I commend you remayning yo^{r} very loving vncle and friend to serve you in the Lord No. 89. 1634.

Roger Wood.

This letter is evidently written to a minister who had served in and left Bermuda before 1634. The condition fits Rev. Nathaniel Bernard, who was imprisoned by Woodhouse in 1627, a circumstance probably sufficient of itself to show that he had the popular sympathies, and was 'entirely beloved.' A relationship with Capt. Roger Wood is probable, because one of the letters is addressed his much beloved 'Cosen Bernard,' and is in a tone of religious sympathy entirely harmonizing with the extracts 11–15. In Act 11, 1627 (p. 415), we have a distinct expression of the desire of the people for his return. These indications appear to be conclusive.

(16) Worshipfull and worthy frend Mr Caswell. I am loath to let any occasion passe wherein I may acquaint you with our condition vpon this poore plantation for which purpose I haue written vnto the compa. and enclose it in this, and comend it vnto your care for the deliuerie, and thereby you shall vnderstand our affayres. And if you please to drinke a quart of wyne with Capt Stone he will discourse with you of our miserie, for I assure you you shall haue a poore fellowe with half a shirte perhaps not so much, and never a shoe nor breech vpon him, that can eat as good a capon, Turkey, Hogge, or fatt fish of his owne as many a gentleman in England that is clad in sattin and payes a subsidie, wherein wee Bermoodians are no whitt behind hand, in our paym^{ts} vnto the kinges coffers, and yet are neither regarded nor pittied. I will not trouble you nor myselfe wth menconing anything formerly written, for I suppose the London Shippes will be hither bound before Capt Stones arrivall Only I confesse one thing troubles mee much w^{ch} is since the London shipps departure it is divulged abroad in the Island that Christopher Parker shall be the Gou^{r}no^{r} the next [turne] and for ought I can heare, it is his owne report from some thus sent him by my Lord of Dorsett's Secretary, whom he calls Brother, and hee hath promised to make him Governor In confidence whereof he hath promised to saue his brother's life, whom I keepe in prison for a rape,[1] and I hope the compa

[1] 'His,' probably the Secretary's. One Cornelius Carter was executed for this offence in September 1633, after nine months' imprisonment.

will do mee that Justice as to send about the attestation of the negro vnto Famouth (Q. Falmouth?) I confess that Parker for his personal abilities is as able as any man in the Island of the gouernment, but he wants honestie, and his craftie witt hath beene stretched so farre like as hee was wont to stretch his clothe on his tentes that it hath euer yet rent, and deceived himselfe in this place Hee had a protection in England, that no man could trouble him and since hee came ouer hither, hee hath runne into debt more than hee ought (owed?) before, and heare he intends to plead his protection as servant to the Queene, to keepe himself out of durance. I suppose a protection of that nature is because of his attendance upon the Queene, whose service when he leaves and goes so farre from home, her protection leaves him, and he is liable to pay his debts like others. And this he shall doe if his government priviledge him noe more than his *predecessors*. . .

No. 98. 1633.[1]

(17) Captain Roger Wood, in his will, which was proved 2nd May, 1654, bequeaths

'to the Churches use of S^te^ George's, one volume of Mr. Perkin's works to be read in the congregation in the absence of the minister, which book,' he says, 'he has lately lent vnto Mr. Bridges to be put in use accordingly.' He adds, 'Alsoe there was long since loste in my custodie by one Paulinge a reteyner vnto Capt. Henry Woodhouse, a booke named Mr. Rogers his 7 treatises for the churches use w^ch^ I desire may be sought out amongst my bookes, and delivered vnto the Church Officers of St Georges to be vsed accordingly. *Item* I will and bequeath vnto the Church in Devonshire Tribe one silver Beaker w^ch^ is now in their possession, w^th^ a diaper Table cloth, and two diaper napkins, to be vsed in the service of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper for euer willing and desiereing that the said Beaker may never be vsed in comon manner, but only in the administration of the Lords Supper as before expressed. *Item* I will and bequeath vnto the said Church in Deuonsh Tribe and benefitt of the parishioners, my Booke of Peeter Marter's his comon places, to be layd vpon a deske. And sett in the fittest place of the church, w^th^ the minysters

[1] This letter occurs at the reverse end of the book. In the order of time it should have followed No. 10. Among particulars to be gleaned from other letters are some allusions to presents of cedar planks to his correspondents—showing the large trees then existing in Bermuda; *e.g.* No. 46, he sends a plank 30 inches wide; No. 93, a plank 12 or 13 feet long and 32 inches wide—sizes quite unknown at present.

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approbation that any parrishioner, or other well disposed person, may read therein when they find occasion, or desier therevnto.'

The beaker is still preserved. It is a silver cup weighing $9\frac{1}{4}$ oz., $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, and holds $\frac{2}{3}$ of a pint. It has the Hall mark N of 1590. He also presented the two shares of land, known as the Devonshire College Estate, for educational purposes.

35. Assizes September 1633 Pleas of the crown. (Record imperfect.)

(1) Cornelius Carter indicted for a criminal assault upon his orphan ward and niece, Mary Carter, aged 16 in January of the same year Found Guilty and Executed 30 September 1633.

(2) Edward Hough indicted that being with divers other souldiers exerciseing theire armes in the mustering place belonging to Southampton Tribe he did by force of armes discharge a bastard muskett charged with powder vpon the bodye of John Brookes then and there beeing in the peace of God and the king and therewith gaue him fellonously soe deepe and mortall a wound in the backe that hee the said John Brookes fell presently sicke thereof and within three dayes after, hee departed this life through the payne and torment of the same wound Bill ignored by the Grand Inquest.

The Coroners Inquest's verdict. That John Brookes was killed by misadventure.

(3) William Welch indicted for stealing one silver spoone price eleaven pence.

Adjudged to receive 19 lashes at the whipping poast in S^{t} Georges: inflicted 26 Sept.

36. Hugh Wentworth.

If I haue any young Negroes amongst my Tennents I would haue one of them deliuered vnto M^{r} Kersie & this shall be yo^{r} warrant in that behalfe. London this 29th July 1635

To Hugh Wentworth of the Sumers Islands — Rob. Warwick.

37. June 1, 1634. 'The "Thunder" which went to

Bermuda 17 October, 1633, now returned to New England, bringing corn and goats from Virginia (for the weevils had taken the corn at Bermuda before they came there). Ensign Jenyson went in her for pilot, and related at his return, that there was a very great change in Bermuda since he dwelt there, divers lewd persons being become good Christians. They have three ministers (one a Scotchman) who take great pains among them, and had lately by prayer and fasting dispossessed one possessed with a devil. They obtained his recovery while the congregation were assembled.'[1]

38. We meet with the name of Nathaniel Ward in 1634 as minister of the Church at Ipswich, in New England; whether the Bermuda individual or not the Editor has not ascertained. N. Ward can be traced in Bermuda from 1627 to October 1631. The New England minister is said to have been Rector of Standon-Massey, Essex, in 1633, and deprived for nonconformity, which is not inconsistent with the identification. He was author of a Tract called 'The Simple cobler of Aggawam in America,' published, 1647, under the name of Theodore de la Guard, the whole tenor of which is a protest against the extravagances of the sects around him, and a denial of the unbounded toleration claimed for every form of error and delusion. Hence the New England editor of Winthrop remarks that the 'work is very attractive for its humor and curious for its *execrable spirit*.' It is reprinted in Peter Force's 'Historical Tracts,' Vol. III.

39. January 8, 163$\frac{5}{6}$. 'The Rebecca arrived in Massachussetts Bay from Bermuda, with thirty thousand weight of potatoes and store of oranges and limes which were a great relief to our people—but their corn was sold to the West Indies three months before. Potatoes were bought there for two shillings and eight pence the bushell, and sold here for two pence the pound.' (Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 217, edit. 1853.)

[1] Winthrop's 'Hist. of N. England,' vol. i. p. 159. Edit. 1853. [John Winthrop was first Governor of Massachussetts Bay, 1630 to 1649. His Journal, which has gone through several editions, was first published in 1790.]

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40. At a general Court of Eleccon for the Somer Islands Company held on Wednesday 25 May 1636.

The opinion of certaine Comittee chosen to consider of generall business & greivances, and of the way or meanes to redress the same, was now read; and those yʳsent taking consideration of every y-ticular by them treated on, as namely for pʳvention of the Tenants wronging their Landlords 2. for pʳvention of planters buying of land till it have bin tendered to the Company. Wherein this Court doth Order and give authority for the buying of all such land, and doe alsoe confirme this former Order. That noe one shall bee admitted of the Company by vertue of any land he shall buy, unlesse the same land were first offered to the Company. Nor is any such deeds to be ratified under the Companies Seale &c.

41. Whitehall, 12 Jan. 1637. (State Papers, Colonial. Vol. IX. No. 80.)

Whereas a petᵒⁿ was this day pʳsented to yᵉ Boorde in yᵉ name of the Gouʳnʳ and Company of London for yᵉ plantacõn of yᵉ Somʳ Islands shewing that whereas there being lately wrecked upon yᵉ Coast of the said Somʳ Islands a small Spanishe vessell whose lading was logwood to the quantity of about 100 tons (as they are informed) the same hath bene recovʳrd out of the Sea by yᵉ Gouʳnoʳ there resident, att yᵉ great charge & expence of yᵉ said Company wᶜʰ said Comodity (as they beleeve) the Gouʳnoʳ there will lade upon yᵉ Shipp or Shipps sent by yᵉ petʳˢ this yeere for bringing yᵉ Crop of Tobacco of these islands for yᵉ porte of London; Forasmuch as yᵉ petʳˢ understand yᵗ yᵉ importacõn of Logwood is phibited (whereof they conceive yᵉ Gouʳnoʳ there is ignourant) And for yᵗ alsoe yᵉ Adventurers are bound by obligacõn to bring yᵉ sᵈ Tobacco to yᵉ Porte of London only in respect of yᵉ Customes due upon y Comodity, The petʳˢ besought their loᵖᵖˢ that since it is impossible for them in this case to avoyde one of yᵉ inconveniences aforesd, to grante them licence for bringing in of yᵉ sd wood & libtie for transportacõn of yᵉ same wᵗʰin 12 monethes and yᵉ rather for that it fell by such an accident to yᵉ petʳˢ who otherwise would not have pmitted yᵉ same to be done.

Their loᵖᵖˢ upon due consideracõn of the reasons mencõed in the sd petᵒⁿ conceaving that yᵉ petʳˢ in this pticler have not done any thing in contempt of his Maᵗˢ pclamacõn phibiting yᵉ importacõn of yᵉ sd Comodity, but have bene necessitated either to loose yᵉ said Comodity and their charge in recovering the

same or thus to cause it to be brought from the sd islands into the kingdome, did order that the said logwood mencōned in the sd petition shal not be confiscated though brought into y^e^ porte of London, And did further order that the L. Threr & Lo. Cottington Cha. of the Exchequ^r^ shalbe hereby prayed to give order that as soone as the same shall come into the said porte it may be put into safe Custody, and to cause good security to be given by the sd Company that the sd logwood nor any part thereof shalbe sould w^th^in the kyngdome, but that it shalbe all entirely deposited w^th^in 12 moneth after the importacon thereof.

[Indorsed] 12° January 1637. Touching Logwood to bee brought from y^e^ Sumer Islands.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1637–1650.

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THE records of this period are very defective. The Governors appear to have been repeatedly changed, and it is chiefly by their attestations to deeds and documents that they can be traced. The following are the dates for which there is evidence of each in succession filling the post, but it does not follow that these are the precise dates of their assuming or resigning office :—

Capt. Thomas Chaddocke April 10, 1637, to November 1640.

Capt. W. Sayle was Governor Sept. 15, 1641 (*see* Norwood's letter of that date).

Capt. Josias Fforster February 7, 1642, to July 10, 1643.

Capt. W. Sayle second time, September 7, 1643, to Feb. 4, 1645.

Capt. Josias Fforster second time, with Stephen Paynter and William Wilkinson as colleagues. He is referred to, May 1647, as 'late Governor,' and elsewhere as having been 'removed.'

Capt. Thomas Turnor, April 11, 1647,[1] to Sept. 25, 1649.

John Trimingham, Esq. Sept. 25, 1649, to Jan. 1650.

Capt. Jennings is referred to as having been Governor some time before May 1650.

Capt. Josias Fforster third time, November 1650, to Sept. 1659.

[1] The attestation of a Will (MS. Wills, p. 32).

There is reason to think that in the distractions of the Civil War, the Plantation was left much to itself, and that some of these changes were brought about by struggles of parties on the spot, of which records are lost.

1. At an Assizes holden at S^{t}. Georges (Bermuda) the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th dayes of November 1638 being present

Capt Thomas Chaddocke Esquire Governo^{r}
Capt Roger Wood Counsellor of State
Capt Willia^{m} Sayle Sherriffe & Counsello^{r} of State
M^{r} Patrick Copland, M^{r} Daniell Wight } Ministers & Counselle^{rs} of State
Capt^{n} Willia^{m} Seymer Councello^{r} of State
M^{r} Nathaniell Stowe Counsello^{r} of State
M^{r} John Millure Counsello^{r} of Sandys Tribe
M^{r} Hugh Wentworth Counsello^{r} of Warwicke Tr
M^{r} John Ballard Counsello^{r} of Southampton Tr
M^{r} John Trimingham Counsello^{r} of Pagets Tribe
M^{r} Willia^{m} Reynêr Counsellor of Pembroke Tribe
Left Richard Harbert Counsellor of Devonshire Tr
M^{r} Richard Stafford Counsellor of Smyths Tr
M^{r} John Hall Counsello^{r} of Hambleton Tribe
M^{r} Josias fforster Secretary

The Grand Inquest	16	names
Juro^{rs} for Lyfe & Death	12	„
Juro^{rs} for Civill causes (1)	12	„
„ (2)	12	„

Presentments and other offences in the face of the court (*sic*).

(1) Nicholas Jones, did in open Court accuse M^{r} Jerome Ewer that he had received of Thomas Gaplin fiftie pounds of Tobacco for Satisfaction of stolen goods averring that he would prove it by two witnesses which being produced fayled in proofe Whereupon he was censured to ask M^{r} Ewen forgiveness in the Courte and to be bound to the good behaviour the forme whereof followeth 'M^{r} Ewer I have done you open wrong in the face of the Court for which I am heartilie sorrie and doe pray you to forgive me'

(2) Thomas Griffin the Elder for taxeinge the Courte with iniustice was deservedly censured as followeth, that is to saye to lie three dayes in prison which was executed upon him

(3) Arthur Thorne being presented by the minister and church wardens of Warwicke tribe upon suspicion of incontinency with Elizabeth Jenour the wyfe of M^r^ Anthony Jenour was censured in case he could not purge himselfe to doe open penance in two Churches that is to saye in Smyths Tribe Church one Sabbath day and in Warwicke Tribe Church another which was accordingly by him performed there was added further that he should in each church make a publicke acknowledgement of his offence

(5) Elizabeth Jenor was likewyse presented upon the like suspition of incontinencie with the said Thorne & being brought into Court did with many tokens of penitancie and heartie sorrowe voluntarilie & freely confesse y^t^ she had offended God and her husband in that fowle act of uncleanes with the said Thorne And seeing her husband was contented to remitte that her folly & to receive her again into favor, in that she had made a publike acknowledgement in Court, did therefore referre her to give satisfaction to the Church in such manner as M^r^ Gouldinge her minister should thinke meete

(6) Thomas Tooly servant to M^r^ Jenor being presented for being an ayder & helper to their vnseemely meetinges was censured to receive thirtie lashes upon the naked backe at the whipping Poste at S^t^ Georges which was accordingly executed upon him

(7) Nathaniel Andrews presented for drunkenes & for absenting himselfe from the Sacrament was censured to be bound to the good behaviour and to paye five shillings

(8) Maria a negro woman presented for having a bastard & And she fathering it vpon Fforce a negro man; were both censured to receive one and twentie lashies vpon the naked backe, which was accordingly executed upon them at the comon whipping post

2. A Deed of Sale, 1638.

This Indenture made the 16^th^ day of December Anno Dni 1638 And in the 16 yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles by the Grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defender of the ffaith &^c^ . . . Betweene the Governor & Company of London for the Plantation of the Somer Islands of the one parte and Nathaniel Bedell of London Merchant of the other parte Witnesseth That The said Governor and Company by virtue and in pursuite of his late Maj^ties^ gracious Letters Pattents of Grant of the said Islands under the Great Seale of England bearing date the 29^th^ day of June In the 13 yeare of his said Majesties Raigne over England

&c and by Speciall Order of a Great and Generall Court comonly called a Quarter Court of the said Company And also ffor and in consideration of the sum of fforty pounds of lawfull money of England paid by the said Nath Bedle unto Richard Spittie of Grayes Inn in ye County of Middx Gente Have Granted and confirmed and by these presents for them & their Successors Do Grant & confirme unto the said Nath Bedle his heires and Assignes All that his share of land in Pembrook Tribe in the Somer Islds alias Bermudos beyond the Seas cont &c With all houses Ediffices buildings Woods underwoods Trees & all Quarries Mynes & Myneralls, all Waters ponds proffitts comodities or appurts thereof or thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining Which said share of land and prmisses Were by the said Richd Spittye by a Sufficient Deed of Bargaine & Sale under the hand and Seale of the said RS bearing date the 3rd day of May last past before the date hereof Sold unto the said Nath Bedle

And further The said Govr & Compy Do by these presents Grant and confirme unto the said A B Together with the share of land before mentioned All that proportion of the spare land left in comon and undivided for the building of a Towne within the said Tribe Wch shall rateably belong unto the said share of land And also Intercomon of Land in all the little Islands or Spotts of Land Scattered about the Eight Tribes in the said Somer Islands and not appointed to any Tribe att the admeasurement of ye Land as parcell of the same Tribe With all houses Ediffices and buildings All Woods Underwoods & Trees all Quarries Mines & Myneralls aswell Royall Mynes of Gold & Silver as others All Waters ponds and ffishings as well for pearle as for ffish all huntings & Hawkings all Wayes and passages as well by Water as by land all fferies havens and Creeks of the Sea abutting upon the said share And all Royalties whatsoever that do or may any way belong to the Same Excepting and alwayes reserveing to the said Govr and Company & their Successors for ever All Wrecks att Sea of what Sort Soever and all Ambergreese that shall bee found att in or upon the said share or any part thereof To have and To hold the said share of land &c unto the said N. B his heires & assignes for ever To bee held of our Soveraigne Lord the King his heires & Successors As of the manner of East Greenwich in free and comon Soccage and Not in Capite And the said N B Doth for himselfe his heires and assignes Covenant promise & agree to and with said Govr and Company & their Successors to yield & pay unto our Soveraigne Lord the Kings Majties One 5th part of all the Oar that shall bee gotten out of the Gold & Silver Mynes that shall bee found within the said Share for all

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other Services And also to yield & pay one other 5th part of the said Oar to the said Govr & Company and their Successors And Lastly hee the said N. B. his heires & assignes shall not (as much as in them lyeth) Suffer any Wrong or prejudice to bee Wrought to the said Govr & Compy & their Successors in their lawfull Authority rights goods or possessions But Generally shall in All things use his and their true Endeavour for the lawfull Advancement both of the benefitt of the company As also of the Welfare and prosperity of the plantation In Witnesse whereof &c.

3. At a Consell Table 24 January 163$\frac{8}{9}$

(1) Whereas the Governor did appoint Capt Sayle to call parte of the Tribe to viewe a Church path made through Mr Webbs land and vpon their cirtificate, it did appeare that the sayd public path was no preiudice to Mr Webb. Yet not withstandinge Captn Jenninges most insolently before the Gouernor did say, that he would alter the path behind the house, yf he were hanged for it, & would hange a gate to stoppe their passage

Ffor this his stubborne carriage he was censured by the whole table to be comitted to prison without bayle, till he should be sorry for this his insolent behaviour & say that he would not alter the path at all.

And vpon his acknowledgement and humble confession of his fault he was discharged

4. At an Assizes holden at St. Georges the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th dayes of June 1639

(Present the same as in Nov. 1638.)

Criminall causes

(1) The Jury for or Soveraigne Lord the king doe prsent Robert Royley of Devonshiere Tribe in the saide Somer Islands labourer for that he vpon the 26th day of ffebuary last past did by force & armes enter into the Cabbin of Andrew Carre gent, scytuate & being in Pembroke Tribe in the Sayd Somer Islandes & from thence did felloniously take steale and carry away an eleaven Ells of bockerome & one quart of strong drinke price thirteene shillinges of lawfull money of England the goodes and Chattells of the saide Andrew Carre contrary to the peace of our soveraigne Lord the King his crowne and dignitie

To which Indictment he pleaded not guiltie & for his further tryall he put himselfe upon God and the Countrey which

being a Jury of 12 swoorne men found him guiltie, whereupon sentance of death was pronounced against him which accordingly was executed upon him

[The same man was previously indicted for an unnatural offence, but, as almost always happened upon that charge, was found not guilty.]

(2) The Jury for o^{r} Soveraigne Lord the King doe prsent Willia^{m} Rookes of Sandys Tribe in the Somer's Islands labourer for that he vpon the tenth day of January last past did by force & armes enter into a peece of ground seytuate and being in Sandys Tribe aforsayd in tenure and occupation of Gwendoline Jacobson and then and there being did feloneously take steale and carry away in the night tyme of the same day one paire of sheetes price twelve shillinges, the goodes and chattells of the said Gwyndoline Jacobson. Contrary &c.

(3) The Jury for o^{r} Soveraigne Lord the King doe lykwyse present the sayd Willia^{m} Rookes for that he upon the sayd 10th day of January did by force and Armes enter into a peece of ground of Captain Willia^{m} Seymo^{r} gent seytuate and being in Sandys tribe aforesayd & from thence did fellonously take steale and carry away one canvas table clothe worthe fouretene pence the goods and chattells of the said Will^{m} Seymer & also from thence at the same tyme did felloneously take steale and carry away one canvas sheate the goodes and chattells of Phillip a negro woman price foure shillinges Contrary &c

To which Indictments he pleaded not guiltie & for his further tryall he put himselfe upon God & the Countrey w^{ch} being a Jury of 12 sworne men found him not guiltie of the canvas sheete & guiltie of the paire of sheetes & Table whereupon he craved the benifitt of his clergie & was burned in the hand

(4) The Jury for o^{r} Soveraigne Lord the King doe present Thomas Longbotome of Pembroke tribe in the Somer Islandes labourer for that he in or about the moneth of January last past did by force & armes enter into the Cabin of William Johnstone Gent seytuate & being in Pembroke Tribe aforesayd & then & there being from thence did felloneously take steale & carrie away two shirtes of scottish cloth price foure shillings the goodes & chattells of Willia^{m} Johnstone aforesayd Contrary, &c.

To which indictment he pleaded not guiltie.

[Found guilty, and sentenced as above.]

(5) The Jury for o^{r} Soveraigne lord the king doe present William Gyllchrist & Elias ffennall of Pembroke Tribe in the Somer Islands labourers for that they in or about the month of

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January last past, did by force & armes enter into the Cabbin of W^m^ Johnstone of Pembroke Tribe afore sayd & then & there being did felloneously take steale two dozen of thread points, two gallons of aquavitæ, two bottles & a pinte of stronge waters, one goarde of aquivitæ, a certaine quantitie of prunes & two payres of sheetes price tenne shillings the goodes & chattells of William Johnstone aforesayd contrary &c

To which indictment they pleaded not guiltie and for further tryall &c The Jury found Fennall not guiltie & Gyllchrist being his apprentice guiltie within the [value of?] fortie shillings

(6) [The same parties, with Thomas Longbotome, presented] for that they in or about the month of January last past did felloneously & burglariously breake & enter into the Cabin of Andrew Carre Gent sytuate & being in Pembroke Tribe aforesayd & then & there being did from thence take steale and carry away three gallons of Aquavitæ three gallons of burnt clarett one payre of stockins, fife payre of shoes, two bottles of strong water, three parcels of ribbin two dozen of thread pointes one bottle of stronge water, two shillings of money and a certain quantitie of fyshooks price thirtie shillings, the goodes & chattells of Andrew Carre aforsayd Contrary &c.

To which Indictment they pleaded not guiltie & for their further tryall put themselves upon God and the Country which being a Jury of twelve sworne men found ffennall & Longbotome not guiltie and Gyllchrist guiltie of the fellonie but not of burglarie, whereupon he craved the benefitt of his Clergie & was burned in the hand

5. Presentments at the same Assizes of June 1639, & other misdemeanors.

(1) The minister Churchwardens & sydesmen of Sandys Tribe doe present Mary Eldrington the wyfe of Roger Eldrington upon suspition of incontinency grounded on cõmon fame: upon which p^r^sentment she was censured to doe open pennance in the church, in case she could not purge herselfe by the oath of 3 women of credit in the Tribe [1]

(2) M^r^ Richard Joell bound over for drunkenes confessed his fault with many sorrowfull expressions: was censured upon the next misdemeanor in the like kind to be ipso facto discharged of his place of Reading in the Church & thereupon to be bound to the good behaviour

(3) Mary Wellman for taxeinge M^r^ William Reyner to be drunke which she could not prove producing divers witnesses

[1] See note next page.

to that purpose was censured to aske him forgivenes in open Court w^ch she did performe with expressions of sorrowe.

(4) The ministers & church wardens of Pembroke Tribe doe p^rsent Henry Otwell for beatinge & abusinge his wyfe with vnsufferable blowes & vile speeches vpon examination of the dyfferences betweene them it did appeare they were both faultie & therefore were censured vpon the first misdemeanor on either syde the husband to be bound to the good behaviour & the wyfe to be ducked.

(5) Willia^m Trewsdall & Joane Carter presented vpon suspition of incontenency Trewsdall was bound to the good behaviour & Joan Carter censured to be ducked fyfe times in the sea.

(6) Willia^m Robinson & his wyfe for divers disorders were censured, he to be bound to the good behaviour & she to be ducked 3 tymes in the sea

(7) The wyfe of David Lewis for drunkenes was putt in the cage in the Assize tyme

(8) John Bedwell for divers & sundry misdemeanors was censured to be declared Infamous

(9) Samuel Lysle presented for not planting two acres of corne according to the Act Censured to pay 20 lb of Tobacco & bound to the good behaviour

(10) William Smyth presented for ventinge of base Tobacco false made vp in the bottome Censured to stand one houre vpon the pillorie

(11) Elysabeth Potter being questioned for vncivell & vnwomanly behaviour was discharged by the Courte

(12) Edward Bowly presented vpon suspition of incontinency with Anne a negro woman supposed to be the father of her bastard Child; was put to his compurgators & did thereupon purge himselfe[1] & the negro woman censured to receave 21 lashes at the whipping post; which was executed upon her.

(13) Henry Cooke servant to Abraham Vincent complayned against for rayseinge a scandall against his sayd masters wyfe was censured to receive 20 lashes at the whipping post

(14) Symon Prosser for unseasonable correction of his servant was bound to the good behaviour & his wyfe for abusive

[1] Compurgators were persons who swore to their belief of the innocency of a person accused, the number required by law to support his own oath being proportioned to the gravity of the charge. The earliest mention in the Bermuda records of this very ancient and curious test occurs in a letter of Roger Wood's, in 1633 (MS. No. 25), where, referring to some who were vehemently suspected of immorality, he says, 'I put them to their compurgators.' There are no instances of its employment after 1640, although Wager of Law, as it is termed, was claimed in England so late as 1824, and not abolished by statute until 1834. The reader who desires full information on the subject is referred to the learned 'Essays on Superstition and Force,' by H. C. Lea. Philadelphia, 1870.

speeches against the sherriffe & Justice of the Tribe was sentanced to be five tymes ducked in the sea

(15) Roger Dobbs presented for drunkenes was bound to the good behaviour in 20 lb sterlinge

(16) Vincent Sedgewicke presented for that he had slanderously reported that M^{r} John Oxenbridge should speake false Latine in the pulpitt & in a slyghtinge traducinge manner sayd that he had a brother would whippe him about the piggmarket Censured to be bound to the good behaviour

(17) Roger Axeton presented for troubling the court with a base & dishonest action: was bound to the good behaviour

(18) ffrancis Powell & Willia^{m} Olderbead presented for caryinge of burdens to the shipp on the Sabboath day: vpon their expression of their heartie sorrowe for the same were bound to the good behaviour

(19) The wyfe of Arthur Thorne being questioned for useing some speeches tendinge to the scandall of M^{rs} Norwood, as namely that she should be very gratious with a Captaine in England. She confesseth she knew not what Captaine this was, nor when it was, nor in what yeare, nor where, not what was the particular carriage misbeseemeing, nor that she had any sufficient ground to use any such wordes, but was heartilie sorry for the sayd words

And whereas some others upon that occasion had used some words to the like purpose. they did freely acknowledge, that they had noother ground but the foresayd words of goodwyfe Thorne & denied that they had used any other words than those above mentioned. And thereupon it was ordered that yf any should use the like wordes hereafter they should be lyable for Censure

(20) Edward Wolsey & Dorathie Penniston were presented upon common fame for suspition of incontinencie by the grand Inquest & also presented by the minister and church wardens of Pembroke Tribe upon the like suspition whereupon they were sentanced to doe pennance in the Church standing in a whyte sheete duringe divine service making confession of that their suspitious walking In case they could not purge themselves by their owne oathes & two sufficient compurgators

6. At a Counsell Table—June 1639

(1) The Companies order concerning the making up of base Tobaco ordered to be sent vp; and course to be taken for the disorderly goeing out of the Church during divine service and sermon and refusing to be catechised

(2) It was likewise ordered that none should goe out to

shippes sayleing about the coast without direction and warrant from the Counsellor of the Tribe, and the counsellor himselfe to go out yf sickness doeth not prevent

(3) M^r^ Nathaniell Whyte minister haveing by casualtie of fire his kitchen burned: the Shieriffe made a motion for his allowance of some tymber from off any of the Islands, and the country to contribute a hundred pounds of tobacco towards the charge [1]

7. To the Right Hon^ble^ the Lords Comissioners for Forraigne Plantacons. (State Papers, Colonial, 1639–43, Vol. X. No. 30.)

The humble peticōn of the Governo^r^ and Company of London for the Plantacōn of the Somer Islands.

Humbly sheweth

That whereas yo^r^ petitio^r^s have continewed a Company of the Somer Islands by his Ma^ties^ Grant of Corporacōn about eight and twenty yeares, and in this space of tyme have sent thether many Planters, both men and weomen; who are become soe numerous by the increase of children there borne, and servants yearely sent over, as they are not able to subsist in that Island, but of late at severall tymes Have inconsiderately disperced themselves into other parts and especially the last yeare, when about one hundreed and thirty persons have in like manner transplanted themselves into the Island of S^t^ Luzea w^th^out provision or Amunicōn befitting a Plantacōn; where yo^r^ petitio^rs^ understand they have already both bin Assaulted by the Saviges, very much sicknesse and other discomforts, insomuch as there was not one of them in health at the date of the last ltres receaved thence.

Wherefore yo^r^ petitio^rs^ (out of their tender care of the welfaire of his Ma^ties^ Subjects) understanding that there are fouer or five hundred more ready in like manner to depart the Islands and that many more must of necessity yearely depart, by reason of the increase of the people and straitness of the place) Are studious to finde out some convenient place, for the better subsistence and welfaire of those that hereafter shall transplant themselves.

And whereas yo^r^ petitio^rs^ doe find an Agrement made betweene the Company of Virginia and yo^r^ said petitio^rs^ when

[1] The earliest mention of this minister, who afterwards became the leader of the Independents. He was banished by the Royalist Party to Eleutheria in 1649, but recalled in 1652, and resided in Bermuda until his death in 1669, under which date his will will be found. There are entries of marriages performed by him in Pembroke parish register for January 1659–60. (See App. IV.)

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yo^{r} petitio^{rs} purchased the said Islands from the said Company of Virginia, That yo^{r} petitio^{rs} should receave a large proporcõn of Land in Virginia, To be and continew unto yo^{r} petitio^{rs} for ever, in consideracõn of the great defect of the quantity of Land found in the said Somer Islands.

And whereas there is in Virginia a reasonable proporcõn of Land, scituate and being betwixt the two Rivers of Rapahanock and Patowmeck, w^{ch} by good Informacõn your petitio^{rs} finde to be both healthfull and otherwise convenient, not yet Inhabited by any of his Ma^{ties} Subjects, nor any grant thereof yet passed to any.

Your petitio^{rs} humble desire therefore is That yo^{r} Lopp^{s} wilbe pleased to be a meanes unto his Ma^{te} to Grant unto yo^{r} petitio^{rs} the said proporcõn of Land, betweene the Two Rivers of Rapahonock and Patowmeck aforesaid, w^{ch} will much conduce to the benefitt and comfort of his Ma^{ties} Subjects who are to yssue out of the said Islands, and the strengthning of his Ma^{ties} Colony in Virginia

And yo^{r} petitio^{rs} shall ever pray &c

[Note] At Whitehall the 28th of July 1639

Theyr L^{ps} doe pray and require the Subcõmittee for foraigne Plantations to consider of this Petition, and to make Report of theyr opinion touching the same, to the Boord.

Will: Becher.

8. Letter to the Earl of Dorset.

Rt. Hon^{ble} and o^{r} very good Lord. (Same Volume, No. 53.)

Wee the Somer Islands Company have not bin acquainted with any such Complaint as are Intimated in his Graces ltre to yo^{r} lo^{p} w^{ch} we have receaved by o^{r} Deputy, but are altogether strangers to them w^{ch} we conceave could not have bin as is suggested.

The Company have alwayes taken care to have the decipline in the Church of England used in the Islands and in prosecucõn thereof have sent over divers bookes of homiles to be read there and bookes of Cõmon prayer w^{ch} are dayly used in their severall Churches and have given the Governo^{r} and Councell order to see their Comaunds herein performed accordingly as may appeare by o^{r} former lers to that purpose a copie of one of them we here inclosed send yo^{r} Lo$_{pp}$. Soe that we have bin no way wanting on o^{r} part. Neither will wee in any case omitt in o^{r} general lers now to be sent the uttmost of o^{r} power to enjoyne conformity to the Church according to his graces and yo^{r} Lo^{ps}

pleasure knowing that if there had bin any such complaintes made knowne unto the Comp: yo^{r} Lo^{ps} wonted care must of Necessity have reformed the erro^{r} and p^{r}vented his graces desire herein.

If there be any members of the Comp: here that are for nonconformity its more then the Comp: knows of there haveing not bin the least accusacōn hitherto brought ag^{t} any to the Comp: Nor any proposition made in Court that might any wayes tend to favo^{r} non conformity.

Neither doe the Comp: know of any practice used either to weed out conformable or to furnish the Island with unconformable Ministers But contrarily in the choyce of the Ministers sent into the Island a principall inquire of the Comp: is after there conformity to the decipline of the Church of England Neither have the Comp: at any tyme receaved any informacōn of contradiccōn either in the Go^{r} or Councell against the desipline of o^{r} church All w^{ch} M^{rs} Go^{r} and Councello^{rs} except only M^{r} Golding have bin in place there long before the now Deputy was Elected to that place at w^{ch} tyme M^{r} Golding who before had bin commended and approved of the Comp: was also chosen.

And the Comp have desired M^{r} Deputy to waite upon yo^{r} Lo^{pp} and my Lords grace of Canterbury to give further satisfaccōn for himselfe and the Comp: by produceing sev^{r}all testimonialls of Conformity in the Islands according as yo^{r} Lo^{pps} shall require.

Further the Comp: humbly desire his Lo^{pp} will p^{r}sent there humble and thankful acknowledgements for his graces favo^{r} and care w^{t} humble desire that those who have informed his Grace may alsoe acquaint the Comp: wth the gronds of their Informacōn hetherto soe altogether unknowne to the Comp: That accordingly the Comp: may proceed for p^{r}vencōn.

haveing long lyne under the accusacōn they are glad of the oportunity to Manifest there Care in pceeding according to the Churches decipline And to remove the p^{r}judice w^{ch} hath by untrue Informacōn ganed respect in his graces app^{r}hention.

And soe we humbly take leave to rest

Yo^{r} Lo^{pps} much obliged & most humble servants

30 August [1639]

To the Right Hon^{ble} our very good Lord and o^{r} noble Gov^{r}no^{r} the Earle of Dorsett L Chamberlin to the Queens Ma^{ty} &c

[Indorsed] Copie of the ltre the Companie sent to the Earle of Dorsett

9. The 4th of Septemb: 1639. Copie of part of a ltre sent by the Somer Island Companie to the Governor & Counsell there. (Same Volume, No. 36.)

Wee thought good to lett you know that my Lords Grace of Canterbury hath bin informed that a great part of our Companie in Generall; your selfe, the Counsell there, and others here in speciall, are Non-Conformists; and men opposite to the Goverment and Desipline of the Church of England; notwithstanding the care w^ch^ you know wee have taken that the Desipline of our Church should be used in all the Churches throughout those Islands: Therefor, by the Authority derived from his Ma^tie^ Wee doe hereby againe strictly charge require and Comaund you, That you cawse the Orders and Directions w^ch^ wee sent about two yeares agoe to be look'd out, Wherein wee did enjoyne the Booke of Homiles and the Comõn prayer Booke to be read and used in all yo^r^ Churches; The Reverent posture of kneeleing at the tyme of the receipt of the Holy Sacrament, And that the Ministers doe alsoe use the accustomed prayers and Decent Cæremony of signeing with the Crosse in Baptisme. And that yow doe give speciall Order that the same be constantly duely and carefully observed and kept according to our Directions on that behalfe, whereof we pray yow not to fayle &c.

Examined with the Originall lere

By Tim Felton. Sec^r^.

[Indorsed] Copi of part of y^e^ ltres sent by y^e^ Dorset to y^e^ Somer Ilands 4° Septemb^r^ 39.

10. At a Gen: Quarter Court holden for the Somer Island Company in Watlinstreet the 27 of Novemb: An° Dni. 1639. (Same Volume, No. 41.)

Amongst o^ther^ thinges,

The perticulers recomended to this from the former Court being setled, M^r^ Deputy acquainted the Court what had hapned since the last Quarter Court w^c^ hee conceaved fitt for him to impart to this Court Namely That my Lo^ds^ Grace of Canterbury hath bin Misinformed concerning the State of the Company, especially touching the descipline used in those churches in the Somer Islands, and the nonconformity of the Deputy Governo^r^ most of the Ministers and Counsell there and the now Deputy and divers of the Company here, w^ch^ had occasioned his Graces lere to o^r^ R^t^ Hon^ble^ Governo^r^ touching the same w^ch^ lere of his Graces and the paper sent inclosed was now read, upon readeing

whereof M^r^ Caswell said in open Court these words following or to this effect (viz) Some of this I confesse I gave informacon of, And that was That M^r^ Wight (White) was a conformable man, And that the Companie would have sent for him over for noe other reason, But for that he was a conformable man. And at this Quarter Court did avowe severall tymes That the Companie would have sent for him for this only reason and for noe other.

The Court conceaveing this accusacōn might prove of badd consequence to the Company M^r^ Caswell was desired by the Court to withdraw whyle his Cawse was in debateing And being sent for afterward to come into the Court to the end the words as they are now entered might be read unto him, Answere was retorned by the Beadle, that he went away imediately after his goeing out of the Court w^ch^ the Court understood to be a great contempt.

Then the Court put it to the question whether the words as they were now read were not in effect the same words spoken by M^r^ Caswell and by hands it was concluded that they were. M^r^ Roberts Informed the Court That M^r^ Caswell told him that he was the occasion of this ltre from his Grace of Canterbury.

This Businesse being largely debated the Court conceaved there needed noe further or other proofe or Testimony haveing M^r^ Caswells owne confession, But that they might proceed against him Imediately according to the Lawes of the Company yet neverthelesse to the end the R^t^ Hon^ble^ the Governo^r^ might first be acquainted herew^th^ and that M^r^ Caswell might have tyme to acknowledge his Erro^r^. The Court this day by ereccon of hands hereupon Ordered That the full and finall determinacōn of this businesse touching M^r^ Caswell be reserved to the next generall quarter Court to be holden for this Company And in the meane tyme M^r^ Caswell to stand suspended both from sitting or haveing any place or voyce in Court.

Examined p Originall by

Tim Felton Sec^y^.

[Indorsed] Copie of that part of the Court that concernes M^r^ Caswells businesse

27 Nov: 39.

11. An Inventory of the Plate Pewter Ornaments and other things belonging to Port Royal Church in Southampton Tribe in the Sumer Islands taken Anno Dno 1639

One silver cup with a cover, engraven upon it For Port Royal Church

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One silver cupp engraven upon it. For Port Royal Church in Southampton Tribe bought anno Dno 1637
Three pewter fflaggon Potts
Three plate dishes engraven upon them, for Port Royal Church
One Carpet cloak for the communion Table
One Table cloath, two napkins of Holland
One case of Bottles, one basin
One cushion for the Pulpit with a hanging for it
Two other cushions to sit upon.
One Pickax, one chest in the vestry.
One Great Bible, a Book of Comon Prayer

[From the records of Southampton parish of these records only a few torn leaves now remain; they are part of a fair copy made from the originals in 1723.]

12. At an Assizes holden at S^{t}. Georges the 6th 7th and 8th dayes of October 1640 Capt^{n}. Thomas Chaddocke Governor

(1) Four presentments against Black will a negro, Edward Godwin Robert Byshop and Edward Vincent, labourers, for three forceable entries into houses, stealing thence

On or about 31 May, 1640. (*a*) 28 sugar loafes out of a caske then and there being, price nine pounds five shillings eight pence

31 May. (*b*) Seaven old shirts, on skellet, one fryeing pann one clothe suite, one knife three pounds of candles, three butter jar, twelve pound of rosem one cedar barrell one great iron pott one wooden traye one hatchet one musket, one Calyver, one boat, one suite of sayles one kellook rope,[1] one grapple, & two oares price five pounds eighteen shillings and sixpence

(*c*) One dublet one Cassocke, one bible one prayer book one bockerome shirt two payre of shoes one Canvas sheete one hatt, price foure shillings

31 May. (*d*) Two hogges, one foresayle two half tubbes sixe lynes & hookes, one pecke with salt one payre of bellowes & one bible, price twentie shillings

To which Indictments they pleaded not guiltie & for their further tryall they put themselves upon God & the Country which being a Jury of 12 sworne men found them Guiltie whereupon sentance of death was pronounced against them

(2) John Hopkins was likewise Indicted as accessary to the sayd fellonies before the fact done & was found guiltie where upon sentance of death was pronounced against him

[1] 'Killick,' among Bermuda fishermen, to this day, means a heavy stone, enclosed in four or five saplings, and sunk, instead of an anchor or grapnel, for a boat.—J. H. D.

But the Govern[r] of his great mercy & clemency reprived Robert Byshop Edward Vinent and John Hopkins, & caused Blacke Will and Edward Godwin to be executed according to their sentances the 22 Day of October following

To Capt. William Sayle shieriffe of the Somer Islands.

These are to will and require you and in his Ma[ties] name to charge and command you, that vpon receipt hereof you cause Blacke Will a negro and Edward Godwin to be conveyed from the prison vnto the place of execution and there to be hanged vntill they be dead, according to a sentance pronounced against them at the last Assizes And in soe doeing this my warrant shalbe your sufficient discharge

Given vnder my hand at S[t] Georges the 12th day of October 1640

(Signed) THOMAS CHADOCKE

(3) The next indictment is of Blacke Jacke a negro for stealing one dollar of sylver & one shilling of current money one breame line two hookes & three tobacco pipes price five shillinges sixe pence. He was also sentanced to death. 'But in regard the theft was but small, the Governor was pleased to [remit his sentence, and apparently enforced, from his master, a penalty of 500 lbs of tobacco; but only a word or two is legible].'

(4) The next indictments are of John Steward for stealing seaven cheeses price three shillings sixepence. found *not guiltie.* Oliver Pugsbey for stealing one gold ringe & one payre of silk garters, price fourteene shillinges. *not guiltie.*

13. The presentments of the Grand Jury at this Assize, Oct. 6, 1640, may be condensed as follows:—

1	Saunder a negro and his wyfe	Attempt to run away with a Boat	Each 39 lashes on y[e] naked backe
2	Frances Powell	As a horrible swearer and blasphemer	Declared infamous
3	William Williams Church warden	A fighter & abetter of fightinge	Discharged, it being his first indictment

4	Alexander Smythe	Adultery with ffrances Ramsbotome	Both offenders 32 lashes
5	Edward Wolsey an Infamous person	Drunkenness and quarrelling	13 lashes
6	Edward Owen	False accusations tending to the losse of lyfe	35 lashes
7	Thomas Herrick	A comon disturber of the peece a defamer & reproacher a Rybald	Bound to his good behaviour and make acknowledgement in Port royall church.
8	W^{m} Nelmes & Tho^{s} Durham	Concealing a Fellonie	Bound over to next assizes
9	John Reynes	A base disordered fellowe, for extraordinary & cruell correction to a servant whom he had no authoritie over	25 lashes
10	Andrew Cann	For keeping of Drunkennes and disorder in his House	Bound to good behaviour
11	Judith Watkins & ffrancis Richard	For suspicion of incontinency & her for abusing the Church officers	He 22 lashes she '13 lashes above.'
12	Richard Gilbert	Unreverend speeches concerning the person of the king	21 lashes

13	Sarah Layfield a muletto gyrle	Foolish and dangerous words touching the person of the king's majesty	Discharged for that she spake the words being but of the age of seaven or eight yeares old
14	George Wells (Three presentments.)	A man of very base and disordered and deboshed lyfe, a comon drunkard a scoffer of all goodnes & full of reproachful speeches (2) Affronting and abusing his minister Mr Nathaniell Whyte. He finding him drunke did in a myld and Christian-like manner admonish him Likewyse for abusing Robert Rydley Churchwarden	To stand one hour on the Pillorie, to aske Mr Whyte forgivenes in open church and to be declared Infamous Upon Mr Whytes mediation the Pillory was remitted
15	George Porter	For drunkennes	Upon Mr Whytes relation of his extraordinary sorrow for that his fault, the court remitted his punishment
16	Richard Pillye	For a comon incorrigible Drunkard a common & a horrible curser & swearer, & a beastly fellow	Remanded to next Assizes

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14. The Presentments, five in number, of the ministers and churchwardens follow, the sentences being three negro women 13 lashes each; one man 39 lashes, and one 13 lashes—all for incontinency. One man to pay a fine and sit in the stocks six hours for drunkenness, according to the statute.

15. A Royal Proclamation allowing freedom of emigration. Charles R.

Trustie & well beloued wee greet you well Whereas by our Letter bearing date in or about the fowerteenth yeare of our Raigne wee haue signified our good desire to the improvement of some of o^r^ english Colonyes in the West Indies and haue therein giuen some directions for the regulating of diuers of our subjects concerning their remouall from some of our said Colonyes And for as much as we haue received Aduertizement that through a misunderstanding of our intentions in our said letters declared The Gouerno^rs^ of some of o^r^ said Colonyes haue debarred diuers of our subiects from removeing out of the Islands and places where they haue resided vnto other pts of our domynions. By w^ch^ restraint our subiects are depriued not onely of that due liberty of free subiects which wee are gratiously pleased to allowe them but also of those opportunities of aduanceing their estates, w^ch^ in other pts of our domynions might possibly occur vnto them. Wee haue therefore thought fitt hereby gratiously to signifie and declare to all to whome it may concerne That wee intended not by our said letters to lymitt or restrayne any of our loueing subiects, who were free from engagement by debt, seruice or otherwise from remoueing out of the seuerall Islands and places of their residence to any other of the Territories or dominions vnder our protection And doe hereby require all and euery Gouernors Presidents and Counc^lrs^ and other officers of all & euerye the English colonyes and Plantations settled and beeing in the West Indies (vpon notice hereof) to permitt & suffer any of our subiects not ingaged as aforesd to remoue with their families servants and goods from the seuerall places of their habitations and abode to any other English Plantation or other pt of our domynions w^th^out lett disturbance or interruption in any kinde, any former p.hibition to the Contrary notwithstanding . . . And *to the end that this our Royall will and pleasure* may be the better taken notice of and knowne wee would haue these our letters to be registered in our seuerall Colonyes and Islands where they shall

arriue and within convenient tyme published in the seuerall parishes of such Islands Given vnder our signett at our Cort at Whitehall the 20th of June 1641.

This agreeth w^th^ the original, beeing examined by mee

HENRY TUCKER Secretary

16. A true inventory of all the goods and chattels and cattells of Hugh Wentworth late of Warwicke Tribe in the Somer Islands (deceased) apprized by us whose names are here under written as followeth.

[This document, besides its schedule of prices, which if ancient usage resembled modern usage, would be rated low, is inserted as showing the stock-in-trade of a merchant and the environment of a gentleman of good standing —a councillor of state and confidential agent of the Earl of Warwick. It is not dated, but occurs among entries of 1641. Hugh Wentworth's will is dated 9 Decem. 1637.]

In the great chamber

	£		
Imprimis His purse & apparell	44	0	0
Seuerall pieces of plate . .	45	4	0
9 pre of stockings at 3*s* . .	1	7	0
32 yards of poll-davis at 8*d* .	1	1	4
55 ells of canvas at 12*d* . .	2	15	0
20 yards of chamlett at 3*s* 5*d* .	3	3	4
35 yards Lubecke at 8*d* . .	1	3	0
1 new bed ticke, & boulster and pillow ticke . .	1	15	0
2 yards yellow Say		4	6
A remnant of blew linnen & Lubecke . .		5	0
63 ells scotch cloth at 10*d* . .	2	12	6

In an inner chamber

	£		
One bed & furniture . .	4	0	0
2 Ruggs, a coverlet & a blanket .	3	0	0
Curtains & vallance for a bed . .	4	10	0
9 cushions & a carpet . . .	1	15	0
A chist & a trunke			
2 fetherbedds, 2 bolsters & a blankett . .	4	0	0

In the kitchen

In pewter . .	5	0	0
A bedstead & bedding for servants	2	0	0
In brase kettles .	2	10	0
In iron potts .	3	0	0

In the warehouse

2064 lb tob at 2^d^.	17	0	0

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Great chamber (*con.*)

	£		
91 ells of coarse cloth at 7*d* .	2	13	7
13 yards of dimity at 8*d* . .		8	8
28 ells of Dowlas at 2*s* . .	2	16	0
One Piece of crewel? at d° .		11	0
35 ells of dockram at 12*d* . .	1	15	0
3 pieces of broad white cloth .	3	12	0
A quantity of silke, Taffity &c. .	3	0	0
. . . .			

In a lodging chamber

One bedstead & bed with furniture .	4	0	0
A trucke bedstead & bed . .	1	0	0
A Table & frame, 2 wynd formes 2 chaires, 3 wyned stooles, and a chist . .	2	0	0
A paire of Andirons &c in the chimney . .	1	0	0
2 pieces of mohair and a remnant .	8	12	0
1 peece of coarse cloth . .		16	0
4 capps at 20*d* .		6	8
26 yards cotton at 18*d* . .	1	19	0
7 yards blew ditto at 10*d* . .		5	10
8 yards norwich stuffe at . .	1	0	6
10 yards of stuffe at . . .		13	4
10 paire Hollande sheetes & 5 paire coarser . .	7	0	0

Warehouse (*con.*)

	£		
Pipes 11 groce at 22*d*. . .	1	1	8
4 Axes 5 Hoes 2 handbills & wedges . .	1	2	0
An Iron beame & weights . .	.	.	.
157 lb of Rope at 8*d* per C . .	2	12	0
1 Barrell rossen .	.	.	.
2 seruants at .	7	0	0
A lease of land and 2 seruants their times being almost expired . .	.	.	.
A negro man & woman . .	20	0	0
3 cowes, a steare and a young calfe	.	.	.
Mother Lumber & 8 Hoggs . .	.	.	.
Money in England in the hands of Mr Elias Roberts	30	0	0
idem in the lord of Warwickes hands . .	30	0	0
Other debts in money & tobacco rated at 2d the lb. . . .	30	0	0

Lodging chamber (*con.*)	£		
12 Paire of fine pillow beares & 6 paire coarse .	3	0	0
2 Diaper Table clothes, 9 Holland table cloathes 6 course table cloathes 3 doz. ½ diaper napkins 5 doz ½ Hollandnapkins 4 diap. towells			
12 coarse towells	10	10	0
4 Cupboard clothes	1	0	0

Signed JOHN DEVITT
GIBERT HILL
ANTHO GILLEATT.

17. Richard Norwood to the Governor and Company 28 Feb. 164½. (State Papers, Colonial, Vol. X. 1639–43.)

Right Hono^ble

Whereas the yeare past there was a complaint framed, by some here in the country, against the hono^bl Company w^ch was (as I have understood by a principall actor in it) delivered to the Company, subscribed by a great part of the country here: I have heard that my name also was thereunto subscribed, but if it were so, it was counterfeit, for I never subscribed it, nor in any sort assented thereunto, but diswaded others, conceiving it to be in some things unjust, in others unseasonable or doubtfull, and if it had come to us who were then Commission^rs to heare greivances (as was intended by them) I should have done myne endeavour to silence it, that it should have passed no farther . . . .

. . . . Foure yeares past when I came hither,[1] the times were dangerous in England, by reason of many innovations in Religion brought in by the Bishops (the Lord be blessed for that happy reformation w^ch we heare and hope of) and at that time I was in danger my selfe to have bene called in question, w^ch occasioned me to move the hono^ble Company for this place, who were pleased readily to affoard me such conditions as they could conveniently at that present and since you have bene pleased to better it from time to time, and this two last yeares I have received besides the foure shares of land, a yearely

[1] This fixes the date of Norwood's return to Bermuda as 1637 or 1638. He probably left England towards the end of 1637.

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stipend for the more comfortable subsistence of my selfe and my family, whereof I humbly intreat the continuance, and that it may be paid as formerly to my loving kinsman M^r^ Robert Norwood, who will faithfully bestow it for me. I had this last yeare constantly three or foure and twenty schollers, and so have had for the most part ever since I came, sometimes more, sometimes fewer (in this time of shipping and planting they are usually fewer) all w^ch^ will have occasion to blesse God for yo^r^ bounty towards their good education. Yet I know some of our Ministers cast an evill ey on the schoole to hinder it, but I suppose it is cheifly for my sake for the reason before mentioned, and some other that follow; but what they doe in this kind, being for the most part privately carryed, I can say the lesse of it. They have had this last yeare the mayne sway in the government here especially M^r^ Nat: White, beeing also one of the Counsell. Our Governo^r^ Capt Sayle hath bene I thinke wholy guided by them, and executed what they have thought fittest. Whereby we have seene an experimen^t^ here of that w^ch^ very few I suppose in England have seene namely of the superiority or goverment of Ministers or an assembly of Ministers, esteeming the goverment to be theyrs who have the mayne sway in it. But w^th^ what loftines, violence and severity (to say no more) and in what an arbitrary way they have proceeded, I suppose you will heare by the complaints of diverse, though many of them goe now with Capt Chaddock to Trinidad; indeed it is incredible it should grow to such a height in so short a time. . . . .

. . . . It hath bene in use here ever since I came and before to catechise the youth and ignorant people, but the last yeare after the shipp was gone I heard they intended to catechise constantly, all men and women throughout the Iland, and to sett apart a day weekly to that end, and a proclamation came out at that time, something tending to that purpose, but not expressly. And conceiving such a course to have no good warrant I was bold to goe to our Ministers severally, to heare if they had any good reason for it, otherwise (as I did) to diswade them from it what in me lay: and this I never did but once, and that privately, and in as friendly and peaceable manner as I could. Some of them seemed to take it well; (and surely I believe they did till others had incensed them) others, in much disdaine using insteed of better arguments some lofty checks and threats and bitter words; and afterwards the like in their sermons. Mr. Oxenbridge (the most eminent of them all, and indeed a man of much expectation) I spake not with, dwelling farr from me, but there passed sundry letters betwixt him and me about it. Uppon w^ch^

letters, they all thinking to take advantage against me, prevailed with the Governo^{r}, and the ministers having appointed a fast to be holden in Mr. Oxenbridges charge the ninth of September last where they would al be present except Mr. Daniel Wight, I was warned by the Sheriffe from the Governo^{r} to make myne appearance at the house of Mr. Oxenbridge or Mr. Painter, and the day after the fast to answer such things by the Ministers should be objected against me, Before Capt. Sayle then Goveno^{r}, M^{r} Reyner Sheriffe, M^{r} Painter, and M^{r} Joyner Counsello^{rs} and it may be some others, intending it as (as was conceived) a kind of synod. But considering that these were all zealous of that maner of catechising, and out of that zeale myne adversaries, and beeing also advised by some freinds not to come there whatsoever did betide, acquainting me in part with the censure and new maner of proceeding determined against me, as they had certainly heard from some of themselves. I resolved to make mine appeale to the next generall assises, that they might there declare in open court what they had against me, that so their objections and myne answers might be referred to the censure of you the Hono^{ble} Company. And shortly after I went to towne to the Governo^{r}, and did accordingly, Who at last condiscended to myne appeale Wherewith they were displeased (I meane the Ministers) conceiving as they said that the Governo^{r} had done them some wrong to graunt it, but they resolved to prosecute against me at the assises. Now such occasions have fallen out this yeare that there hath bene no assises since. And thus by the gracious assistance of God often implored I escaped that danger, and remayne yet intire in my good name and otherwise, to declare the cause to you the Hono^{ble} Company. Who I doubt not will judge of it according to right. And as you have not hitherto graunted such superiority, nor given directions for any such catechising, (so far as I know) so I verily trust you will not ratify nor allow of it, further then hath bene comonly practised by the best ministers and churches in England. . . .

. . . . The true coppies of the foresaid letters excepted against and other passages of most moment are as followeth.

To his Loving and much respected friend M^{r} John Oxenbridge &c.

S^{r}

Because I have not conveniency of Speaking with you, as wth our other Ministers I have thought good to write, the occasion is this. The manner of catechising all sorts of men and

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women, especially beleevers that have by their lives given good testimony of their faith (as I understand is to be put in practise) I conceive not to be fitt nor lawfull for many reasons.

[Ten reasons.]

April 16th 1641. Yo^rs in love and all due respect

RICH. NORWOOD.

I intreat yo^r answer at yo^r first leisure.

(note to reason 7 ; It is to be understood we heard nothing of the affaires in England from about September 1640 till about the ending of December this yeare 1641)

Some dayes after I had sent this letter, and receiving no answer from M^r Oxenbridge, but understanding by the messenger I sent it by that he seemed much displeased after he had read it; I thought it would be requisite to acquaint the Governo^r Capt. Sayle w^th these things, least there might be anything in that letter offensive to the proclamation by him lately set forth touching catechising, yet beeing doubtfull how he stood affected, I directed it to Capt. Wood, then at the towne, to shew it vnto him. My letter to Capt. Wood was as followeth :

S^r

Uppon occasion of this new course of catechising intended, I went to o^r Ministers severally to speake with them about it; onely because M^r Oxenbridge was farr off I writ to him, the coppy of w^ch letter I have here inclosed; w^ch also is the substance of that w^ch I spake to the rest. I would have written to the Governo^r about it, but that I doubted whether that would be convenient or not. You are better able to judge, and therefore I leave it to your discretion to shew him this coppy or otherwise as you shall thinke most fitting. Howsoever I intreat you that I may understand what yo^r selfe and M^r Wight doe judge of this course. I doe not heare that M^r Wight intends to put it in practise therefore I have not written to him about it, but if he doe, this coppy containes the most part of the objections w^ch rise in my minde against it whereof I should be glad of a friendly resolution w^thout offence, beeing a thing as I conceive altogether new. The catechise which they pitch uppon as I understand is M^r Oxenbridges, w^ch I onely saw in M^r Copelands hand, but never perused my selfe. Thus commending you and yo^rs to the blessed protection of Almighty God, I rest.

Capt. Wood did shew the coppy before said to the Governo^{r} who as I heard, was much displeased at first; but I heard nothing from him. Uppon the 23 of Aprill I received a letter from M^{r} Oxenbridge, w^{ch} was as followeth:

To his duely respected friend M^{r} Richard Norwood &c.

[Then follows the letter with nine queries, dated April 19.]

This letter I received the 23 of Aprill, and perceiving that he tooke some things w^{ch} I had written in the worst sense, I writt to hime againe to excuse those things w^{ch} I conceived might seeme most offensive, the coppy of w^{ch} letter is this following.

[Then follows the letter to Mr. Oxenbridge dated April 23.]

. . . But shortly after knowing that the Governo^{r} had lately been with them all, and beeing as I heard further incensed against me, I wrote unto him as followeth.

[Letter to the Governor, dated April 30.]

Afterwards the Governo^{r} comming into Pagets tribe to the Sheriff, I went to him, and after much speech wth him, he seemed to be very well appeased and satisfied, himselfe also did sometime afterward complaine to me that he had observed an irreconcileable disposition in some cleargymen, wishing al might be buryed on both sides. And thus it rested for three monthes. In the meane time this maner of catechising was received in all parts of the country wth great applause (except in M^{r} Dan: Wights charge) for those that seeme most forward in religion embraced it with great zeale, (a very few excepted) preferring it before all other courses formerly used, even before preaching, and esteeming it a thing w^{ch} God hath brought to light in these last times for the effecting of some great worke in the world. And of the rest I have scarce heard of any throughout the country that have absolutely refused. Some stood out a little at first. So that all things succeeding thus suteable to their desires, I thought their displeasure against me would have been aswaged, but I found it otherwise in them all as was evident upon the first occasion w^{ch} was this.

There was one M^{r} Record and his wife in Smiths tribe (a very christian man and woman indeed, as any that tribe affoards or many others) who disliking this new forme of catechising went to their Minister M^{r} Golding privately, intreating him that they might be spared from that his weekly

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exercise, as not beeing in conscience well persuaded of it. Whereat M^r^ Golding was much displeased; and shortly after they found they had by this meanes lost the good affection of all their principall freinds throughout the country, insomuch as going not long after to a fast, their friends when they came to salute them would start back from them, as from some dangerous creatures and understanding the cause and whence it proceeded he desired to speake w^th^ M^r^ Golding in a peaceable way about it, and trying severall freinds & finding none to goe w^th^ him, he requested me and I went. There (amongst much other discourse) about that catechising it hapened I said that M^r^ Oxenbridge had sent me some frivolous questions, w^ch^ word he tooke very haynously and soon acquainted M^r^ Oxenbridge with it, who shortly after sent me a letter the coppy whereof is this following

[Letter from John Oxenbridge, July 21.]

This I received the 25 of July, and returned an answer as followeth.

[Letter to John Oxenbridge, dated July 29.]

This letter beeing sealed I sent inclosed in a letter to M^r^ Painter, desiring him to deliver it, and that he might be made acquainted w^th^ it, knowing that he and the rest having speciall interest in M^r^ Oxenbridge might be some meanes to moderate his passion, and to persuade him to some better interpretation of my writings. At least I thought that whereas there was a vile aspersion cast abroad against me, as if these letters contayned some erronious and hereticall tenents (w^ch^ was effected cheifly I suppose by that last letter of M^r^ Oxenbridge w^ch^ was foure days comming, and came to me unsealed) myne innocency would be in some part cleared by those w^ch^ should see or heare what I had written, but this (it seemes) tooke little effect, as by their answer appeared. My letter to M^r^ Painter and the rest was as followeth.

[Letter to Mr. Painter, dated July 29.]

These two letters afforesaid I sent the xxix^th^ of July by M^r^ Wilkison, and uppon the xxv of August following I received letters from either of them; the coppy of that from M^r^ Oxenbridge is as followeth, the notes in the margent are my notes uppon it, for I answered it not, having bene twise warned by the Governo^r^ to surcease from answering or writing any more about it, and afterwards againe by Capt Wood from the Governo^r^.

[Letter from John Oxenbridge to Richard Norwood, dated August 3.]

This letter from M^r^ Oxenbridge was not sealed but inclosed in another brought by M^r^ Kesteven from M^r^ Painter, himselfe and M^r^ Wilkison w^ch^ I received the 25 of August, w^ch^ letter of theirs beeing very large, I forbeare to set downe here. In it they labour wholy to justify M^r^ Oxenbridge and that forme of catechising w^ch^ I had objected against . . . . they say (inter alia) that Not long since Hearne-bay beleevers requested their minister to catechise them all, and Capt Parker professed that he would beginne for their example to answer him &c. . .

The same 25 of August, I returned only this answer, both to that letter of theirs and also to M^r^ Oxenbridges, in generall not insisting uppon perticulers having bene prohibited by the Governo^r^.

[Letter from Richard Norwood to Mr. Painter, Aug. 25, 1641.]

. . . But to proceed the same 25 of August wherein I received the letter afforesaid, whilst I was writing myne answer came M^r^ Reyner the sheriffe, by the apointment of the Governo^r^, warning me to make myne appearance at the Overplus uppon the tenth of September following beeing the day after the fast, there to answer such things as by the Ministers should be objected against me. . . .

Some also had begunne to bring what I had done w^th^in the compasse of mutiny, because the country at the first noise of beeing all catechised were somewhat moved; but afterwards all yeilding to it as fast almost as they could desire or expect (some for feare, others for favo^r^, and some for novelties sake and expecting some strange effect of it &c) there was no sufficient ground left for such a censure. But upon the 30^th^ of August I made myne appeale as I have before mentioned and afterwards w^th^ the Governo^rs^ leave was absent from that fast, w^ch^ notwithstanding I kept privately at home. The Ministers were much displeased with it . . . . which M^r^ White did plainely manifest for the next day that he preached at our church after the fast . . . . he took occasion to inveigh very bitterly against those w^ch^ had opposed catechising and private meetings, terming them Perfectests and Enthusiastes. . . .

September 15^th^ 1641 RICH: NORWOOD.

Of these notes I sent one to M^r^ Copeland, and gave one to our churchwarden, and another to our Counsellor, who very

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opportunely the same day or the next shewed it to the Governo^{r} and M^{r} White together at M^{r} Whites house, and thus through Gods mercy prevented their proceeding, w^{ch} afterwards I understood more clearely. . . .

I went to M^{r} White and gave him for the use of his sonnes part of a latine author w^{ch} I had translated into English promising him the rest (w^{ch} I had by me) when they had done wth that; And forbearing all repetitions of unkindnesses which I knew by experience would not be endured I desired that all private and personall grudges or offences given or taken on either side might be forgotten, and we (so farre as might be) reconciled, though not in opynion yet in affection. . . .

I told him I came not to desire them to withdraw their action. So we parted, and so it hath rested wth peace and freindly cariage on either side ever since, untill about a weeke before this shipp called the Charles came (It beeing determined the assises should be holden about the beginning of March) then they beganne to minde me againe by a sermon and also by conference that they intended to call me into question at the Assises unlesse I made my peace in the meane time. . . .

Since the shipp came in they say nothing of it but seeme to be freindly, I heare not now when the assises shalbe, and they have not yet gayned so much power wth this Governo^{r} as they had with the former and I hope he will not be so ledd by them. . . .

Yo^{r} Honno^{rs} in all due observance.

Rich: Norwood.

Sommer Islands this last of February 164$\frac{1}{2}$

[Indorsed] To the Right Hono^{ble} the Governo^{r} and Company of Adventurers to the Sommer Ilands be these DD.

18. The humble petition of Mary Bayley Aprill the 21st 1642

To the right Wors^{ll} Capt Josias fforster Gouernor and Capt generall of theise Islands and to the whole body of the said Councill

May it please your Wor^{ps} to vnderstand that your Petitioner and dayly orator being possessed of a negro woman bought and payed for by your Worpps petitioners husband John Bayley: the said negroe woman haueing played the harlot is lately deliuered of a younge daughter of which shee saith that a negro man of Mr Nathaniell Whytes our minister is the father:

and now after your said petitioners great charge of hinderance the said Mr Whyte affirmeth that he purposeth, if by law he can, to haue the chylde from your said petitioner.

The premisses your Worpps said petitioner humbly prayeth may be judicially and charitably considered: as well whether Mr Whyte may by law (of w^{ch} your Petitioner is ignorant) haue the said childe from her. as also if he must haue it. that he may pay honest satisfaction to your Worpps said petitioner for the great charge of hindrance already past: and also to p^{r}uent future hinderance and charge that hee may forthwith take the said childe from her These duely considered and judicially ordered by your Wors^{pps} Your said poore Petitioner and daily orator shalbe further oblidged to pray God euer to p.tect your Worpps in all your proceedings and affayres.

MARY * * * BAYLEY

Mr Nathaniell White minister the day & yeare above written before the Gouernor & Counsell relinquished his right & interest that he had in the aboue mentioned negro childe. *Teste* Henrie Tucker Secret

19. Articles agreed vppon by the commoners of S^{t} Georges in generall the 10th day of October 1642. The commoners are 18 in number.

It is ordered by the Gouerno^{r} & those aboue named, that not any cattell hereafter shall range or feede in the comon hereafter by them maintained, nor any other whatsoeuer shall p^{r}sume to putt in any cattell or hogges into the Common

It. It is ordered that not any person prsume to gather figgs to drie, brue, or still, vppon forfitt of 100 lb of Tobacco

It. It is ordered that the negroes shall not keepe aboue one pigge or shote at a time on the Comon [1]

It. It is ordered that no pson whatsoever doe p^{r}sume to bete any figgs off the trees with a pole or stick

It. That none prsume to cut any figg trees with axe or hatchet

It. That no pson p^{r}sume to cutt or prune any cedar treese

It. That no comoner shall putt into the Comon any swine vppon halfes for any other pson whatso euer

It. If there bee any swine of any other than Cominers that the said swine shall be forfited to the cominers

It It is agreed by the comoners that not any of them shall putt into the comon at figg time aboue 6 swine

[1] Shote, or shoat, a young swine. The term is still in use in Bermuda.

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Whoesoeuer shall p[r]sume to make breach of any of these Articles is by the generall consent of the commoners to forfitt 100 lb of Tobacco

Teste HENRIE TUCKER Secret:
(one of the signers)

20. It appears by a record of court, dated Sept. 1, 1647 (p. 627), that in the month of May, 1642, a Spanish vessel laden with silver and other valuable commodities was wrecked on the reefs of Bermuda.

20. Lord Mandeville to R. Norwood 18 Dec. 1642.

M[r] Norwood,

I shall be very glad to show my respect unto you in the disposing of the 4 shares allotted to the School at the Somer Islands by Sir Nathaniel Riche. But for the present my employments in the public, deny me opportunity to confer with the Somer Island's Company thereabouts, that upon my understanding of the true state of things I might settle that matter with most commodiousness. At this time I shall only desire you, and hereby authorize you to demand and take the rents of those 4 shares vizt, of 2 in Tho: Durham's hands, of one in Thomas Kemble's hands, and of one bordering on Thomas Kemble's, in the hands of Robert Wethersby.

I hope before the next ships to come to a full resolution herein, but till you have further order, you may continue to receive and dispose to your use these rents, and take care that the same be answered to you with all just advantage. And to testify your receipt of those rents as Schoolmaster in pursuance of Sir Nathaniel's will, by giving the tenants a note to that purpose. And so with my kind recommendations remembered to you, I rest,

Your loving friend

London 18[th] Decr. 1642. MANDEVILLE.

To my very good friend Mr. Norwood at the Somer Islands, These.

22. Richard Norwood, whose dissatisfaction with the government of the Puritan ministers has already been seen (p. 569), petitioned Governor Foster and his Council, March 6, 164$\frac{2}{3}$, to restrain them—inclosing 'an Advertisement

to such here as have care of the conversation of true Religion.' These documents were printed in full by W. Prynne in his 'Fresh Discovery' &c.,[1] but their great length precludes the reproduction of more than some extracts:—

Worshipful and Worthy Governor

I know you are not ignorant of the rent and division here begun . . through your gentleness and forbearance towards the Authors and abettors, it grows very strong and is like to prevail, which I suppose you know not, for mine own part I frame not this as a complaint or accusation. I know they are too strong a party for me or any one man to encounter with—Therefore I have written this advertizement following—

---

[1] A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New Wandering Blasing Stars and Firebrands styling themselves New Lights.

Firing our church and state into New Combustions, Divided into Ten sections, comprising severall most Libellous, Scandalous, Seditious, Insolent Uncharitable (and some blasphemous) Passages; published in late Unlicensed Printed Pamphlets, against the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction and Power of Parliaments, Councels Synods, Christian kings and Magistrates in Generall: The Ordinances and Proceedings of this present Parliament in Speciall: The National Covenant, Assembly, Directory. Our Brethren of Scotland, Presbyterian Government, The Church of England with her Ministers, worship. The Opposers of Independent Novelties and some Seditious Queries, Incitations, Practices, to stir up the commonalty and rude Vulgar against the Parliament, Assembly Ministery: Worthy both Houses, and all sober minded Christians serious consideration, detestation and crying for speedy exemplary Justice on the Libellers and Libels, to prevent our Churche's Religion's Parliament's, kingdome's, eminent ruine.

The Second Edition

Whereunto is added some Letters, Papers, and a Petition lately sent from the Summer Islands relating the Schismaticall Illegall Tyranicall proceedings of some Independents there, in gathering their new churches, to the great Distraction and prejudice of that Plantation. With a Declaration of the Governour's of that Company subjoined.

Published for the Common Good—by William Prynne of Lincolns Inn Esqre.

Take heed therefore that the Light which is in thee be not Darknesse: If thine eye be evill, thy whole body is full of Darknesse; if therefore the light that is in thee be Darkness, how great is that Darknesse Luke ii. 25; Matth. vi. 23.

These filthy Dreamers despise Dominion and speak evill of Dignities. These are raging waves of the sea foaming out their own shame; Wandering stars for whom is reserved the Blacknesse of Darknesse for ever. Jude viii. 13.

London. Printed by John Madock, for Michael Spark—At the sign of the Blue Bible in Green Arbour 1646

The appendix commences with the 'Transcript of a letter lately written from the Summer Islands to William Prynne of Lincolns Inn Esqre relating to the Schismatical Tyrranical and Seditious proceedings of the Independents there. How they lord it over the souls and bodies of those who dare oppose them, how contemptuously they speak against the powers of Parliament, the Church of England and scandalize all others whatsoever who are not of their faction. Which

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the intent and scope whereof is to invite and persuade all to a cessation from setting up any new discipline and government among us, until we have what is decreed by the Honourable Assembly of Parliament. . . or if not, that the Authors would express punctually in writing what manner and discipline of government it is which they would set up. . . For although the great Anti-christ and his children did prevail to persuade some Christain Princes and magistrates that the Government of the church and care of Religion pertained not to them but to the Clergy, and the like is now here preached among us, yet I verily trust you entertain no such false principles For to establish true religion, to maintain it, and to see that the duties of

Gods Providence newly brought to my hands thence, when I was closing up the present Discovery.' This was the letter of R. Beake, p. 615.

The Rev. Nathaniel White, who was then in England, replied to Prynne in a voluminous pamphlet of 170 closely-printed pages, with a title-page as verbose as that of the work in which he was attacked:

Truth gloriously appearing
from under
The sad and sable Cloud of Obloquie
or
A VINDICATION

of the Practice of the Church of Christ in the Summer Islands, in an apologetical Answer unto some Letters and Papers lately sent from the Summer Islands by Richard Beake and Mr Norwood lately published by Master Prynne in his Fresh Discovery of some prodigious New Wandering Blazing-Stars &c. wherein the Truth and that Church are much reproached ALSO, a discovery of the Aforesaid Master Prynne his Fidelity, Credulity, Timerity, Want of Brotherly Charity, in receiving, believing, glossing, and publishing them. As also his Partiality, Fallacy (if not Falsity) in manageing and inhausing them; and last of all his malignity, in exasperating the high and honourable court of Parliament against them, before they have been heard speak for themselves, upon the naked report of Sons of Belial, and enemies capital, Thorow both of which do run (as is hoped) good satisfaction as concerning the model of that Church-way at this time much controverted, touching the way of worship, very commonly misvnderstood, very falsely interpreted, but uery truly called Independent.

Wo vnto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. Isaie v. 10.

He that is first in his own cause seemeth right; but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him. Prob. xviii. 17.

Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera
Æquum licet statuerit, haud equus fuit.

[He who has given a decision upon any matter, without hearing the other side, even though he shall have given an equitable decision, yet he has not been an equitable man.]

Licensed and Printed according to order, Published not for offence but Defence, by Nath White, Bachelor of Divinity and Pastor of the Church of Christ at Summers Islands.

To which is added a Postscript as an Antidote against the poison of ill affected persons that have publikely here reproached the Church of Christ there.

Printed by G. Calvert, at the Black Spread Eagle at the West end of Pauls [1646?]

religion be duly performed to God and man, is almost (if not all) the duty of the Christian magistrate. And this being taken from him and put upon the clergy, he may serve as an officer to execute what the clergy shall decree, but ceaseth in a manner wholly to be a magistrate. Thus commending you to the tuition and direction of Almighty God

I rest your Worships in all due observance,

RICHARD NORWOOD.

March 6 $164\frac{2}{3}$.

23. An Advertisement to such here as have care of the Conservation of True Religion by Richard Norwood dated March 1st $164\frac{2}{3}$

It is and ought to be the principal care of every good christian to conserve the knowledge and exercise of true Religion in himself and others being the one thing necessary. But from this these times have much declined everywhere, and even in our dear native country, so far, as called for a speedy Reformation or threatened ruin And seeing little hope of the one, the latter was justly feared by many, and by myself I confess amongst others, being the principal cause of my coming hither. But the lord has mercifully stayed those fears and given us fresh hopes by the Reformation in so great a measure began by the present Parliament [1] which also they endeavour through many difficulties to accomplish more fully And considering how worthily they have begun, and what great things they have effected above all expectation, we have no cause to misdoubt them or to anticipate their honourable proceedings but rather to attend what shall be determined by them especially considering that we of this place, as we have not been much burdened, except by some Ministers: so now we are altogether unburdened of the Ceremonies and whatsoeuer else hath usually been offensive to good christians in England. For if we should get up a new Government or Discipline and form of Religion her, we must alter it again when we understand out of England what form the Parliament have or shall establish. Some say our Ministers are as supreme heads under Christ of their severall churches here, and not subordinate in these days Ecclesiastical to Parliament or any other power on earth whatsoever, but this opinion savours too much of Anti-christian Pride and Presumption. Others say the Parliament will establish the same form

[1] Known in English history as the Long Parliament, having sat from Nov. 30, 1640, to April 20, 1653.

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that our Ministers will set up here, but these conjectures do much wrong that honorable Assembly, for if the matter were so easy and evident that our Ministers here can presently determine it, then what need the Parliament so long to debate and consider of it? What need such consultation with the ablest Divines in England And why hath there been such difference of opinion touching this matter even amongst the most godly and learned in Christendome for these 100 years together.

[Norwood proceeds to adduce at great length arguments based on many texts of Scripture against instability in religion. He recounts and rejects the arrogant claim of ministers to spiritual authority, proceeding thus:]

and though it be often alleged that we have rare and reverend ministers endued with new light, and that so great that the like has scarce been seen since the Apostles times, Nay, I have heard some, and those of note, prefer it before that of the Apostles, at least in some things. And further that all four of our Ministers concluded of a new discipline and new courses of edification, whereof two being gone into England to agitate the business there with their friends and in Parliament God hath sent another from Providence almost miraculously who was not of their council, and yet doth approve of all their proceedings, and as earnestly press them as the rest[1] Besides say they all the chief professors in the country are for the same: yea the chief authorities in the Island next the Governour. So that all things thus concurring shew (say they) that there is an extraordinary hand of God in the effecting of it: and therefore we ought quietly to yield ourselves to them, lest we resist even God himself.

[Norwood proceeds to argue against these pretensions, chiefly from Scripture, with great moderation and ability, urging all persons]

Not to be so much transported with any glorious pretences of some great temporal freedom and felicity at hand, as to be drawn in any sort from the Church of England, especially as it is now reformed and in reforming, but to know fully of those that would draw us whether they would have us go, and upon what grounds so that we may search the Scriptures, and thoroughly examine those grounds. . .

[1] The two ministers who had gone to England were Rev. N. White and Rev. Will. Goulding; who the minister was who had come from Providence the Editor has not ascertained—possibly Mr. Heydon or Mr. Leverton, ministers in Providence about this time.

[The categorical questions to which Norwood demands an answer in writing are these:]

(1) Whether they mean to set up vestries for every Tribe as formerly they have done, and so to govern the several parts of their charge by several vestries of a dozen men in each vestry whereof the minister to be the chief, and so to enquire hear and present offenders as heretofore

(2) Whether they mean to continue those weekly meetings which they call Loblolly Feasts whereof also the minister is the chief, and what persons shall be admitted to them and upon what terms [1]

(3) Whether they mean to continue that Lordly or Masterly practice of Universal Catechising all men and women weekly, begun here almost two years past, and pressed upon us with great vehemency and that all shall be tied to answer according to that Catechism of Mr Oxenbridges called Baby Milk, or some other.

These practices as they have been used here being as I conceived their own invention and not grounded on the word of God or the examples of the Primitive and other Reformed Churches, nor in the Laws of our Land, but pressed upon us merely by their authority I did in some sort oppose at their first coming up, namely by testifying both publicly and privately my dislike of them and the reasons why, but especially the last more at large, whereunto I was moved by Mr John Oxenbridge, who took upon him to write a defence of this practice of universal catechising all men and women, and of true believers in especial, and to answer the objections which I had made against it.

(4) Whether this discipline or form of religion which they would set up, be the same at all points of moment with any other reformed church whatsoever, except perhaps in Providence where it had no such success as should induce us to embrace it. If they say Yes! in New England! we are very doubtfull of that.

(5) Whether the Discipline be fully set down by any sound Divine and not rather framed by themselves borrowing from several churches and several Divines what will best serve their turn. And whether our three ministers agree in all points touching the Discipline they would have us embrace

[1] This obsolete word, said to be 'used among seamen for gruel or spoon meat' (Stormonth's Dict.) survives in Bermuda in the word 'Blolly,' the local name for the Snowberry (*Chiococcus racemosus*), from the resemblance of the berries to a mess of boiled Indian corn. See more on the subject, p. 616.

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(6) What sword offices and how many officers shall be in every Church and how subordinate one to another. And whether the minister shall not be the chief of those officers, or as it were the supreme moderator or Governor of them all without whom nothing shall be established, and also to have the principal hand in putting in and putting out those officers as they seem to intimate.

(7) Whether the minister and his officers will govern and censure the rest according to some laws, or in an Arbitary way? and if in an Arbitrary way, to whom shall they appeal if they have wrong? And who shall question and judge the Minister if he decline from the truth or be a wicked liver. And whether ther be not like to prove a very tyrannical Government if it come into evil hands as must be pre-supposed

(8) If they will govern according to some laws what be those laws. Whether some already extant or some others which they will frame. And who they be that shall frame these laws. And what shall be the several penalties or censures for Delinquents

(9) What trial in things of importance the party accused shall be allowed. The Common Law of England (to avoid tyranny and injustice, to which the corrupted nature of man is much inclined, and even of Clergymen as well as others) allows a trial by twelve indifferent men, which are honest and free men, of good rank, having no dependance, nor are in fear of the judge nor bear no illwill to the party accused but such as are like to deal impartially and that upon oath. Whether he shall have that or some other as fair a trial.

(10) What things they be which they will undertake to judge of? and whether anything shall be wholly reserved to the judgement of the Civil Magistrate, or whether the party offending, or the matter in controversy shall be punished or judged of both, namely by the Civil Magistrate and also by these ecclesiasical judges? . . .

[Questions of this nature are multiplied to the number of thirty, embracing the moral aspects of schism; challenging novelties of late introduced in the administration of the sacraments; a defence of the Book of Common Prayer, which the ministers were beginning to set aside; the nature of the new obligation or covenant it was sought to impose; and many other controversial topics.]

Is it just or reasonable they should accuse and defame such a one publicly in the pulpit where the party cannot without

offending the congregation and the laws answer for himself, though he be innocent? surely in all equity the accusation, especially of one that is innocent, ought not to be more public than his defence or answer is permitted to be. Is it suitable to Christian charity to use heavy imprecations or cursing against such, and when the hand of God is upon such a man in the way of affliction, as sickness, losses, death or the like to set him out in the congregation by evident and well known circumstances as an adversary to God, and as one God was now smiting to destruction for his opposition against the kingdom and Government of Christ? (as they call their intended Discipline) . . .

RICHARD NORWOOD.

1 March $164\frac{2}{3}$

[The publication of this advertisement brought down on the head of the writer a storm of pulpit maledictions, to which he replied in a postscript bearing date the 30th March. In this he principally contends against the clergy for his right as a layman to meddle in matters of divinity, quoting that eminent and blessed divine, Dr. Sibbes, and that renowned soldier of Christ, Dr. Bastwicke, in his 'Apology to the English Prelates.' This postscript throws no additional light on the state of parties in the Somers Islands.]

24. Secession of the Independents in Bermuda, January 31, $164\frac{3}{4}$. (From Prynne's 'Appendix.' See p. 610.)

Master Nathaniel White, Master Patrick Copeland, and Master William Golding did on the last day in January in Ann. 1643 at a fast day by them ordained and not commanded by any authority to be held, in the Pagetts Tribe, in the Summer Islands in the afternoon of the said day, draw themselves together in the body of the said Church and did then and there publicly manifest and declare, that they the said Master N. White, Master P. Copeland and Master W. Golding, did lay down renounce and relinquish their Office of Ministry in the Church of England, acknowledging themselves to be but private men, yet so as they held themselves to be a church of themselves, and to that end had entered into a covenant among themselves and would be ready to receive into their covenant such as would submit thereunto.

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25. A declaration of the Right Hon: Robert Earl of Warwick Lord High Admiral of England & of all the Plantations belonging to any his Majesties the King of England's Subjects upon the coasts of America, Governor of the company of London for the Plantation of the Summer Islands; And of the said Company. 13 October 1644

To the Colony and plantation there.

As the happiness of a Christian people is ever best advanced by their constant progress in the ways of peace and holiness; so are they in nothing more miserable themselves, and offensive to others than in their uncharitable contention and discord, interrupting the same. We have therefore thought meet, out of our most desires for your welfare to make this ensuing Declaration: wherein first and above all things, we do with all earnestness bespeak all and every one. That in their several places and conditions, they will endeavour by following the Truth in love, to advance the Glory of God and of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

We intend not to anticipate or prevent the Honourable Houses of Parliament, in any their determinations, in matters Ecclesiastical, or Civil, but with Prayer and Patience attend that resolution which it shall please the Lord to direct them unto. And whilst we thus wait we desire and hope that you will do the like. What the thoughts of the Parliament have been and are for all the Plantations upon the coasts of America. The Ordinances of a Parliament herewith sent will abundantly declare; And what our endeavours are for your happiness this writing is a witness, wherein we shall express our desires in some particulars.

We have thought meet for the present to continue the Government as now it stands by commission, together with all Officers and Commanders formerly chosen by us, until we shall get further direction therein to prevent that disturbance which an alteration might occasion, so for the better moderation and improvement of Authority to encourage Piety Goodness and Industry and to suppress Profaneness, Wickedness and Idleness in all sorts of people and places of the Colony. We think it not meet for the present to give any intimation, either to Ministers or people touching the Public Administration of

God's worship, being in expectance of that Directory which the Parliament, with the advice of the Assembly of Divines, shall hold forth according to Sacred Scriptures. In the meantime we desire you would follow Peace with all men and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord, looking diligently lest any man fail of the Grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby may be defiled. As a good means to promote piety, in the minds of all, and to prevent Profaneness, we do in a special manner recommend unto your best care the observance of the Lord's Day, whereon we hope the Ministers will so improve their labours at every Church within their several tribes, that all the people may have the best conveniency to hear the word of God preached: So we also trust that Masters of families will be careful by catechising and otherwise so to instruct their children and servants that all may come to the knowledge of God and of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom rightly to know is life eternal. And that both Magistrates and Masters of families will restrain them under their commands, from careless and sinful expense of that precious time in sloth, idleness or any way to God's dishonour and their own hurt, For your better direction herein, we herewith send you an Ordinance of Parliament. The Company is very sensibly affected with your want of a Minister, and that thereby any particular person or party of the Colony should suffer a famine of the word of God is very grievous unto us. We intend God willing, by the very first opportunity to supply your want herein. In the meanwhile we earnestly desire the Ministers would double their diligence in teaching the Knowledge of God through the land; knowing that as their labours therein cannot be in vain for the Lord: So shall they exceedingly endear themselves unto the good affections of the Company who desire nothing so much as the Salvation of your Souls. For Counsellors, Captains, or other officers as we require all due honor and respect to be given them: So as a means thereof we desire they may be as a Sanctuary and City of Refuge to all such as love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity improving all their power and authority as for the securing of the Islands, preserving of Peace, and promoting the power of Godliness in all places and persons; so for supressing of all manner of sin and wickedness. And for that Tippling houses, Idleness, and ill company are those Anvils on which Satan, with our own lusts, forgeth out all manner of sin and wickedness: We desire great care be taken to prevent the same. That so by the officers faithful performance of their duties in their several

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places, the people being kept in peace and amity the multitude of Indictments and Presentments commonly brought to the Public Assizes may be prevented. And though we would not encourage Appeals, which prove so troublesome & chargeable to those that make them, yet in that case we shall expect to receive from the Public Officers whatever may clear the business to us, who by God's grace, according to the merits of the cause, without respect of persons. In all causes wherein oaths are administered we desire great care may be taken to inform both Jury and witnesses of the horrible sin of perjury, with the dreadful severity of God's punishments thereon. That so they may not venture to swear but in Truth, Judgement & Righteousness. We had good hope that ere now, by the small quantity mean condition and short returns you have found of Tobacco you would have been put upon that diligence and industry, which might have introduced some more profitable & staple commodity; whereunto as we formerly have, so we are still ready to afford all possible encouragement & assistance. We shall now desire all those that have made any essays therein, with such others as have Affection thereto, That they would improve their best observations and experience to find out somewhat which may be of more benefit to you & satisfaction to us which as we shall accept as an evidence of affection to the Public good. So, we shall consider of some way for compensation according to their charge and endeavours therein.

We have just cause to complain of the wrong we have suffered in the case of wrecks, not only by mere private persons but also by Public Officers & truly we are much troubled to find so great injustice among you, as might occasion us to invoke that law, which in great favour, allows a Moiety to the Recoverers, we shall expect and hope for better Accompts than yet we have received, both of that which lately happened and what hereafter may.

We have seriously considered of the want of Linen Cloth and other necessaries by the public letters intimated to be in the Colony; which seems the more strange unto us, when we hear the Adventurers declare that of great proportions of goods which they have sent you they have received very short returns. If there be a scarcity we concieve it ariseth from yourselves, whilst Factours are so unfaithful in making returns; private persons so backward in paying their dues; Public Officers so remiss in administering Justice herein, & all or most so desirous to trade rather with strangers than with the Company, which appears by keeping their Tobacco until our ships be come away, whereby both the Merchant is dicouraged from sending

& the Company prevented of the duties. If any complain that the Adventurers or their Factours do overprice their commodities, we fear your slow payments are accessory to that error, which we are so far from excusing that, when you have taken order, that speedy returns be made, we shall endeavour, what is in our power, that no oppression be used. And because we would remove all colours of complaint, we have desired particular Members of our Company, that they will at present send such proportions as may supply your occasions; we hope they shall receive such returns by this ship, as may both manifest your good Affection & encourage their future Adventures.

We are not unmindful of your desires for a free trade, which you have both intimated to us and sought for from the Governors with you: But the truth is: for the present the constitution of the Company, the Obligations upon them, and the propriety of the owners are such, as be inconsistent with that freedom of Trade, which is required.

When upon a serious consideration of all particulars with a disengaged respect to the common good, it should appear that what is required is according to right and justice, & such as the Company can in faithfulness assent unto, you may rest assured. That we shall be most ready to manifest our affection to any Liberty or Privilege which is for the good of the Colony. In the meantime whilst we concur in allowing freedom of trade to such proportions of Cattle, Hogs, Fruits and other provisions which may be very well spared without damage to the Colony, danger of Famine, prejudice to the poorer sort, or preventing the owners of their dues; and until further order, hence, only restrain trade for Tobocco, which (as necessity compels) we do hereby absolutely prohibit; that so both we may receive our Rents, & by the duties thereupon the Ministers may have their exhibitions, Ammunition and other necessaries for the safety of the Islands, satisfaction of the Officers there & the charge of the Company be provided for we hope no man will find just cause of offence.

But however we desire to approve ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God, & so carry on all matters, as that we may be free from each man's wants & from the neglect of any thing which is in our power to procure for the good & happiness of the Colony, whereto as we in nearness of relation so we desire to manifest our good will & affection in every kind of way.

We shall conclude with that of the Apostle. Finally Brother fare thee well, be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace & the God of love and peace shall be with you.

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Given under the hands & Common Seal of the Governour & Company at a general Court the 13th of October 1644.

Warwicke, Governor,
Arthur Wodenoth, Deputy,
Perien Trott, Husband.
Wil: Say and Seale.
Thomas Allen, Treasurer.

Gilbert Gerard.
J. Danvers.
Ben: Rudyerd.
Rich: Knightley.
Cor: Holland.
Jno: Heydon.
Anthony Wither.
Edw: Carter.
Owen Rowe.
Gabriel Barber.
Rich: Casewell.
Gideon de Lawne.
Maurice Thompson.
Francis Allein.
Jno: Johnstoun.
William Jessop.
John Graunt.
Robt: Cotymor.
Will: Felgate.
Geo: Turberville.
John Alcock.
Rob: Haughton.
George Prynne.
Anthony Pennystone.
Elias Roberts.
John Weldon.
Willm. Webb.
William Burgess.
Nath: Hawes.
Thomas Turner.
George Ward.
William Price.
William Wilkinson.
Joseph Todd.
Michael Evans.
Richd: Hunt.
Abraham Sheeres.
John Bardwell.
Chas: Colley.

Order of the House of Commons, 16 Oct. 1644. Commons Journals, Vol. III. p. 667.

Whereas a Schedule of Goods desired to be shipped out to the Summers Islands, in the ship Dorsett, whereof Captain James Crannage is master *videlicet*

Forty Dozens of shoes
Forty Hundred hard soap
One thousand ells of red Cotton
Ten thousand ells of dockram & canvas
Five hundred ells of Holland
Two hundred pounds worth of Haberdashers wares
Fifty pounds worth of Grocers wares
Twelve barrels of Powder
Iron ware of all sorts to the value of thirty pounds
One tun of wine
Two tun of strong waters
Thirty dozen of stockings
Fifty dozen of wool cards
Two hundred gross of Tobacco pipes
Thirty pounds worth of silk ware
Twenty dozen of canvas suits
Fize dozen of Hats
and Ten dozen of *Monmouth* Caps

was this day read in the House of Commons and

Ordered That they be freely transported to the Summer Islands, without paying any custom or assize; with caution that the above named commodities be not employed by way of merchandize to any other place. Provided that the said Captain, and all other officers and Passengers in the said ship, do take the National Covenant before they be embarqued. To be given by M[r] Musgrave of Gravesend. And

It is also *ordered* That a Letter be written from the committee of the Lords and Commons for the Somer Islands Plantations, to the Colony there

26. Robert Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral of England and of all the kings Plantations upon the coasts of America, Governor of the Company in London for the Plantation of the Somers Islands. [A Declaration dated 23 Oct. 1644, preserved in the Public Record Office, *abbreviated.*]

In ecclesiastical and civil matters it is not intended by the Company to anticipate the determinations of Parliament. The Government, as it stands, will be continued for the present The public administration of God's worship, catechising children and servants, and strictly moral and religious teaching particularly enjoined. Great care to prevent tippling Houses, idleness, and the horrible Sin of perjury Every possible encouragement and assistance will be given to the production of staple commodities Special instructions are given in case of wrecks The desire of the people for free trade has not been overlooked, but, for the present, the constitution of the Company and their obligations are described as inconsistent with that freedom of trade which is required

Signed by Warwicke Governor, Will Lord say and Sele and 42 Others (C.P. p. 326)

27. The following generous donation is due to that Colonel Jackson, alluded to by Norwood, p. 595, who was mainly instrumental in the conquest of Jamaica. A *facsimile* of his vigorous autograph is subjoined.[1]

Knowe all men by these p.[r]sents that I William Jackson doe promise to giue vnto and for the vse and maintenance

[1] Jamaica was invaded by Colonel Jackson with a force from the Windward Islands in 1648, when he took St. Jago de la Vega sword in hand, with a loss of

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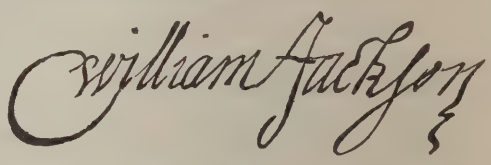
of a Schoole for y^e^ edifying of poore children the summe of one hundred & fifty poundes to be disposed of by the Gou^r^nor of the Islands and the generall Assembly of y^e^ Inhabitants. Now know yee that I the aboues^d^ William Jackson doe promise to pay the aboues^d^ summe vnto Capt William Sayle Gou^r^nor of the said Islands att or within three months after my safe arryvall in London, for w^ch^ payment I haue giuen vnto the aforesaid Gouernor three Bills all of one tenno^r^ for the payment of y^e^ sayd summe to whom hee doth consigne them In witness whereof I haue desired of y^e^ gouno^r^ that this might be entered in the booke of Records

Witness my hand this 20th of January 164$\frac{4}{5}$



The same Capt^n^ Jackson sells to Mr Bartholomew Preston one Barke of the Burthen of fourscore tunnes which shipp was belonging to Bristoll, called the Charles of Bristoll, taken by Capt Robt Taylor by comission and sould by him to Jackson. The price is not stated

28. Instructions giuen by mee M^r^ Will^m^ Berkley unto Capt^n^ Tho Cromwell chiefe comander of y^e^ good shippe called y^e^ Anne & also vnto Lewis Morris Lieutenant of y^e^ sayd ship for this p^r^sent voyage being bound for a man of warre Vnder the commission of y^e^ Ri : Hono^ble^ Rob^t^ Earle of Warwick : this 12th of ffebr. 164$\frac{4}{5}$

Impr^s^ if it shall please God to take you Capt Cromwell away by death, then none to bee chiefe commander in yo^r^ place but Lieu^t^ Lewis Morris

Secondly what goods so ever you shall take If you do not thinke fitting to send them for the Sum̃ers Islands, you may

forty men, and having pillaged it of everything valuable, received a considerable ransom for sparing the houses. He then retreated to his ships, and carried off his booty without interruption (Bryan Edwards, 'Hist. of the West Indies,' i. 137). This is probably the victorious expedition referred to by Norwood. He appears at Bermuda in January 164$\frac{4}{5}$ as a dealer in negroes and indians on behalf of the Earl of Warwick; according to Norwood, with a force of about 500 men. (See p. 596.)

dispose of them for y^e best advance of y^e voyage, sending mee a just and true accompt of y^e same as soone as posible you may, and also delivering to mee or my assignes my part of y^e same

Thirdly after ye determinacon of y^e sayd voyage you shall returne to ye Sumers Islands & then and there giue vnto me a true accompt of yo^r sayd voyage, deliuering my part thereof vnto me or my Assignes.

Captain T. Cromwell and Lieut Lewis Morris give Bonds in £200 each (recorded in Latin) for the performance of their engagement. [The same 'Anne' is recommissioned 22 Sept., 1846, Capt. Gyles Marsh and Lieut. Henry Trall.]

29. Richard Norwood 14th May 1645 To the Right Honno^ble the Governo^r and Company of Adventurers to Summer Islands. (State Papers, Colonial, Vol. XI. No. 7.)

Right Honno^ble

I received yo^r letter by this shipp called the Dorset Also I understand from Rich Jaunly, servant to my kinsman Capt Rob: Norwood (himselfe being in the Parliaments service in the west parts of England) that he received of you a yeares sallary, who sent me a supply accordingly, and something over as my kinsman hath formerly done, whereby I am indebted to him, I give you humble thanks for this as for all other encouragements you have formerly vouchsafed, and desire that the residue which is behind may also be paid to my kinsman, for my use and his satisfaction. I have at present neare twenty schollers and am to have some others shortly, w^ch though they be not many yet comming for several things, as some for Grammer, some for writing and Arithmeticks &c, and many of them unconstant, as their friends can spare them, they goe for the most part in severall formes; and so require as much labour of the Teacher, as forty that goe in a more uniforme and settled course, where many goe together in one forme. I have and shall use my best endeavour (whether I have many or few and they constant or otherwise) that they may proffit, and have occasion to blesse God for your christian care and providence in their behalfe. Although I have certainly understood, that some have informed you to the contrary: and since the arrival of this shipp they have had their Agents here (men that never put a scholler to me nor are able to judge what I doe) who have laboured to draw others to joyne w^th them to make complaint to the Commissioners

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here against me, insinuating as if you were so minded; but they could prevail w^th^ none, and so thought it not good to appeare of themselves. . .

Not long after, another shipp comming in wherew^th^ M^r^ Oxenbridge purposed to come home for England, he w^th^ other of our Ministers, brought me his defence of universall catechising requiring myne answer to it, that he might have it w^th^ him into England; w^ch^ therefore I made, and sent you both his and myne about June 1642; Against w^ch^ I know not of any exception or offence that is taken, and so forbeare to speake further of it.

Towards the end of the same yeare some here begann to preach so bitterly against the Church of England, as I could scarce endure to heare it, exhorting and requiring us also under heavy penalties, and threats to abolish the discipline and order that had bene established and used, and to submitt ourselves to such as they would direct us in, according to some new light w^ch^ (as they said) they had. . .

I writt that Advertisement, advising that having already cast off those things which were most offensive we might stay for a full reformation till we should heare out of England what should be decreed by the Honno^bl^ Assembly of Parliament Or if we might not doe so, yet that we might know fully and perticularly this new discipline w^ch^ they would have us embrace. And to that end moved there about thirty questions, touching the thing w^ch^ they had delivered, and not well explained, nor even to this day; sending them first to the Governo^r^ and Counsell w^th^ a letter touching the same. Shortly after the Country were about to petition the Governo^r^ to the same purpose, namely that we might stay for a full reformation till we should heare out of England &c. W^ch^ petitions many had subscribed. . .

. . . I forthwith drew an imperfect form of a petition, w^ch^ Capt Jennings of Sommerset who was then Counsellor there requested me to lend him, promising to returne it me safe, and that no man should see it, for I had not drawne it in all things to myne owne minde as I told him. But he after he had it (unfaithfully) carryed it to M^r^ White (w^th^ the Advertisement) and so there was no other use made of it that I know. Now touching those words in it w^ch^ some here thought oversharpe and took offence at I have formerly written, neither could I hope to prevaile by milder words. In all these things I endeavoured to discharge a good conscience towards God and my faithfulnes to you the Honno^ble^ Company hoping you would well accept of it for we heard not from you till three or four monthes after. And then (in October 1643) I sent you these things.

. . . I suppose it is not altogether unknowne to you that this whole country almost consisteth of two partyes, the one of those that embrace or well approve the independent way here begunne, and these doe all adhere to Mr. White as their principall (w^th^ his peace be it spoken, as I thinke he will take no offence at it, beeing so notorious and well knowne as it is) and amongst these also seemes to be a great part of those that are truely religious; not but that there are also diverse as truely religious and as sound christians that stand out and are against it. The other party (w^ch^ is farre the greater number) is of those that hold to the former discipline here used, untill the Parliament shall order otherwise; And these for the most part adhere to an old gentleman here, who (as an understanding gentleman of this Comp. once wrote) knowes how to use them to his owne ends;[1] And there are few in the country but seeme to adhere either to the one of these or to the other. It is my hard lott (and some others also) to have the favo^r^ of neither of them, because I cannot fully conforme to either of them; whence chiefly it hath come to passe, that I who in England scarce ever had sute against any man, or any man against me; have here scarce ever bene free from suites and troubles, though I have wronged no man. . .

Of late when there came in here the valiant and victorious Generall Capt^t^ Jackson, after his voyage through the West Indies for this voyage alone doth I suppose sufficiently warrant this title. Wherein also he hath shewed what might be done in the West Indies. I confesse I was very doubtfull how thinges would goe till he had bene here some time, and that I had some acquaintance w^th^him, much more should I doubt some others. . . .

But that I have no such freinds here whom I should labour so much to gratify may appeare by one sadd accident that hath befallen me of late. . .

I have a daughter here of moderate and good endowments of body minde and education I praise God. Here came in a Chirurgeon one Jeames Witter an Irishman as now too late we understand, who after a yeares impetuous importunity overcame her to yield her consent in marriage shee beeing yong and scarce knowing what marryage was. . .

I gave him diverse sharpe repulses such as I thought would have broken of all. But at last by his faire and glozing carryage (w^ch^ he can marveilously dissemble) he deceived almost the whole country and prevailed so farre w^th^ me that I confesse I had thoughts and purposes to give him my full consent, and to bestow her on him in marriage yet retayned that power still in

[1] Probably Rev. P. Copeland.

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my hand to the last beeing jealouse of some things w^ch since have fallen out too true. But before the time w^ch I had determined shee beeing invited to a wedding about 8 miles off Capt Wood did there give her to him in the church in marriage w^thout my knowledge or consent, and so they were marryed by the Reader authorized to marry. If it had bene deferred but two dayes longer I had heard that w^ch would quite have broken it off Capt Wood seeming then to be my loving friend and that done w^ch could not be undone. . .

We were also certainly informed by Capt Cromwell M^r Morris and others frequenting his house (Jeames then constantly lying there) that he was the man that did animate and counsel him against us. What his intentions of good might be in it I know not, but am very sensible of much evill that hath come of it. But this man assoone as he was marryed instead of a love-sick wooer that would dy if denyed; became the most domineering tyrant over a wife that I have heard of, and I thinke the like hath scarce bene seene amongst Englishmen, for proud harsh and austere carryages, bitter and reviling words, heavy blowes, grievous threats against life and limmes, and other cruell usage w^thout any provoking word or deed on her part as hath bene manifested before the Governo^r and Counsell. And to the intent all men might allow of what he did and account her worthy to be so used, he went from house to house reproaching and defaming her as if she had been a common harlot: And when I laboured by good perswasions first by my selfe, after by some friends to reclayme him, he forsooke my house and his wife in a spightfull and disdainefull maner. All w^ch was afterwards manifestly proved by his owne confession and otherwise before the Governo^r and Counsell the 17^th of October last, they having then bene marryed three monthes. Where also her innocency in all things by him objected was cleared, and that shee had never provoked by word or deed or given the least occasion for any of the things before mentioned. At w^ch time also he pretended to be sory for what he had done, and promised it should never be so any more. Yet afterwards when General Jackson came in w^th I think about 500 men, some of them that had known him heretofore reported before they were come into the harbour that he hath another wife and a child or two, w^ch rumor he used much dilligence to suppresse, though some of them did plainly intimate so much to us afterwards, as they heard from them who had knowen him. . .

At that time also, to set some collour uppon his defamations, that the men of warre and all others might beleeve them, and to have something uppon Record against my daughter, he warned me and her before the Governo^r and Counsell the 13^th

of January last, where he had suborned & procured 5 or 6 witnesses to prove some suspition of dishonesty in my daughter; who beeing severally examined by the Governo^{r} and whole Councell then present were found to be false and frivolous. . . He also moved this Counsell table that he might carry my daughter out of the country, w^{ch} not being granted unlesse shee would consent, he mett her the next day as she came from a neighbo^{rs} house where shee had bene at worke till towards the evening, and did violently hale and carry her above half a mile (tearing her apron in pieces; who had never given her that nor any thing of that vallue since he had her) to the house of William Williams where he kept her prisoner in a domineering and tyrannous manner 2 or three houres, until by help of the woman of the house she made an escape from thence. . . . The officers here unskillfull in the law, durst not rescue her out of his hands supposing they have no power so to doe. . . He went to sea wth Capt Cromwell a man of warre, and (w^{ch} was never permitted in this place before) left her no maintenance, though the Governo^{r} earnestly persuaded him, onely gave her 5s in his will to cutt her off from any thing else. I had a most wearisome time of it, and it was a great distraction from my schoole, and so many months together, from time to time to be warned by him, sometimes before the Governo^{r} and Counsell, oft times before the Governo^{r}, sometimes to have a warrant served on me by the Constable at 8 of the clock in the morning, and I my wife and daughter to be at towne by one in the afternoon to answer to his complaints, being 8 or 9 miles off; so as I was driven to yield to him almost in whatsoever he would. . . She made her humble appeale to the King and Parliament conceiving them or whom they should assigne to be the onely judges at present of such cases and so desired to goe for England wth those shipps then ready to goe. . . This Appeale was presented to the Governo^{r} the xxijth of January last. But the Governo^{r} would not permitt her to goe for England unlesse the said Jeames Witter would give her leave, and that I should bring a note under hand for that purpose. W^{ch} though I could not hope for uppon reasonable termes yet I sought him, but by reason of the unconstancy of his lodging at that time I could not speak wth him till the xxvijth of January w^{ch} day the shipps were to depart. Then after long debate, at last he condescended to give her leave to goe uppon such conditions as himselfe pleased, and then prescribed, and with a note under his hand for that purpose. But before we had fully done we had certaine news brought us where we then were at M^{r} Joyners, that the shipps were all gone out to sea two houres before.

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And so I was frustrated after I had granted him all that he required, onely I had such a note under his hand and the Counsels witnesse to it. . .

Besides this affliction and such others as he then reckoned upp befell me not in that way but long after, namely since uppon the receipt of your letter dated February the 25 1642 I resolved to surcease from opposing any thing that was or should be introduced here though I conceived it to be erronious. . .

For you may be pleased to understand, that not long after the foresaid xvijth of October when the Governo^{r} and Counsell had the hearing of the matter before (I suppose) that he had taken ill counsell; he did voluntarily in the presence of the Governo^{r} make over to me in goods and debts to the vallue of neare £30 sterling for her use and maintenance, he beeing then to goe to sea wthin 3 weekes, though the voyage was still deferred till about three monthes after; besides he then made me a letter of attorney for her use for whatsoever goods he should send hither or to any other port with a bond of £500 not to revoke it or any other wayes to defraud her; But afterwards he pretended that he would not goe the voyage, and came and demaunded those goods back againe, w^{ch} if I would not returne he would by a warrant from the Governo^{r} take my daughter out of my house and if shee would not consent he would have me thrust her out of my house, and leave her to his disposing, and so gave me a day or two respite to consider w^{ch} I would doe. I considering the imminent danger wherein she should be, and moved wth her lamentable moane frights and feares, and having no other remedy was content to let him have his goods back againe; and so he had some at one time and some at another; onely there remayned about one halfe in M^{r} Bercklies hands for hides by him bought when shee made her appeale for England, and then he would not graunt her leave to goe unlesse I would give him a note to receive that residue in M^{r} Bercklies hand, and also surrender his foresaid letter of Attorney and bond; All w^{ch} (having no other remedy for the safety of my child and myne owne peace) I did there in the presence of M^{r} Joyner Counsellor. I had then a note under his hand that I might send her for England or otherwise dispose of her as I would for her comfortable subsistence wthout any molestation from him provided he might be at no charge wth her, but having no security for this but his hand the foresaid letter of Attorney and bond remayned in M^{r} Joyners hand till he should give me sufficient security, w^{ch} he never did. But whilst this was finishing the shipps then here were gone to sea as aforesaid; And so though I had parted from all, and something more of mine owne, I have little security of peace or safety more than before.

Yet I have not sent her for England by this shipp, because we now heare the troubles to continue there, as grievous as heretofore. . .

Yo^{r} Honno^{rs} in all due observance

RICH: NORWOOD

Summer Ilands this xiiijth of May 1645.

Post-script: According to yo^{r} directions to our Governo^{r}; I divided the tenn shares in Pagets tribe into two equall parts, by a line passing from the north sea at Crow-lane to the sea on the south side; w^{ch} was done uppon the 21 and 22 day of March last, there being present our Governo^{r} Capt W^{m} Sayle, M^{r} Wilkinson, M^{r} Reyner the Sheriffe and the tennants of this land, who staked and marked out this line all the way. And after they were devided, lotts were fairely cast then and there, and so by lott the Eastermost five shares fell to the Right Hono^{ble} my Lord Say & Seale, and the westermost five shares to the Wor^{ll} M^{r} Allexander Pym. But before these lotts were cast it was agreed, that if one of these parts were better stored wth timber then the other, there should be a supply made of timber out of that better stored to the other, so much as should be judged equall.

It is almost thirty yeares since I surveyed this country and laid out the shares here w^{ch} hath so remayned to this present. But some part of the lines almost in all the shares in the country are cutt away, and these have need to be new marked. Also here were some things done by others, during that 20 yeares I was in England, where some grosse erro^{rs} have been committed. I have also heard. you desire to have a note of those which are Adventurers at present, and their shares. If you please to give order, I shall survey all rectifying and perfecting what is amisse or defective, and send you a plott of all, as I shall now find it.

Wthin a weeke or thereabouts, after the arrivall of this shipp, there was a rumour spread through the country that I was to be put out of the schoole, for neglecting my schollers and that the Company or some of them had sent directions, that those in authority here should heare and certify such complaints as should be made against me. And so a doore was opened to all that were so minded. I have not endeavoured by word or deed to stopp any man from it. Notwthstanding (the Lord so ordering the hearts of men) there hath no man made complaint against me that I have heard of. . .

14th May 1645.

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30. Act of the Long Parliament 4 November 1645 for the establishment of freedom of worship in the American Plantations and especially in Bermuda. [The petition to which it refers, which must have emanated from an inconsiderable party, principally of new comers, being entirely opposed to the sentiments predominating in the country, has not been preserved.]

Pie Lane, 27 October, 1645.

Uppon a Petition of dyvers inhabitants of the Somer Islands, It is ordered by the House of Commons that the inhabitants of y^e^ Somer Islands & such others as shall joyne themselves unto them, shall without any molestation or trouble haue and enjoy the libertye of their Consciences in matter of God's worshipp as well as in those pts. of America where they are now planted, as in all other pts. of America where hereafter they may be planted, vntill this howse shall otherwise order. And it is further ordered that it be referred to the Committee of Lords & Commons for Plantacons to see this order put in due execucon.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. Com. Com.

This is a true copy of y^e^ original.
Examined by me Henry Smith *Secret.*

Whereas the right hon^ble^ the Lords and comons now assembled within the kingdome of England haue by an Ordonance of both their howses bearing date the second day of Nouemb. anno Dmj 1643 constituted and ordeyned Robert Earle of Warwicke to be Gouerno^r^ in chief and lord Admirall of all those Islands and other Plantacons inhabited planted or belonging to any his Ma^ts^ the king of England's subjects, or which hereafter may be inhabited planted or belonging to them within the bounds and uppon the coaste of America. And have joyned in ayde and assistance with the sayd Earle of Warwicke for the more effectual speedy and easy transaction of soe important & weyghty a buysines dyuers commissioners being members of both the sayd howses respectiuely (that is to say) Phillip earle of Pembroke & Montgomery Edward earle of Manchester Will^m^ Viscount Say and Seale Phillip Lord Wharton John Lord Robbarts Sir Gilbert Gerrard Rt and Baronett Sir Arthur Haslerigg Barronnet Sir Henry Vane Junior knight, S^r^ Benjamin Rudyer knight, John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bond, Myles Corlitt, Cornelius Holland, Samuell Vassall, John Rolls and Will^m^ Spurston Esq^res^: which chiefe

Gouno^{r} together with the aforesaid commissioners or any fower of them have full power and authority by the said Ordinance (amongst other things) to prouide for, order and dispose all things w^{ch} they shall from tyme to tyme finde most fitt, and aduantagious to the well gou^{r}ning, securing, strengthening and p^{r}seruacon of the y^{e} sayd Plantacons, and chiefly to the p^{r}seruacon & aduancement of the true protestant religion amongst the sayd Planters & inhabitants, and the further enlargement and spreading of the Gospell of Jes: Christ amongst those that remayne there in great and miserable blindness & ignorance. And whereas allso dyuers of the inhabitants of the Somer Jslands comonly called the Burmudas in the pts of America beyond y^{e} seas by their humble Petition did addresse themselves to the hon^{ble} house of Comons now assembled in the Parliament of England thereby setting forth, That whereas the Divine providence had stretched the lyne of their habitacon upon those remote pt^{s} of the world, and made it a sanctuary vnto them flying the avengers of non conformity to humane impositions And in regard of their former sufferings by y^{e} episcopall pty during their abode in England and their extreame hardshipps which they haue since endured by transplanting themselues, their wiues and children from their natiue country into strange & desolate places, they (with others wch shall here after joyne themselues vnto them in matters of worshipp) might by the Parliaments assent & authority be freed from all molestacon & trouble for any ceremony and imposition in the matters of Gods worhipp, either in those pts of *America* where now they are or hereafter may be planted. And *by our* authority be protected to liue in peace & quiettness *in the pri*viledges of the gospell of Jesus Christ protestin*g aboue all* in the sight of God that not affectation of *singularity or over ex*alted thoughts of selfe worthiness acknowl*edging themselves* to be the meanest of saynts. But y^{t} *their* . . . and their conscientious convictions had drawne from them that humble request & petition to y^{e} Parlm^{t} waueing all consideracon of secular respects which else might haue taken with them, & thereby also assuring y^{e} Parlm^{t} to render themselues (as allwayes they haue done) subject in their liues and estates to every ciuill power for conscience sake. And y^{t} they were fully satisfyed y^{t} all actiue or passiue obedience is to be yielded to the ciuall magistrate and therefore humbly prayed y the hon^{ble} House of Comons would be pleased to condescend thereunto to graunt them such fauour in the lybertye of their conscience as thereby was desired: whereuppon it was ordered (die lune vicessimo septimo die Octobr^{s} An^{o} Dmj 1645) by the hon^{ble} howse of Comons aforesayd y^{t} the Jnhabitants of y^{e} Somer Jslands &

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such others as shall joyne themselues unto them shall without any molestacon or trouble haue & enjoy the lyberty of their consciences in matters of Gods worshipp as well in those pts of America where they are now planted as in all other pts of America where hereafter they may be planted vntill that howse should otherwise order. And it was thereby ordered y^{t} it should be referred to the com̄ittee of Lords and Comons for Plantacons to see y^{t} the sayd order be duely put in execution Now know all maner of persons that this may concerne that we the sayd Robert Earle of Warwicke Gou^{r}no^{r} in chiefe & Lord hygh admiral of all those Islands together with y^{e} said commissioners whose names with our seales are hereto subscribed and added according to the sayd Petition, and in pursuance of the sayd order of Parlm^{t} duely considering as well the justice and equity of the p^{r}misses, as also the great hindrance of the soe much to be desired propagation of the gospell of Jes. Chr. in the purity thereof in all parts of the world especially in those darke corners of the earth which is likely to ensue if for want of countenance by authority of Parlm^{t} dyuers pyous Godly fayth-full & well affected & disposed p.sons likelyst to contribute most unto and to aduance that worke, should be discouraged in the exercising their guifts & from continueing in those remote pts of the world Haue granted & by the power and authority of the Parliament aforesaid doe by these p.sents grant unto the said Petitioners and to all others that doe or hereafter shall inhabite or abyde in those parts of the worlde that shall joyne with them (liueing in all godlynes & honesty and yieldinge obedience to ciuell authhority in temporall thinges) protection imunity & freedome from all trouble & molestation by & for any ceremony or imposition in the matters of Gods worshipp and doe hereby charge and require all Gouernours, Councellors, Comanders, officers, agents, owners, planters and all other inhabitants what-soeuer within the parts and throughout the coast of America as aforesayd. To suffer them quyetly, freely, & peaceably to worshipp God accordingly in those Islands, and also in all other parts & through out the coasts of America aforesayd. And if in case they shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter thinke fitt to remoue or transplant themselves or their habitations or any of their goods or estates to any other pt of America, not onely for to suffer and permitt them with all that is theirs soe to do without lett or disturbance, but also to affoard them all necessary ayde helpe & assistance therein as they will answer the contrary & the hygh contempt of the power & authority of Parliament aforesaid

In wittness whereof wee the sayd Robert Earle of Warwicke & other comissioners aforesayd, whose names are here-

vnder written haue hereunto sett our handes and seales this fourth day of nouemb^r^ Ann^o^ Domji 1645 [1]

Warwick	Arth Haslerigg
Pembrook & Mongomery	Ben Rydiard
Manchester	H Vayne
W. Say & Seale	Cornellius Holland
P. Wharton	Myles Corbett

This is a true coppie of the Originall
Examined by me HENRY SMITH Secret.

31. To the Hon: Governour & Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the Plantation of Sommer Islands.

The Humble Petition & Declaration of general inhabitants of the Plantation and Colony in the Sommer-ilands. [From Prynne's 'Appendix.']

We have received your Declaration & cannot but acknowledge, that the happiness of a Christian people is best advanced by their progress in the ways of Peace and Holiness &c. which happiness we of the Sommer-ilands might still have enjoyed in

[1] Andrew Marvell's poem of the 'Emigrants,' was written probably about this time; he was now 25 years of age; but the sentiments belong to an earlier period. The 'prelates' rage' was harmless enough before 1645, Archbishop Laud himself having been executed the previous year. The beauty of this poem, and its intimate connection with the text, will be a sufficient excuse for quoting it in full.

THE 'EMIGRANTS,' by ANDREW MARVELL.

Where the remote Bermudas ride
In ocean's bosom unespied,
From a small boat that rowed along
The listening waves received this song:—

'What should we do but sing His praise
That led us through the watery maze
Unto an Isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own!

'Where He the huge sea monsters racks
That lift the deep upon their backs;
He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the storms, and prelates' rage?

'He gave us this eternal spring,
Which here enamels every thing;
And sends the fowls to us in care,
On daily visits through the air.

'He hangs in shades the orange bright,
Like golden lamps in a green night;
And does in the pomegranate close
Jewels more rich than Ormus shows.

'He makes the figs our mouths to meet,
And throws the melons at our feet;
But apples plants of such a price,
No tree could ever bear them twice.

'With cedars chosen by His hand
From Lebanon, He stores the land,
And makes the hollow seas that roar
Proclaim the ambergris on shore.

'He cast (of which we rather boast)
The Gospel pearl upon our coast,
And in these rocks for us did frame
A temple, where to sound His name.

'Oh let our voice His praise exalt,
Till it arrive at heaven's vault,
Which thence perhaps resounding, may
Echo beyond the Mexique bay.'

Thus sang they in the English boat,
A holy and a cheerful note,
And all the way, to guide their chime,
With falling oars they kept the time.

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these latter times as well as formerly, had not those men (whose duties) by their places & callings amongst us did require their best diligence to lead the people in that happy path; interrupted our peace in arrogating to themselves unlimited power, in seeking to draw the inhabitants of this Plantation to worship their imaginations contrary (as we conceive) to the laws of God & man.

For whereas you intend not to anticipate or prevent the Honourable Houses of Parliament &c. This, and only this, hath been the true cause of all our sufferings and distractions in Sommer Islands, for our Divines declare that they are not subject to any human power; & in particular Master Copeland affirms, 'That if the King Parliament & Synod shall command any uniformity in the church, other than this, which is here set on foot by them, they will obey none, Now if any man shall believe that there is no better sacrifice than obedience, & desires so to continue & with prayer and patience wait (as you bespeak us) which hath been the desire of the Inhabitants in general, the forwardest men in their obedience are styled Parliamentary Christians, and herein is that great tax laid upon us, that piety hath been discountenanced & profaneness encouraged, hence it is that the ablest men in the land are marked out to be the subject yet privately, of all scandal & calumny, yea to be enemies to good men, and all goodness, and are deprived of the benefit & comfort of the Sacraments; yea of their prayers and preaching, for Master White, did publickly deliver in the pulpit, 'That such as had not entered into covenant with him, & yet came to hear him preach were but intruders, for he did preach to, and pray for none, but his little flock.' What the thoughts of Parliament have been, or shall be for the Plantations when it shall be derived to us by authority of your Court we shall in obedience submit thereunto. You have thought meet for present to continue the Government as now it stands by Commissioner &c We are glad that the Government is yet in your hands to continue; but yet it is a grievance under which we groun, that the Triumvirate Government cast upon us at first & now continued procures a scorn & contempt upon us from all other Plantations, with other just exceptions which we omit, but especially that you have by this continuance of Government put upon us a yoke insupportable. For our Saviour himself tells us, 'That no man can serve two masters,' yet such is our condition at present, for you in your Declaration do desire, & hope that we will with patience attend the Resolution of Parliament as you do, which desire and hope of yours is a sufficient command to us, yea, for conscience sake we hold ourselves bound thereto,

But yet in the meantime you have continued such Governors, two of which have submitted to the Independent Covenant and have set up a Supreme Governor in their Church, that will neither wait upon King or Keyser (their own words) yea they will bring Scripture to prove that lawful, though safely applied: And if any man among us have so much wit, or knowledge to detect such false Applications of Scripture, then he falls into the danger of the Temporal sword, and is an opposer of the gospel &c. To which hand shall we now turn us, if to the right hand of obedience towards you, then we offend our Governors and what follows thereupon, but all the malicious plots that may be to get such a man upon the trap, if we turn to the left hand, in falling down & worshipping their imaginations, for fear of their snares, then we sin against our conscience of obedience.

What now shall we do, our Resolution is settled, we will suffer as we have done & by this Petition do pray that you will be pleased either to send us a Dispensation of our obedience, or a deliverance from the pressure of Governors & Ministers under which we groun. We told you before that we are glad the Government is yet in your hands to continue, but how long it will be so we know not seeing one of their Ministers declared it publicly that they will mantain what they have begun to the chin in blood; & that it will never be well in Sommer-ilands till we choose our Governor here ourselves. There is but this one impediment lies in their way. The Children are come to the birth but as yet there wanteth strength to bring forth. Touching the Public Administration of God's worship we shall (as we have done) rest in expectance of that Directory which the Parliament with the advice of the Assembly of Divines shall hold forth counting that a more safe course to confirm ourselves to the resolution of so grave a Senate and Synod, then to be led away to follow the divisions of these unstable mens brains.

For the observation of the Lord's Day &c. As we dare not Pharisaically justify ourselves but rather when we have done our best services acknowledge ourselves to be unprofitable servants; yet we durst appeal to all the Divines that ever lived here (if it might be obtained) for testimony of our willing & ready (though weak) endeavours in that kindness. But what avails all that we do, or can do; For we are told out of the Pulpit, That let a man frequent hearing the word, read the Scriptures in his house, Sing Psalms, Catechise & instruct his children & Servants, &c. yet all is nothing worth, unless that man will be a Japhet, alureable to dwell in the tents of Sem, which is (as they would have us believe) their Visible Congre-

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gational, Independent Church, The Company is very sensibly affected with our want of a Minister, if our Ministers had been so affected, we had not lost Master Daniel Wight, for we conceive upon good grounds that the difference in opinion between them & him caused him to leave our Islands.

For Councillors, Captains &c. Those amongst them that know their own obedience, we account them worthy &, so do, and will yield them all due honour and respect; but such as know not how to obey, know not how to command, and it is therefore a grievance unto us to be in subjection to such Commanders. For Tippling houses &c: It is common to one and other & when money is to be gotten propitius esto tibi is an old rule & that will set up three tapestries at once in the Secretary's house at S^{t} Georges at the time of the Assizes.

For the matter of Oaths, both in juries & witnesses, we could be large in this subject.

Captain Forster being Secretary, observed some dangerous passages of this nature & therefore when he was Governour sent out his proclamation that no Councillor should take any attestation (except in case of felony or treason) but in the presence of the defendant; but this was esteemed & termed (by those that favoured nothing that he did do) to be grammatical nonsense,[1] and we do know that because of Oaths a land mournes, and do heartily wish that those whom it concerns would be careful of their duty according to your advice; for we greatly fear that your court hath been too much abused in this particular.

Concerning the raising of some more staple commodity &c. Capt^{n} Parker his President in having invested so many hundred pounds of his own & his friends & his land now bought over his head, & cannot obtain any grant of or lease, & insulted upon that he is undone, wife & children & all; This will be but a poor encouragement for any man to adventure as he hath done, it having been the common misery of us all; The more ingenious any man is to make any pleasant and profitable plantation upon another man's land, the sooner he is undone by having this land and labour taken or bought over his head without any charity at all.

For wrecks or wronges to you herein, as it concerns those that live near the place of wrecks, so we leave each particular man to answer for himself.

Your consideration for our want of linen cloth & desiring some of your Members to Adventure hither we render you humble thanks for your favor therein

For Factor's unfaithfulness in making returns, private person's backwardness in paying their dues, public officer's

[1] *Sic.* Pragmatical (?)

remissness in executing Justice &c. We humbly beseech you to look a little further to the hand of God that hath taken away all or the greater part of our labour for these seven yeares together; which has caused so general a poverty, that, had we not fallen to set our little ones to spinning, hundreds amongst us would have gone naked, notwithstanding all their best endeavours or profits, they could produce in manuring their plantations, and of this we humbly crave your charitable construction. Concerning matters of Free Trade it is our desire rightly to be understood for we require nothing that should any way tend to the prejudice of any propriety of your Company or Authority thereof, but only that we may make use of such Tobacco as to which your ships will not yield us anything at all, but will (if it be sent to London) be a great hindrance to your markets, & not worth the freight. Besides your Ships of late years coming by way of the Indies, have brought us nothing in comparison to the relief of our wants, as for keeping Tobacco here till your Ships are gone, it is a thing altogether unknown to us, our desire being to deal with your ships before all others, if we may from them procure what we want; For none of us all will (by our wills) desire any thing unbeseeming that reverence which we truly bear to your authority, assuring ourselves that according to your declaration, you will not be wanting to us in justice, of any just grievances, or in charity, of any our poorer distresses.

And thus have we with humble and obedient hearts answered your declaration wherein we do humbly desire your favourable construction for the manner, the matter being nothing but truth, Before we conclude we humbly beg of you to look upon one more of our grievances, being of that nature that it concerns not only us, our wifes & children for the present, but extends to our posterity and it is comprised in one of the Articles exhibited by M^{r} White, against Capt^{n} Forster, wherein he writes thus, 'He so hates the Ministers only for Religion's sake, that it is justly feared upon probable grounds, that when the ships are gone he will suborne false witnesses to take away their lives,' If Captn Forster had been so wickedly inclined (which the malice of man can never prove against him) then there must be men here who would be suborned, & Jurors that would be swayed by such subornation, therefore this concerns us as we have said. It hath ever been the honour of the Sommer-Islands, their civility in obedience to government & reverend respect of Ministers, but by this unparalleled Slander, our honour is eclipsed & not only we for present murdered in our good names which is dearer than our lives, & next in value to our Souls.

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But also our Children will be handed to be the posterity of them that would have slain the prophets by suffering false witnesses to be suborned to take away the Ministers lives. But we beseech you to look into the scope & aim that this tends unto, which is first to deter all other Ministers from coming hither, for we have been told more than once out of the pulpit, That we must never expect more ministers to come hither, and this is true enough, for what gentleman of gifts & worth will ever venture such a voyage to live amongst people where false witnesses shall be suborned to take away their Ministers lives.

Then Secondly it will follow that these already here must of a necessity be submitted into in all their imaginations lest the Islands be deserted and so Master White may take both swords into his hands, which he will have, or else he with the assistance of the prologiter (as M^r^ Paynter terms himself[1]) will set us all on a flame, which flame has long on this broken forth, but that Capt^n^ Sayle his more moderate and temperate carriage towards us, which we must acknowledge, hath prevented it.

In this grievance we, our wifes & children do cry to you for justice for vindicating our innocency for the present and preventing other mischiefs which I fear will follow otherwise: For whatsoever you have intimated in your declaration or other private instructions to these gentlemen, yet they go on in their former resolutions & M^r^ Goulding bade one tell the Commissioners that he will give it under his hand that they will neither baptise our children, nor administer the Sacraments to us, unless we will submit to their covenant. Have we not then cause to cry to you for justice, that you would be pleased to take away the cause that the effect may cease, in freeing us from Superlative Imperiousness of the supreme Church governor & his powerful abettor M^r^ Goulding his second: Suffer not we beseech you our obedience to be trampled under foot, but settle such a governor & such a Minister as may lead to teach us in the ways of Faith and good life and not trouble our head with Christ's coming to reign upon earth a thousand years personally, with many such like fancies. But such Ministers as we desire as will submit to that which shall be established by Authority.

And so we conclude with your own conclusion, 'We will strive to perfection, we will desire peace and ensue it,' but of one mind we shall never be with this Supreme Independent Church Governor, that is submitted unto, next & immediately under Christ, yet we will be of good comfort that our obedience to authority, shall not want cherishing and in this we will rest and pray the God of Love & Peace to be with you and us.

[1] *Sic.* Prolocutor (?)

Postcript.

After this our Petition was roughly drawn, though fairly written, and delivered unto some men's hands to be shewn and advised upon, to be reformed for matter and manner, according to truth & humility, that fell into our Governor's hands, with Master White the Minister & others, & the same night they drew another petition which was presented early the next morning to Sandis Tribe (who had not as then seen this of ours) and from thence to Southampton (with many passionate speeches) and so to several Tribes to be subscribed, questioning, whether, this or ours should be sent to your Honourable Court, by means whereof, the example of Superiors being very prevalent some men through fear, others through partiality have been drawn to subscribe to the last Petition, what the scope thereof is, we leave it to your wisdomes to consider. Ours tending only to be relieved by your justice from the power of such men, as disclaim obedience to all authority which they favour not.

It is our humble desire to be so understood that in all the foregoing passsages, we have not the least aim against the persons of any man whatsoever, but only of the practices, occasioning our just grievances both in conscience of our obedience by you commanded, as also in the respect of the suffering which we presently feel and future Inconveniences, which we evidently forsee (unless by your wonted goodness & care of this plantation prevented) to be hanging over us & ours.

We whose names are under written do testify that this is a true copy of their Petition.

Robert Huson. Thomas Jenings.
Richard Sothworth.

32. To the Right Honourable the Committee of both the Honourable Houses of Parliament for the English Plantations on the Coasts of America

The humble petition of the Inhabitants of the Colony and Plantation in Sommer Islands [1645][1]

SHEWETH That whereas this plantation and Colony

[1] This petition is given in the appendix to Prynne, 'Fresh Discovery, &c.,' 1646.

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hath since the beginning thereof, been governed in peace and tranquillity, by the just, pious, and religious care, of Adventurers of the city of London for the plantation of the Summer Islands. Yet so it is that by the practice and wavering conciets of master Nathaniell White, Master Patrick Copeland Master William Golding, sometimes our ministers here, and still resident amongst us, but not as ministers, our former peace hath been disturbed ['In that they made a covenant among themselves,' and 'withdrew from the church,' as already inserted under date 31 January, 164$\frac{3}{4}$. See p. 585.]

At which very time master Robt Kesteven one of our councillors submitted unto their Covenant, and after Confession was admitted [1] since which time two of our Governors, namely Master Stephen Paynter and Master William Wilkinson have submitted to the said covenant, and have been admitted. And about the 15th of May 1644 this new-set-up Church in the same place proceeded to the election of officers, the manner where-of we think it fit to omit, but Master Paynter declaring that they held their Church to be Independent, and Master White being chosen Pastor thereof, Master Paynter (one of our Governors) made submission unto Master White in name of their Church in these words, 'We submit unto you as Supreme Governour of this Church, next and immediately under Christ, which submission was no sooner made than accepted From this ground we have been taught strange doctrine that these hold themselves to be subject to no humane power, and that if the king, Parliament and synod should command any uniformity in the Church other than this which they have set on foot they will obey none

But *some* of this Plantation having learned to know no better sacrifice than obedience have refused to submit to these fancies, resolving ourselves that it is a duty where-in we stand obliged to wait upon that Directory which the Parliament with the advise of the Assembly of Divines shall hold forth to us.

But by reason of this dutiful and obedient affection in us, our children die unbaptised to the terror of many weak ones among us. Ourselves are deprived of renewing ourselves with our God in using the means. The supper of the Lord. Our daughters cannot be given in marriage &c. with many other just grievances under which we groan. Some part of which grievances we have (in as brief a manner as our Capacities can afford) exhibited under our hands to the Honourable Company under whose Government we have so long lived in peace And

[1] 'New Presbyter is old Priest writ at large'!

because we have been informed that a select committee of both the Honourable Houses hath been appointed to look into the affairs of the Plantations we do present this our humble petition to this your Wisdom's consideration Humbly praying that (as occasion may be offered) you would be pleased to call for such our greivances to the Honorable company That so the said company may receive such aid from your Authority as may tend to the safety and quiet of our Obedience

And we shall pray &c.

Subscribed by us whose names are underwritten by commission under the hands of the Inhabitants of the several Tribes where we belong

We whose names are underwritten do testify that this is the true copy of this Petition

Robert Huson Thomas Jenyngs Richd Sothworth.

With the exception perhaps of the 'Directory for the Public Worship of God,' which received Parliamentary sanction October 2, 1644, but which evidently had not reached the Somers Islands, none of the formularies for which the Westminster Assembly is best known had been promulgated at the date of this petition. The Confession of Faith, the Shorter and the Larger Catechism, appeared in the succeeding years, the first in October 1646, and the last in September 1648. That the Presbyterians commanded a large majority in that Assembly may probably have been known to the petitioners; but that their respectful desire to await the result of its deliberations before they consented to great ecclesiastical changes, implies that they were themselves Presbyterians, appears to the writer not only at variance with the tenour of the document, but unsupported by any reasonable probability. The Westminster Assembly itself is best described in the words of Clarendon:—'Of about 120, of which that Assembly was to consist (though, by the recommendation of two or three members of the Commons, whom they were not willing to displease, and by the authority of the Lords, who added a small number to those named by the House of Commons, a very few reverend and worthy men were inserted; yet of the whole number) they were not above twenty who were

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not declared enemies to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; many of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England: So that that convention hath not since produced anything, that might not then reasonably have been expected of it.'—'Hist. of the Rebellion,' Bk. V.]

33. *All* whose names are underwritten [1646]

The jury for our Soveraigne Lord the kinge findinge that the endeavour of erectinge & establishinge and practisinge a newe forme of descipline and gou^rnment of an Independent Church in these Islands contrary to the receaued Orthodox descipline and Gouernment of the Church of England seemes to be warranted by Authority arrived from the Hon. Company in their last Letters the jury doe not conceave that that clause and reason menconed in the said Letters viz that the ministers shall haue Libertie to use their conciences in matters of the Church as much as may be Least the Islands be deserted of ministers, will not or cannot beare any construction to warrant that w^ch hath bin don, or that the Hon. Company will ever approoue of this newe order soe taken vpp Wherefore the Jury doe desire for their safety the aduise and Resolution of the Court for their satisfaction before they proceede in this present service of the kinge, least their proceedinge may be hereafter called in question as don *coram non judice* in respect of those men that haue joined themselues in Covenant of the said Independent Church vppon soe weake a ground

William Barkeley	Chauncey Sandys
Chr. Pitts	Jo. Burrowes
Rich Harber	Willm
Robt Tucker	Gilbert Hill

34. By a letter dated May 1, 1646, preserved in the Public Record Office, we learn that the Secretary, Henry Smith, was at this time displaced by the Assembly, and John Vaughan appointed in his place. His signature appears last, April 25, 1646. Vaughan was a Royalist, and was removed from office in turn, by order of the Council of State, Jan. 1, 1650.

State Papers, Colonial, 1644–52. Vol. xi. No. 8.

M^r^ Edward Marston

My suddaine and unexpected partinge from London, would not permitt me to wayte on M^r^ Jessope, nor take my leave from yo^u^, nor any of my frends. It was a strange venter, and resolucōn: yet I blesse God, I have noe cause to repent. Although I must confesse y^e^ gov^r^nours imploymt is not worth any thinge here, for y^e^ Agitatinge of all buisnesses doeth proply belonge to y^e^ Secrettary, I must confesse, I found a greate deale of love and respect amongst y^e^ people here, uppon y^e^ meeteinge of their Assembly, they were pleased to make choice of me, to be y^e^ Clerke, and all their proceedinges passes under my hand, And I find them very Inclinable to Accept of me, to be Seccrettary but beinge in y^e^ Companys guift It cannott be obtained here: I shall desire yo^u^ to prevaile w^th^ M^r^ Jessope to recomend me to y^e^ Company, and to procure their resolucōn. I have written Att Lardge to M^r^ Allen, I shall desire yo^u^ likewise to putt him in mynd if I may not obtaine y^e^ place, I will god willinge returne w^th^ y^e^ next shipp: I thanke god I have don faithfull service for y^e^ Company since I came uppon y^e^ publique imploym^t^: And I shall be very glad to searve them, either here or any where ells, that they may please to Comand me: I am heartily sorry that I cannott present M^r^ Jessope w^th^ any fruite, All y^e^ Countrey is disappointed, by reason that the Shippes return by Barbados. yo^u^ shall receave of M^r^ Wells a peece of tobacco as a toaken of my love, And by the grace of God I will not be unmindfull of M^r^ Jessope next returne, and I hoape I shalbe able to present yo^u^ w^th^ a better guift M^r^ wells will shewe yo^u^ the Journall of my voyadge, I must confesse there cannot be a sweeter liveinge in y^e^ world then here. I cannott give yo^u^ a discription of the Countrey but referr yo^u^ to Wells lette^rs^ I shall humbly desire yo^u^ to further my business, and to send me an Accompt thereof, I am becom a great Merchant since I came hither; A shipp cominge in here laden w^th^ wines y^e^ Merchant beinge a Cornishman, one M^r^ Mills, he would needs trust me w^th^ a dozen pipes of wine, I tooke 3 of him att 15^li^ p pipe. I sould one yesterday for 21^li^ if thother twoe goes off aswell, I shall gaine some 15^l^ by y^e^ bargaine, however I thanke god I can drinke yo^r^ health in Canary: y^e^ Gov^r^nour was pleased to doe me that favour as to give me Cellerrage for it att his owne house. I desire yo^u^ to Informe me of the proceedinges in y^e^ State Affaires since my cominge Away and sende me some newe bookes: Good S^r^ Comend me kindly to all our frends: And specially to M^r^ Harrvy, and M^r^ Garett. I pray if Capt

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Bowen be in towne, desire him to speake to M^r^ Jessope: in my business. Comend me to my Couzen Lewis, and my Couzen Jenkins, and to all the Rest Utriusque generis: w^th^ my hearty love to yo^r^ owne selfe desireinge yo^u^ to present thinclosed w^th^ my service to M^r^ Jessope, & desireinge god to send us a happie meeteinge, I rest

Yo^r^ affectionate Loveinge frend

Somer Islands first of May 1646. Jo Vaughan.

Noble frend since ye writeinge hereof y^e^ Gov^r^nour and Councell here was pleased to call me to y^e^ place of Sec^ty^ thother beinge putt out by thassembly.

Jo: Vau:

[Indorsed] M^r^ Vaughan. Tobacco &c. 1^st^ May 1646. Somer Islands.

35. It is one of the incidents in the turbulent and chequered career of W. Prynne, that when sitting in the Long Parliament, to which he had been returned in sympathy with his sufferings for having attacked the bishops, he took the contrary course of attacking the Independents; as the title-page of his pamphlet of 1646, already given (p. 579), sufficiently indicated. In this mood he was naturally looked up to as a champion, by those who suffered at the hands of that faction in the Somers Islands; and, besides a long communication from Richard Norwood, to be given under date May 1647, he received some time in 1646 a long letter from Richard Beake, an aged schoolmaster of Bermuda, on the subject of their innovations and tyranny. The date is defined on the one side by the writer's statement that he had suffered thirteen months' imprisonment, which commenced after Febuary 13, 1645, and included the 'cold winter time,' and on the other by Prynne's receipt of it when his pamphlet was passing through the press. This letter is very long, but throws great light on the implacable religious dissensions and extravagances of the day.

Richard Beake to *W. Prynne* [1646]

Worshipful Sir

All health, happiness and prosperity wished unto you (as unto my own soul) The occasions moving me at present to trouble you with these unprofitable papers are great and many: and haply I being a stranger unto your worship, you may account it more than boldness, yea even peremptory sauciness in me to presume to write and crave favour to and from one who never had the least knowledge of me But the manifold reports I have heard of you by divers good christians emboldenethe me, but especially seeing your good works which I have perused with care and deligence which from Mr Sparks his brother I procured enforceth me so much the more . . .

I have suffered, and am (suffering) I have been these thirteen months prisoner in bonds,[1] for standing in defence and an opposite unto, or against a certain Independent Church hatched and forged in the brains of our Divines, and by them constituted erected and fully accomplished and with us held in great respect and Adoration, yea, and the actors of it not as men but even as Demi-gods. Attributing that unto them which is only proper unto God; especially unto their Pastor M^r^ White the chief actor of their faction, a most sedetious, turbulent, and hateful malicious person, as politic as Achitophell and as crafty and as subtle as the Devil, having as he holds the world in hand, that by his wisdom none can excell him in the Law both ecclesiasticall and civill, and therefore among us (a company of poor, simple, ignorant, and undeserving people) he is so accounted of as all his words are oracles, and himself no less sent from God, therefore whatsoever he saith, is, and must be, a Law, whether it concerns Body, soul, or conscience, for he cannot err so perfect is he in their conceits And if Christians in grief and distraction of soul and conscience at their courses, shall sue unto our rulers for Recessation of those things till we shall hear from England what discipline the High Court of Parliament and synod hath concluded upon, and that to embrace and follow, then we shall presently be summoned to an Assizes, and there undergo such penalties as by the Court shall be censured upon; or else, which they most aim at, to have us contrary to knowledge and conscience acknowledge we have wronged them, and there in open Court before the country confess ourselves sorry for what we have done . . .

If he (White) threaten me for boldness herein to have a

[1] 'This is the Independents' Liberty of Conscience where they have power in their hands.'—Prynne's marginal note.

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Council Table called against me, I am sure of it, and there to be baited and banded to and against by a whole Council together with Schismatical Divines even as a bear at a stake, not one to speak one word in my defence nor in the defence of God's cause, but with a unanimous consent and voice my writings exclaimed against, pronounced libels and ignominous and slanderous writings though none of them approved so to be, nor disproved for the truth I stand for: yet shall I be censured by them, for them bound to my good behaviour, put in sureties, and if at any time afterwards I shall divulge anything either by Pen or Tongue against this Independent Church, their Governors, Government Doctrine or the like I must then presently be declared infamous and lie in prison till to the contrary we hear out of England: yea however for want of sureties in this case to lie in prison not with standing till I can or do put in sureties, the which I did for the space of 5 weeks to my great damage and charge, and also detriment; (being an aged poor man of 74 years of age) and 5 nights in the cold winter time almost drowned in the prison with rain and for tempestuous weather, having no Shelter to save myself dry. These with other things have I undergone too large for to relate, and that chiefly from this White of the Independent Church Pastor . . . Thus much I am sure of. It (the new Doctrine) is derived partly from the Anabaptists, partly from the Brownists, but more especially from the Donatists, having in it a smack of each; however they feign it to the Church of New England which they say is the purest church this day in the world, yet come they far wide of it so that it is but their saying not their doing . . . That in your wisdom you may the better conceive of this their church. The first beginning was a certain feast held every week at several houses, which feast they called a loblolly feast, which for the common fare of our country is as our water gruel in England, so they would have it but of a common food. At which feast each did strive to excell another in the difference of making it: after they had once gotten a certain number unto them. And so of an ordinary food they made it extraordinary, yea so extraordinary that some in few meetings were forced to sell the feathers out of their bedding for milk butter and cream to feed them withall and to make their loblolly the more dainty and toothsome: others again to maintain this feast for one day's entertainment, themselves and whole family must pinch for it two or three months after by which feast or by the show of neighbourhood or Feast of Love, though never none was found in those times they increased in every Parish to a pretty number. At which feast the minister propoundeth certain questions unto them of his own framing for half an hour;

which each had in writing one from another, like scholars these their lessons to learn by next Wednesday, and great care was taken, some from fear of reproof and some for popular applause, and these catechisings being ended they then for an hour or two discourse of neighbours that would not join them, traducing both names and persons . . . The next thing was, a day in a week at noon for two hours space to catechize youth and children when a simple small catechism set out by one M^r^ Oxenbridge, son to D^r^ Oxenbridge of London, who with his wife especially, were the first ground work of this faction. Who in time before it came to any perfection departed from us, but left the cursed seed or fruit of their faction behind them: They being gone, this M^r^ White as chief takes in hand to accomplish this business, which with another as forward but better seen in it than themselves, one M^r^ Golding a young man, but well learned in schismatical science: if not worse, joins together labours with and overcomes an ancient man M^r^ Copeland by name, and then on all hands with unanimous consent they join their forces for erecting and establishing this their Church, and then instead of catechising youth, they would catechize ancient people young and old of both sexes. This they could not well accomplish being by divers withstood but seeing they could not bring that to pass, then would they not suffer any one to communicate without examination before, and that as well Believers as others, yea them especially though never so learned or sufficient . . .

[The writer proceeds to describe how the rite of baptism was refused to children whose parents declined to rehearse the Creed; how weekly lectures were instituted, whose object was to decry the Church of England both in matter, manner, order, government, discipline, and governors. He relates how Mr. Painter, a cooper, 'one of our present governors,' publicly acknowledged Mr. White as supreme head of their Church next unto Christ and none above him, and how the two other ministers were chosen elders, whereof Mr. Golding, the younger man in years, was the chief, Mr. Copeland the inferior, next a deacon, one Mr. Kesteven, a councillor, and a great stickler.]

. . Thus you have all the officers as yet. But before this choice the baptism of infants was quite rejected and given over, holding a tenet that children ought not to be baptized, but only such as were of years of discretion, and able to render an account

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of their faith according to Mark 16, 16 with divers other places, saying they were no pastors, and therefore durst not baptize one another,[1] and that they had baptized more children already than they knew how to answer: this was Mr Whites own speech to myself upon a Lecture day. I having two of my children to baptize at the same time . . .

[Beake proceeds to relate how he put pen to paper and wrote unto the chief Governor, Captain W. Sayle.]

. . . I heard not a word for 3 weeks space, in which time, yea as soon as he had it, he shows it to the ministers, who all this time perused scanned and sifted it, upon which Mr White comes to my school, salutes me kindly, with one with him to catch and bear witness what proceeded from me, and at length uttered his mind . . . here is your error saith he and for this you shall smart. . . The next Sabbath a warrant was served on me for my appearance at a Council Table the 13th February 164⅘ where being as before, I was so baited and banded to and again as wonder it was, and shortly after that clapt in prison . . . Having digressed from the proceeding of the sect I return again where I left Having given over the baptizing of Infants for a good season, at length they gave over preaching, as being no ministers, as being made so in an Anti Christian manner and no true ministers till such time as they were new called and ordained by their holy Church which at length was all accomplished; in which time they still continued their weekly Lectures, whereat there was added and they received members unto their new Church daily, but after a most strange manner. . .

[The writer then refers to their refusal of the Sacrament to all who had not joined them, so that some had been deprived of it, to their great grief, two or three years, and argues at length against their spiritual tyranny.]

. . . I should have told you at first that this man Mr White was by the Company of Adventurers sent over some years since minister for our two Tribes Pembroke and Devon,[2] and by the Earl of Dorset, then Governor with the whole company they bound him in a Bond of £200 sterling to live with us peaceably

[1] 'Independents turn Anabaptists.'—Prynne's note.

[2] His name first occurs at the Assizes in 1639; but his appointment would appear to date from 1635 or 1636, years for which the records are very defective.

and quietly and to follow the orders and discipline of our Church for the space of three years after his arrival, which argued he was a man of turbulent spirit in the place where he was, at knights bridge near Westminster: during this time of his bonds he was as hot a zealot as possibly might or could be, both for the Book of common Prayer, as also for all other ceremonies of the Church, as kneeling at the Sacrament, Cross in Baptism, Ring in the marriage service and all other things whatsoever, so long as his Bonds lasted, but suddenly after he turned upside down, and after four years he began these things, and seeing he could not accomplish his desire with us, he made shews of leaving us to go to another charge that was vacant unless we should sue unto him by humble petition as unto a Prince which we refuse to do, the other they did and gave him a call, and with the call a Hog of shillings price, which call he received and embraced and forsook us. . .

[The writer gives a sample of a sermon White subsequently preached in his old church.]

Saying Stand up ye of Pembroke Tribe and hear your doom! which was, You shall live here these 20 years without a Preaching minister: comparing also our reader to the Idol Dagon, the Reading Pew to the place of Desolation, saying Here sits the Idol of Abomination in the place of desolation; saying our Book of Common Prayer was an Idol also. . .

[The paper concludes with an acknowledgment of the external piety of White, whom he likens to a wolf in sheep's clothing, and an appeal to Prynne for his influence to protect himself and those who thought with him.[1]]

36. Instructions giuen by vs the owners of the shipp and vnto Capt Gyles Marsh chief comander of the sayd shipp and also to Henry Trall Leift of the sayd shipp for this present voyage being bound for a man of Warre vnder the comand of the Right Hon^ble^ Rob. Earle of Warwicke.

If it shall please God to take you Capt Marsh away by death Then Capt. Henry Trall your Leift to be comaunder in your place Impr^is^

[1] Prynne's 'Fresh Discovery,' &c. See note, p. 579.

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What goods soeuer you shall take if you shall have any oportunitie to make sayle of the same to the best profitt, then you may dispose of them accordingly alwaies researueing an

Secondly Invoyce of the sayd goods with the accompts of the sayle or barter of the same returned vnto vs with what convenient speed may be, to the Bermoda

Thirdly Yf God so prosper you that you take ashipping that have ladeing of worth, then you are with what despatch may be to send them to vs at the Bermoda, except you see it more beneficiall to keepe them for your more speedy and succesfull dispatch of your voyage

ffourthely That vppon the taken of any shipp or other merchandize you be carefull at the first and fittist conveniency to take an Invoyce of the said goods in cargo, with all other Jewells, pearles, plate and money which goods with Invoyce of the same to transport to vs in Bermoda by the first if likely of safe conveyance.

ffifthly After determinacon of the sayd voyage you shall return to the Sumer Island alias Bermoda with the produce of the voyage thene and there to giue vnto vs a true Accompt of the sayd voyage or to any whome wee shall appoynt that soe euery of vs may receiue as is due This with the former Instructions to be pformed by the abouesaid, the danger of the seas excepted whose faithfulnes in the performance being not doubted we shall pray for your prosperous successe, and rest your in all faythfullnes

Will Sayle
John Trimingham

Vincent Rener
Will Phillips
Henry Trall

37. John Vaughan writes in May 1647 to Edward Marston, in favour of 'Captain Josias fforster *late* Governor.' Under date 15 October, 1650, is the entry of an occurrence 'in the month of may or thereabouts next after Capt fforster was removed from his government;' other depositions in the same case are dated 1647, leaving no doubt that Capt. Turner, who appears as Governor and Sheriff, 1 Jan. 164$\frac{7}{8}$, had succeeded Fforster in March or April previously. (C.P. p. 328, MS. ii. p. 185.)

38. Richard Norwood to William Prynne. (State Papers, Colonial, Vol. XI. No. 10.)

Ever honoured S^r^

. . . I sent over certaine considerations the last yeare w^ch^ are printed, It was a singular ease and comfort to my minde and conscience when I saw they were published, conceiving I had bene long too negligent and backwards in it. . . I have returned one of the coppies to M^r^ Sparkes w^th^ some little addition &c by this gentleman the bearer hereof Capt Foster sometimes Governo^r^ here. I thought it would have had many adversaries (as truth cōmonly hath) but I heare of none as yet; When they came first hither by this shipp, our Independent ministers were much enraged against it, threatning greivous things, and that was a weeke or more before I had sight of it, but since they have bene more frequent in many mens hands, both our Independent and Presbiterian Ministers doe well aprove of them, and so doe the people on either side, no man opening his mouth against anything in it, onely some Independents of my familiar acquaintance have told me I was too bitter against them in one passage where I have taxed them with pride and uncharitableness, but I would they did not give too much and just occasion, and I should soone change that note. I was about to have written a treatise dialogue wise against the Independents, especially touching M^r^ Whites booke, I had provided many of the materialls, and thought at my next vacancy then at hand to have digested them into some order but it pleased the Lord by very urgent occasions nearely concerning me and too long here to relate to take me off, and since then I have never had any minde to return to it againe. (Also we have heard here that you have answered that booke of M^r^ Whites) the rather as I thinke because it seemes to me that the independent side are like to be crushed and roughly handled by those w^ch^ are no better than they, for so neare as I am able to judge, the most part of those w^ch^ doe indeed feare God, doe rather adhere to the independent side then to the presbiterian, beeing in some sort necessitated to make choice of one of them, and the Independent having a more promising face than the presbiterian, though I doubt in the retyred parts of it more dangerous We have here only two independent ministers and two presbiterian, or that stand eagerly to sett upp the presbiterian, and then the reynes of Goverment beeing very slack, or necligently handled I doubt much what the issue wil be. For these Ministers on either side doe much instigate the people on either

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side one against another, w^ch^ is like to produce much bitternes in the end, it is come to that passe already this yeare that neither the Independents come to our church assemblies nor we to theirs. I was but twise at the Independents church this twelve month, then the Governo^r^ and Counsell and Country (chiefly I suppose by the instigation of our presbiterian ministers) were very much offended instantly warning me against it w^th^ much importunity as if it tended to the subversion of peace here, whereuppon I have forborne. But yet if our two presbiterian Ministers prevaile to sett themselves in place of goverment in that way (w^ch^ they earnestly desire and endeavo^r^ to doe, and the Governo^r^ seemes to be for them saying he hath taken an oath or covenant to that purpose) I see not that we shalbe in any better case, for they are not such in whom a man may descerne any true worke of regeneration nor lovers of such, besides the one hath bene suspected of incontinency, but nothing beeing evident I lett that passe; the other is a man too unreasonably addicted to drinking, and a great companion and favourer of such, and the Governo^r^ excepted there is scarce any other but such that stand for the presbiterian goverment here, and it is thought their Elders will be made of such men. But I am shortened of time, the shipp being I thinke under sayle having shott off her Ordinance, so that I must conclude. . .

Yo^rs^ in all due observance

Rich: Norwood.

Summer Islands this xv^th^ of May 1647.

[Indorsed] To his much honoured friend M^r^ W. Prynne Esq^r^ at Lincolnes Inne

these

present

London.

39. Confidential letter from the Company to Governor Turner, 27 July, 1647.

S^r^

The condition of things, this frm us before our Magazine shipp comeinge, w^ch^ wilbe suddenly, wee are to aduertize you that Capt Saile & M^r^ Goulding hath exhibyted many articles agaynst y^r^selfe the Assemblie & others but the Court hath freed you all Capt^n^ Sayle hath labored much to be Capt^n^ of the kinges Castle, but at a quarter court hee was not onely ousted of that but not thought fitt for any Imployment or comand

whatsoeuer: he hath labored to his uttermost to ruin the Companie & Island & hath himselfe proposed hee was about yt & would effect yt but could effect nothinge but shame to himselfe And that you bee not surprized there as wee have just cause to feare from his owne wordes and information of others he intends to endeavour. We must give you notice that he hath in his ship at least 400 musketts and great quantities of ammunition w^{ch} we advise you to seize on if he land them to y^{r} disturbance or doe in any kind endeavour or ayme at any unlawfull designe in the Islands or stirre up the people to disobedience to our orders or yr Lawes and that you take speciall care to secure them from dooing you mischiefs as soon as the shipp Arrives In order to this and secuering of the Islands wee advise you wth all possible speed to secuer the kinges Castle w^{ch} by the next wee doubtnot but wilbe confirmed to y^{r}self The leiftinnant being Capteyne Sailes creature Wee doubt not but you will commytt the care of that to one that will secuer yt & that you may relye on wee also desyre you to take special care of the other castles and as soone as you receave this that you put the whole country in a posture of defence And they be able to secuer yourselves from surprizers wee conceave it not amiss that you have some constant guards and that you disarme all men that you have any cause to suspect will doe anything agaynst yr authoritie or raise commotions in the Islands He hath labored by all possible means for a free trade and not beene able to obteyne yt: he hath got some members hands of the Court for yt, but you are to obey noe such thinge nor anythinge but what passes in Court w^{ch} that never did, but from his owne wordes wee must tell you that he is resolved to get a free trade by endeavouring to make a partye in the Islands for yt And by force of Armes to make it good w^{ch} of all thinges you are to take tymely care to prevent We shall onely tell you that Coronell Rowe is put out from being Deputy and Coronell Sandes is chosen in his roome & Mr Peniston as Treasurer

There hath bin greate complaints made against you by Captain Sayle & Mr Goulding for suffering or consentinge to the carrieing away the quantity thirtye thousand weight of Tobacco w^{ch} wee hope you wilbe more careful of for the tyme to come but that you sett a strict watch that Captaine sayles ship take no tobacco whatsoeuer but our ship be first laden And in the p.secution of this you shall find us most cordially yours

If any man shall indeavour by wordes or otherwise to make comotions in the Islands or doe anythinge agaynst the Company or your lawes and authority that you put the Lawes in execution against him

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If this bee speedily deliured to y^r^ hand upon the arrivall of the shipp wee pray you pay the bearer hereof five pounds & secuer the bearer hereof & protect him from all Iniuries & to put the five pounds upon the accompt of Anthony Peniston wee desier you to prosecute these dirrections And not impart them to any man whatsoever & wee shall rest y^r^

Loveing ffriends

(Signed by these)

Richard Sandes	Geo Turberfield
Anthony Peniston	Charles Cauley
Thomas Allen	William Wilkinson

This is a true coppy taken of a letter deliuered to the Gov^r^ Capt Josias fforster & by him to me Antho. Jenour Secretary Endorsed on the backside w^th^ these wordes The Deputyes Letter.

40. Before the Gou^r^no^r^ Capt Tourner M^r^ Stowe M^r^ Hall and the Secret^y^. Aug 2. 1647

Mr Coapland was chardged for deluding words in his sermon or exposition to some people w^ch^ gathered to the mill on Sunday 25th of July 1647 which tended to the dishonour of God and the disparagement of gou^r^nor and Councell pr.ved as followeth.

[Here follow two depositions in a fragmentary state,] but no sentence is recorded.]

41. Mr. Leonard Ward to M^r^ W Williams dated Lincolne Inne, 7 August 1647.[1]

M^r^ Williams

As vnknowne to y^r^ pson but twoe well acquainted with some of yo^r^ condicons. I comend me vnto you. And first I cannot but thank yo^u^ for yo^r^ care and paines in sheweinge my last letter to yo^r^ graue wise and just Gou^r^nor and him alsoe for

[1] The key to this curious illustration of the strong passions of the day is furnished by a previous entry, dated July 2, 1644:—'Upon complaint of M^r^ White in the behalf of M^r^ Leonard Ward, concerning M^r^ Norwood his bringing a line into a parcell of land w^ch^ according to ancient boundaries belongeth to a share of land w^ch^ M^r^ Ward hath bought of- —— and is now in the Tenure of Will Williams it pleased the Gouernor beeing accompanied by M^r^ Sherriffe, M^r^ White, M^r^ Norwood, and others to viewe the same, when he ordered that the said ancient boundaries should not be altered until by due course in Law it be otherwise determined.' The Assembly must have decided in favour of Norwood, and against Mr. White, who thus lost a piece of land.

sending it hither to the Companye Supposinge I had slandered him thereby with a matter of trewth, it was a treachery beseeminge one of his Assembly: I pray with him and Norwood to restore my land that they haue soe vnjustly taken from mee, or I shall make them repent before they and I doe pte it, let me know who enioyeth it, that I may take my course against him for it. I have receaued from you for rent the last yeare by my honored friend M^r^ Gouldinges conveyance 90s and this returne of o^r^ shippe 90s more by Capt Ingle, w^ch^ you say is all the rent due to me till January next: but yo^u^ reckon without your hoast, for there is due to me from you this August besides all that I have receaved twoe yeares rent and then my tyme began as before I wrote to you, if yo^u^ tooke your lease in January, that must not cutt me off from the rent that was due by you before that tyme when yo^u^ held it without a lease I am now to haue 7 yeares rent of you this August, therefore cast it upp whether you haue paid me any more than for 5 yeares, for it is not my disposition to receaue or aske more than is due though you take me for it, be better aduised hereafter before you accuse me of wronge doeing or demands, and pay what is iustly due, and then I shall exchange but fewe words with you. I must confesse I had rather my lands lay wast than that a man illaffected to goodnes and an enemy of Gods people should liue uppon it, as I conceaue you to be, or ells you wold neuer haue joyned with this Gouernor and such an assembly in such horrid Acts, as they haue made against Gods people, and other proceedings not fitt to be named much lesse acted amongst christians, in soe much that were I putt to it I would rather liue vnder the Turkes than such a Gou^rn^ment as hath bene there lately vsed. And if yo^u^ haue a stomacke to it, shewe this letter alsoe to yo^r^ renowned Gouernor and bidd him either bringe it or send it over as soone as he will and tell him I will maintaine this and more to his face, if euer it be my hap to see him and soe I leaue you and him and the rest of yo^r^ wise pious Assembly to the . . . . of all the Rest of your designes. But I know that for all these things the Lord will one day bringe yo^u^ all to judgement, and take heed yo^u^ be not found fighters against God for Christ sayth of all his, he that toucheth yo^u^ toucheth the aple of his owne eye And I doe assure yo^u^ that is a tender place to be abused and will not be indured w^th^ w^ch^ I rest

Yo^rs^ as farr as yo^u^ are Gods and for his peoples good

LEONARD WARD.

vera copia Examinat p^r^me Jo Vaughan Snr.

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42. Letter from Governor Turner and Council to the disaffected ministers.

To Mr White & Mr *Copeland*

Wee doe all earnestly desire *to retaine our accustomed* discipline and *carriage* to ye worsh*ippers of God, and the maintainance* of p*eace* in the kingdom of *Christ by using a Christian liberty* And in case you refuse *conformity to our lawe yet we are so far* from being de*sirous of* Restraint *that we have con*sented to Assigne you a place to preach in to such as as will com and heare you prouided that eu^e^ry Inhabitant keepe in there owne Tribe at such tymes as our ministers doe preach there And that yo^u^ take no more in couenant or raise a ptie to the disturbance of the peace of the Islands And that you continue obedient to Civill authority, and moreouer that you shall neither minister the Lords Supp. Baptize nor marry And so to continue by the virtue of this p^r^mission vntil the Arrivall of the next *Magazine* shipp, or that it shall please God to make a better conformietie Amongst us

[This being sent by Capt. Jennings, they refused to accept of it.]

There was likewise diuers of the Independents brought before vs for disobeying the acts of our Assembly and the Gouernor^s^ proclamacon and being demanded suertie to good behaviour according to lawe they refused, soe some were comitted to prison and some confined to their owne houses

W^th^in fewe days After the Gou^r^nour sent for the prisoners from the sessions house, and considering as they were poore Planters their families might p.ishe for want of their Labour And therefore the gou^r^nour out of clemencie towards them offered them to goe home and followe their lawfull occasions w^th^ libertie to hear the word where it shold be Lawfully taught, and not to resort to any other conventicle This favour they most impudentlie refused, and wold to prison again whether the Gou^r^nour wold or noe Soe that his worspp was forst to compell them to goe to their owne houses, soe willfull and obstinate were they to all order

43. *At a Councell Table*—1647.

All the Counsell present
Except Capt^{n} Sea*mor*
Capt^{n} Jennings
Capt *Leacroft* &
M^{r} Deuitt

Upon graue and serious consideration con*cerning the conduct of* such as refuse to conform to the *doctrine* and discipline here established to be observed *It is ordained &* ordered by the gou^{r}nour and counsell *that all* and every of them Liueinge in peace and *quietnes shall* haue libertie to followe their occasions *and such will not* be confined as prisoners to th*eir own Parish* Bownds, and such as will may heare the word preached And for such as wilbe Refractorie, we shall looke uppon them as psons alienated from the duty of subiects by their willfull disobedience and seeking after innovations. It is further ordered that M^{r} White may be at libertie to be at his owne house about his owne occasions, soe he make no breach of our late Acts of Assembly, and this ordered to be in force vntill the returne of the next Magazine shipp or sooner aduice fr the Company

This order beinge deliuered vnto them, they neither obserued it nor regard it

Uppon p.rusinge of a letter sent to our Gou^{r}no^{r} vnder the hand of M^{r} Coapland And for that M^{r} Coapland hath willfully made a breach of the good behaiuo^{r} contrary to comand yet in tender regard to the weaknes and age of the said M^{r} Coapland, and in regard of his longe continued service in these Islands It is ordered that the said M^{r} Coapland be confined as Prisoner to his owne howse, and to make his appearance by the first day of the next Assizes to Answer his contempt.

44. At a Gen^{r}all court of the Sumer Islands companie holden at the place accustomed in Watling streete the 1st day of Septemb. 1647.

Present Colonell Sandys Deputie. M^{r} Anthony Pennyston Treas^{r} and nine others

The court hauing taken into serious consideracon diuers Depositions concerning a Spanish ship laden with siluer and other marchantable comodities that fell within the Bounds, and on the coasts of the Sumer Islands in or about the moneth

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of may 1642 in reference to Captaine fforster, then deputie Gouernour in the sayd Islands, as also his the sayd Captaine fforster's appeale to the company (vpon seuerall proceedings against him in the Islands touching the sayd ship and the lading thereof) together with the Report of the comittee of the Sumer Islands Companie therevppon, after long debate resolued vppon the Question, and accordinglie ordered That the Proceedings in the Islands against Capt^{n} fforster concerning the sayd ship and the lading thereof, were illegall And that therefore all verdicts therevppon (on the Companies behalfe) be, and are, hereby, repealed and made null and voyd, and that the said Capt^{n} Fforster have, and he hereby hath full liberty in a legal way to sue for and to seeke his remedy against all such by whom he hath therein suffered, that haue not acted in pursuance of the orders of this company more especially that all Recoueries of money, Goods, or whatsoeuer else by Richard Merret, Edward Burges, Edward Hinson & Robert Pulford or either of them against the said Capt^{n} Fforster, by reason of his seizure of any of the Spanish goods in their hands, shalbe, and hereby are declared and ordered to be null & voyd And that this present order be sent ouer to the Gouernour in the Islands, togeather with the generall Ltres And it is further ordered that Capt Fforster haue the Priuiledge in the Islands euer vsually graunted to all that haue been Gouerno^{r} to the Counsello^{rs} there, at Large

Ex^{d} p Geo Mainwaring Secretarie

45. Att a generall court for the Somer Islands Company Sept 3, 1647

M^{r} Viner

Wee haue receiued yo^{rs} and giue you thanks for your care and indefatigable paynes for the promotinge of the Gospell w^{ch} is noe less comfort vnto vs then profitable vnto the Inhabitants of the Islands Wee haue bene desireous in some sorte to make you an acknowledgement for your greate paines taken there. But the Company beinge for the present not very able by reason of many somes of money wee haue this yeare to pay. Wee are constrayned to forbeare makeinge you any present vntill the next yeare Att which tyme we hope to giue you a testimony of our acknowledgement

Wee haue accepted of your Bill of exchange for forty pounds whereof fiue pounds to M^{r} Pennystone, three pounds to Mr. Allen, fifteene pounds xvij^{s} to M^{r} Calley six pounds to Robert Peaseby, the rest to M^{r} Christopher Pitte

As for Mr Paynters appeale wee haue considered the whole business And in respect of the poorenes of that plan though beinge very sensible of the injuryes done you wee have moderated the damages and reduced them to one hundred pounds sterl moneyes We desire you to continue your care and paynes there and wee shall not be wantinge to testifie that wee are yor loveinge ffriends

Rich Sandis Dep.
Anthony Penystone Treasur.
and four others

46. At a General court for the Somer Islands October 4, 1647

Mr Viner

You will perceive by or generall Ltre how tender the Company is of yor reputacon by soe farr approveing the verdict in the accon wherein you were pff against Mr Paynter as to admitt of Mr Paynter's payeinge you 100 lb parte of the 500 lb giuen you by the Jury, neuertheless we haue thought fitt to recomend to you that this our resolucon may bee improved by you for an occasion of friendship and reconciliation by remittinge all or most of it and not vsed as a ground of further distance betwixt you by pressinge Mr Paynters payment of (at least) any considerable parte thereof in case you shall find him willinge to testifie his sorrowe for giuinge any to this difference, wherein you would expresse a spirritt of love and moderacon which is the more requisite in cases of this nature where passion may beget vnkind expressions without intencon of preiudice to the party reflected on. And so we comitt you to God, and rest

Yor loveinge friends

Richard Sandis Dep	Will Jessop
Anthony Peniston Tresur.	Josias fforster
Warwicke Gour	Chr. Pitt

47. Alarm on the arrival of Capt. W. Sayle (See p. 623.)

Capt Sayle arrived at the Towne harbour wth diuers passengers. And vppon informacon had of store of armes and ammunicon wch they had on board The Assizes being to proceed the next day, the Court was called and after the Gouernor

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had deliuered his speech the Assizes were adiourned vntill the arrival of the London shipp And by reason of strangers beinge com amongst vs, wee not knowinge their intents we proceeded to putt the countrey into a posture of defence

48. A councell table att Capt Wood's house Oct 6th 1647

Ordered that the 4 vpper tribes doe send 8 men to the kings Castle there to remaine as a guard vntill the Gouernor and Councell shall think fitt to discharge them, and the same tribes to find them prouision duringe the tyme of their aboad there w^ch^ shall be noe longer than needs must, that is to say vntill wee shall settle the country in a better posture by reason of the diuision amongst vs

49. Att M^r^ Triminghams October 1647 [the entry next preceding is dated Oct. 6].

Capt Sayle did then deliuer *the box of Letters* boath *the p.liament and the companies. And he did* vndertake to *point out a way whereby to* compose the *distractions of the Plantacon* Whereuppon the Gou^r^nour and councell declared y^t^ wee were all willing to joyne with him, and wee desired him to propound, for he said that he had neither Comission nor Instructions

Hee began to moove that the Independen^ts^ way might stand and his motiue indusinge to it was that to his knowledge they had tolleracon in England and that in the Citty of London the Episcopall ministers did preach, the presbitterians did preach, and the Independen^ts^ did teach, And where the presbitterians taught he could neuer find aboue a half score people, but all the rest constantly full and then he proceeded howe he had obtained free trade for the Inhabitants here, and being required to showe his warrant for it he said that some of the company opposed it, but he left his lawer to try it with them, and that my Lord of warwicke had bin for it this 18 yeares.

To which the Gou^r^nour replyed If this be all the inducement you can produce for complyance wee cannott condescend to neither of your propositions, viz the tolleratinge of inde-

pendencie or admittinge of free trade, and I know not who desires it for that were but sellinge our lands and putt o^{r}selues to the mercie of Strangers, besides it is contrary to our commission and our oath, the w^{ch} I will maintain inviolable by Gods assistance soe longe as I haue to do with the gou^{r}nment.

[What follows at the top of the next leaf is torn or worn away.]

50. Att the Gouernors House, all the councell present except Capt Leicraft & Mr Devitt Oct. 22. 1647

Mr White being convented before the Gou^{r}nor and councell for continueinge the gatheringe of people togeather at the mill to the generall disturbance of the countrey, and contrary to the Lawes and orders here established It was agreed by the Gou^{r}nor and councell then present, that Mr White shall returne to prison till further order, he being yet not discharged since his first imprisonment Mr White craued his appeale and pleaded the penalty of the Act

It was ordered that Mr Hunt be committed duringe the Gouernors pleasure for presenting at Capt Jennyns with a charged pistoll

51. Att the Assizes October 1647

(1) One Thomas . . . was indicted for robbery from a dwelling

To which Indictment beinge by the grand Jury found a true Bill he pleaded not guiltie and for his further triall did putt himselfe uppon god and the countrey which beinge a Jury of 12 sworne men did find him guiltie wherevnto he craued the benefitt of his clergie w^{ch} being graunted the Ordinary pronounced *legitt vt clerus* soe the judge sentenced him to be burnt in the hand w^{ch} was don accordingely att the barr in the face of the court.

[The Governor was doubtless Ordinary then, as he has always been as far as can be traced.]

(2) The Jury for our Sou^{r}aigne Lord the kinge doe present Mr Stephen Painter, by the name of Stephen Painter of South-

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ampton tribe in the Somers Islands, for that he the said Stephen Painter did on or about the 5th day of may 1664 att a publique meeting at the Church in Pagitts Tribe (being the very day on w^ch^ the Independents chose their pastor) publiquely say speake and declare that he did acknowledge Mr White their pastor to be his supreame [head] next vnder Christe, the said Mr White being then and there present did most traitorously and rebelliously owne and take vpon himselfe that title of supremacy in not informing against but consenting vnto the said Painters Rebellious and traitorous diminishinge and takinge away the titles and prerogatiues of our Souveraigne Lord the King vid. Stat 35 Hen 8. c. 2–3 all which is contrary to the peace of our sd Soueraigne Lord the Kinge his crowne and dignitie

To w^ch^ Jndictment beinge by the Grand Inquest found a true Bill he pleaded not guilty, and for his further triall the Gouernor and councell turn him over to be tried in england accordinge to the Lawes in the like cases on that behalf made and prouided

(3) The indictment of the Rev. Nathaniell White follows in corresponding terms, to which he pleaded not guiltie and said 'that he would maintaine the words herein presented, supposed to have been spoken by Mr Painter to be noe treason, and the court taking good notice thereof, proceeded no further, but for his further triall to be tried in the Realme of England accordinge to the lawes for like cases in that behalf made and prouided

52. The presentments of the Grand Inquest

(1) Mrs Margery Saile for absentinge herselfe from frequenting the ordinances of God

(2) Richard Hawkes for not bringinge his child to be baptized accordinge to the Acts of the Assembly. Censured that the said Acts be put in execution against him

(3) A number of persons in each of the Tribes were presented for frequenting irregular ministrations, and refusing obedience to the acts for uniformity of worship. The names were filed, but are not entered.

(4) About sixteen persons are presented for incontinency and for the most part sentenced to receive 20 or 30 lashes

Wee of the Grand Inquest doe humbly present vnto the graue consideration of this Court That whereas divers pious and well affected people haue freely giuen their benevolencies

to soe Religious a worke as the erectinge and establishinge of a free school in these Islands wee earnestly desire that those who haue been intrusted with the foresaid guifts may be called to a strict accompt and caused to render the p.ceeds thereof.

At this assize the Rev. P. Copeland was 'released from the good behaviour' with 12 others. Probably persons bound over for breach of the law in attending irregular services at the mill.

(5) Hannah Dunscombe havinge rashlye and vnadvisedly spoken certain words tendinge to the derrogacon and scandall of Mr. William Viner minister of Gods word in Pembroke tribe (in which The mill was situated) subscribed an humble acknowledgment, 2 Oct.

53. At a Councell Table Feb. 11. $164\frac{7}{8}$.

(1) M^{r} N White presented a petition to be allowed to go for England to answer the charges against him The Secretary and eight of the council (forming the Royalist party) were of opinion that he ought to be sent home by the Statute lawes of England Four republican or Puritan members were of opinion that he might be released 'giueing baile to answer vppon all occasions till the returne of the shippe, and then to stand to the company's order The question being asked of M^{r} White whether he would giue such baile, he answered noe

Whereuppon the Gouernor suspended his Judgement vntill another meetinge, that all the councell should be present . . .

54. At the meeting Feb 24 $164\frac{7}{8}$ it was thought fitt and ordered that M^{r} White should be sent for England, in case he refuses to go of his owne accord, because that the lawe saith that all treasons or treasonable words uttered or perpetrated out of the Realme are to be *judged* in the Realme. To this all the councell *agree* except Capt fforster and M^{r} Wilkinson *whose opinion was* that wee should first informe the company and soe be guided by their order

(2) Then the Spanish Captain was sent for whome we conferred wth about the transportation of himselfe and men for S^{t} Lucas (S^{t} Lucia?) . . .

It was consented by the Gou^{r} and some of the councell that M^{r} Sherriffe should sell Blacke Moll one of the Company's negroes for their vse shee beinge a lazie servant and a lewde liuer M^{r} Sherriffe accordingly did sell her to the Spaniards, for sixteene pounds sterling

55. A council *Table held March* 29. 164$\frac{7}{8}$

All the councel *present*

It was then *prayed* by M^{r} Painter on behalf of him selfe and M^{r} White that *they, with them that would* examine them, might be ordered to goe for England to make good the charge ag^{t} them It was conceiued by the Gou^{r} and his counsill that they could *not* compell any to goe, but if they *be willing they might go.* And it was conceaued that the depositions taken here will be Authentique, and of *validity* It was further ordered that this our Resolue shold be granted vnto M^{r} Painter vnder the Secretaries hand

(2) Barnett Coleman and some others were committed to prison till further order for concealinge of some of the Spanish goods

56. At a Councell Table, April 4. 1648

(1) This day the £300 was paid to M^{r} Kinge for transportinge the Spaniards

(2) The Spanish maister was brought before the Councill for skandalizinge the Gou^{r}no^{r} Reporting that the Gou^{r}no^{r} shold take 150 pieces de Octo out of the Capt chest. M^{rs} Fforster and M^{rs} Pasque attested that he had reported soe The councell finding him guilty of a very heynous cryme in reporting such falsities against the Gournor for the grand Capt did avowe that he had not lost a peny, nor the worth of a peny since he came to the Gouernors house the councell consideringe [that he was a stranger, only required him to crave pardon on his knees and subscribe under his hand an acknowledgement, and so the governor worthily forgave him]

57. At a council Table, 18 May 1648

It was moved by the Sherriffe that the whole Councell should deliuer their oppinion concerning the Spaniards diett, and how they wold haue the country satisfied

Whereuppon they all declared that the country ought to receaue satisfaction out of the Spanish goods recouered.

(2) Vpon the declaration and request of certaine of the Inhabitants in the name of the whole and vppon serious debate thereof: It was ordered that M^{r} Gouldinge should be warned to forbeare teacheing the mill or any other priuate meetinge,

but onely his owne family, and if he shall refuse and doe contrary to this order, then he is to be brought downe to prison

Assented vnto by the Gou^{r}n^{r} and counsell except Capt fforster M^{r} Tucker & M^{r} Wilkinson.

[The will of Rev. W. Goulding will be found inserted under date 21 August, 1648.]

58. A declaration and y^{e} humble Request on behalfe of ourselves and diuers of our Brethren *June* 1648?

To y^{e} Right wor^{ll} Cap^{t} Thomas Turnnor Governour and the councell here established

Hauinge wth much griefe of heart considered and well weighed the inconstant and uncertain condicon our poore little comon welth now stands in, lest our silence should be too heavy a burthen upon our consciences seeinge not only ourselues, but our wives and children are interested either in our wele or woe, and experimentally findinge (whether through distracons there, or disregard of vs here) we haue notwithstandinge our complaints and waitinge with almost a tired patience noe Redresse from England Wee haue therefore thought meete in humble wise to present to yo^{r} more grauer consideracon, the not only distempered but almost distracted estate boath of our church and comon welth not doubtinge that as in conscience you are bound so you will endeavour as well the p^{r}uention of dangers without vs as the suppression of those which are within vs

As it is the only hapines of any Comonwelth wherein the Gouern^{t} boath of church and state are so Reguleted y^{t} they mutually concur in the maine and chiefe ends for w^{ch} they were ordained by God, so it cannot be but great callamities wilbe euer subiect to fall vppon that place and people where there is a disiunction either betwixt or in either It hath formerly bene y^{e} honor of our litle Zoar that ever the generallity of the Inhabitants especially the maior and better pte haue desired to live vnder Gou^{r}m^{t}, and to be regulated by the knowne lawes of our nation and the discipline of our Mother church of England till of late yeares some ill affected to boathe haue made a breache But we conceaue and stedfastly believe our Gou^{r}nm^{t} and Lawes are governed vppon the precepts and Lawes of god and knowe y^{t} y^{e} doctrine and discipline of our Church w^{ch} by the goodnes of god we now enioye is the way of christ all w^{ch} wee desire euer to enioye and are resolued by y^{e} assistance of o^{r} good god stedfastly to cleaue unto and wth our liues and for-

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tunes maintaine and defend it. And if it should be (w^ch^ god forbid and we cannot in the least *expect*) that any other gou^r^m^t^ or church discipline should be impressed vppon vs wee conceaue wee neither may nor dare willingly admitt or adhere to any such, for what is not of faith is sinne

There are certain men who much disturb *the peace of this Plantacon by causing divisions amongst vs Although* there needs noe manifestation what wholesome Lawes and *Ordinances there be both* of god and man for suppressinge and p.uention *of such disorders, and as is evi*dent, onely the want of execution, the life of the Lawe *hath brought it to pass that they are* growne to a gangrene And some are nowe *so settled in their wayes that the* people are refuseinge to hear our Reverend *Pastors, and will onely repaire to the* mill. Thus endeavouringe to grind their *grist with them that grind their faces* pretendinge to win soules, but wee feare *in such sort that they instead* of *gathering* to y^e^ faith, increase a faction: wee wish *it bee not saide to such* as our Sauiour tould the pharises, they compassed Sea and Land to make one proselyte and soe make him ten tymmes worse y^e^ child of y^e^ Deuill than before; fearlessly they pervert And it is growne now a comon saying amongst *the discontented* wee will goe to the mill and then wee may doe what wee list, for they are often threatened but neuer punished, and this hath caused a great grief to eu^ry^ minister and all well affected persons. Wee beseech you looke vnto it and let not dull security *blind you* vnto our safety.

As yo^u^ *the Gou^r^no^r^ & Councell* are to looke vppon Affaires of the Church w^th^ a single eye, soe wee humbly *desire that you* will take the discontents of the Inhabitants into yo^r^ serious consideration amongst other things not disregardinge for diettinge the Spaniards is one thinge w^ch^ doeth not a little trouble them And we conceaue nothinge will sooner pacifie then speedy payment, w^ch^ wee hope, the goods beinge here will soon be done. Yo^u^ cannot but be either hearers of rare witnesses of the crye (clamor wee cannot iustly tearme it) in y^e^ Countrey, neither can people be iustly blamed in speakeinge for their owne, soe noe vnreuerence be used. If this be not iustly performed it will prooue a greater wrecke to the Country then to y^e^ Spaniards

The true affection wee beare to our Countrey, fidelity to you, and Conscionable care of our peace and wellfare mooued vs to this declaracon And nowe we beseeche you againe and againe to consider of the promisses If a wound lyes hidd it is very dangerous but if apparent it may quickly be healed wee craue but you must care & lett not regard to a friend or respect of persons, cause yo^u^ in pitty to some, be pittilesse to the whole

but nowe at last lett those often promisses be paid with performance, soe shall you not only cause these troubles to cease, but begin the way procuring a happie peace. It is registred that y^e^ Romans neuer better flourished then when there maiestrates desired that the publique good should be preferred before there owne profitt Alwayes to p.cure the common good chuseinge rather to live poore in a rich comonwealth than rich in a poore citty

Lastly wee hope wee shall haue no other cause but w^th^ Joye to say our Maiestrates are men of courage feareinge god and hateinge couetiousnes, w^ch^ that you may all approue yourselves to be God for his Jesus sake grant

Robt. Pullford	Charles Watenhall
Mich. Burrowes	Tho. Brerton
Tho. Wells	Rich Harbert
Jerome Ewer	William Williams
John Smith	John Millner
John Stowe	

59. Mr Wainwright appeared [July] 1648 uppon summons for disobeyinge the Gouernors orders and Comands, and vppon his examination he would not acknowledge it an offence, but stood vppon his words in an vncivill manner contrary to the rules of all good gouernment: he was therefore censured by the generall voice of the Gou^r^nor and counsellors present, to haue a weekes imprisonment for his contemptuous carriage and to giue security to the good behaviour, and to answere the contempt of disobedience at Th' assizes, vppon further debate and by the mocon of Capt Wood, he had a weekes respite giuen him, either to conforme, or at the weekes end com to prison

(2) 1 Aug: 1648 Mr Wainwright comitted accordinge to the former Order for refusinge Baile to the behaviour

60. Mr Roemer was comitted vntill he shall giue security to the good behaviour, and to answer at next assizes, but to haue further debate next meetinge of y^e^ counsell

4 Aug: 1648 The counsell in generall met at the sessions house and diuers of the Countrey came downe.[1] Mr Roemer was called before the councell and being demanded securitie to the behaviour, he refused to giue Baile wherevppon the

[1] As here used, this phrase means the people of the main island, who were staunch Royalists. It is said that among the very primitive inhabitants of St. David's Island the word is still current in the same distinctive sense, as applied to the rest of the world of Bermuda, and generally going eastward is spoken of as going down; perhaps in consequence of the prevailing winds being westerly.—J. H. D.

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Gouernor and council voted him to prison vntill he shall tender such security or transport himself out of the land. . . This day alsoe came downe diuers of the Countrey and declared against Robert Ridley for teaching and drawinge the people from the discipline set forth *in the church* to be observed. And they said openly that if these things were tollerated and suppressed that they would obsearve neither company nor Gouernment But if the company and the Gouernment here would p.tect them in their rights and priviledges they would willingly subject themselves to the Lawes established, and with their lives and fortunes maintain both the companys Rights and their owne

The ministers also tendered vpp their Comissions and said that they would preach no longer, except these *disorders* were suppressed and they protected to goe on in the wayes of God without interruption.[1]

Whereuppon the Gou[r] and Counsell sett forth a proclamacon that none shold soe conuene hereafter, vppon paine of imprisonment. And afterwards to be banished out of the land if they will not conforme

61. The following document, although not actually the oldest will preserved, is the first in the first volume of wills. There are one or two of earlier date elsewhere. The Rev. William Goulding seceded from the Church in 1644, as we have seen (p. 585); and was selected to go to England in company with Captain W. Sayle the following year, to lay the grievances of the Puritan party before the Company and Parliament. They were probably bearers of the petition referred to at p. 600.

Will of the Rev. W. Goulding, dated August 21, 1648.

In the name of God. Amen.

I William Goulding of Summer Islands, minister of Gods word and the gospell of Jesus Christ, beeing at this time sicke and weake in body through a long and wasteing sicknes but in perfect memory and vnderstanding do make this my last will and testament as followeth

I commend my spirit into the handes of Jesus Christ who hath redeemed yt, hopeing through his mercy to partake of the inheritance of Gods elect. Alsoe I commytt my body to the

[1] These ministers were Rev. W. Viner and Rev. J. Hooper.

earth from whence yt came, to be disposed and buried at the discretion of my executors, and for the goods and estate w^{ch} the Lord hath giuen me, I do give and bequeath in order and manner following.

Through my marriage with the widow of Mr Richard Wachett deceased, I was possessed with the estate, giuen and bequeathed to her and her children, consisting in Lands, mony and goods giuen and bequeathed as aforesaid by will. I doe hereby resigne and yeld vp, and by this my last will and testament giue and bequeath all my title right, or any interest that I might by reason of my sd marriage claym or challenge therein or any part thereof vnto my beloved wife Elizabeth, her children according to the true intent and meaning of the sayd last will and testament of my predecessor Mr Richard Waylett except all such profits as hath bin raysed by any manner of wages and meanes from the aforesaid Land and servants shalbe toward the makeing up of the accompts of the affores^{d} estate wherein it may come short by reason of my personall expenses and the expenses of the famyly. . . To Ralph—the some of ten pounds of current money to be payd him when he comes to age, I give vnto my sonne John Goulding all that my Liberary and studdy of bookes except such as shall be here in after excepted as one book called Thomas Thomasius Sands and another called the ymperiall history w^{ch} I giue to the Liberary at the ffree schoole in these Islands to be deliuered at such tymes as the ouerseers of this my last will and testament fix in their discretion

I doe giue vnto M^{r} Nathaniell White Pastor of the congregation in the Som^{r} Islands one book called Shingsars Lexicon.

I give unto my wife D^{r} Prestons work, M^{r} Tho. Goodwins workes . . . with all other bookes w^{ch} were hers when I married her.

I giue and bequeath vnto my sonne John Golding one feather bed, one bolster one yellow rugg, 4 payer of fine sheetes, two payer of coarse sheetes, 4 payer of pillow beares: one dozen of fine napkins marked H. with a table cloth and towell suitable I give vnto my sonne John one Iron pott, also giue him one siluer Tankard remayning in the possession of my wife and to be for her vse while she liveth, also 6 siluer spoones.

Item I giue vnto him my sonne John Golding one negro boy named Robert, and I giue and bequeath vnto my beloved wife Elizabeth whom I make sole executrix of this my last will and testament all other my goods and chattels and personal estate whatsoeuer appertayning to me besides what is in this my last will and testament expressed my debts and engagements being satisfied to be at her disposing as she shall think fitt with advise of her beloued friends M^{r} William Wilkinson and Lief-

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tenant fflorentia Seymer whom I appoint to be oueyseers of this my Last will & Testament. In witness whereof &c

(Signed) WILLIAM GOULDING.

This 24th August 1648.

62. A councell table at Mr Triminghams House Sept 4, 1648.

All the councell present except Capt Wood Capt fforster Capt Seamer Mr Wilkinson and Mr Stowe [1]

(1) James Wilson beinge examined howe he spent the last Sabbath daye refused to render any accompt, but said amongst his friends and in a contemptuous manner before the Gouernor and councell said that he would not come to Church to heare the word of God and findeinge that he hath not frequented the church nor *the sacrament* for a longe *time* It was therefore ordered [that he should be committed to prison for profaning the sabbath]

(2) Then the Sherriff demanded how the persons that were ordered to go out of the countrey shold pay their transport, and beinge they are to goe against their wills, the Maister will not receaue them without pay in his hands. It was concluded by all the Justices present [2] that in case the passengers were not found to haue means to pay their transport then euery Councellor in his seuerall tribe did vnder take to bring the fair charges and to make it good to the gouʳnor at the next diuision and the Gouʳnor for the present to discharge their passage

(3) It was then ordered that Mr Williams and his wife and Thomas Bailly shold goe with the newe England man to Barbadoes

63. At a Court houlden for the Somers Islands Company att the accustomed place in Watlinge Street Tuesday the 5th Sept. 1648.

The cause between Mr Painter and [Revd] Mr Viner, vppon an accon of slander, where in £500 damages in the Islands by

[1] The absentees formed the disaffected minority. The whole Council consisted of about fifteen members.

[2] The councillors were ex-officio justices of the peace, and so remain to this day. It would appear that in these troubled times the functions of the justice were unusually prominent.

Jury was given to the said Mr Viner, uppon a verdict returned against the said Mr Painter, and afterwards by an order of the Court was reduced to 100lb and sittance vppon further appeale and adresse made by the said Mr Painter to the court it was referred to the grand committee appointed for the despatch of the general affaires from the Islands [It is decided, with advice of council, that the words spoken were not actionable, the penalty is remitted, with a caution to Painter]

64. At a Councell Table Oct 17. 1648.

(1) After long debate it was concluded that the Assizes should begin the 27th day of November next and the division to followe vppon further order.

(2) There were likewise convented before the Gour nor Robt. Minott. Edward Burgess Samuell Wise and one Chaplin vppon information that they did breake the sabbath, turned their back vppon the ordinance of god, to the ill examples of others, but especially to the dishonour of God, and being severally examined, Minott very peremptory challenged Mr Viner to dispute with him Mr Viner conceaved him not of capacity either to raise or maintain an argument, therefore replied that he scorned to dispute with him And the said Mr Minott did afterward say that the reading of the word was corruption and that Mr Viner did speak evill of the waye of God the Lord Jesus Christ, and that he heard him, but he could not proue it

[They were committed to prison.]

65. Mr Scarlett commander of the shipp Returne was convented before the councell 28 Oct 1648 for landing passengers vppon our Islands without an order.

[Fined 1000 lbs. of tobacco, unless he would find one Bailly and carry him away.]

66. It was ordered 23 Nov 1648 that the Inhabitants should trade with the Dutchman provided the companys duties be secured and paid after the rate of 1*s* 6*d* the lb.

It was agreed that the Leavy should be taxed *by the number of* sharers and not by the shares

The general Leavy did amount at 17lbs per head to 5571 lb[1]

[1] These figures are plain, and give a tax-paying population of 328 householders, exclusive of slaves.

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67. A counsell table at the Gou[rs] house 6 Decem. 1648.

All the councell present.

(1) M[r] White and M[r] Painter appeared and showed a discharge from the Hon[ble] companie of the matter against them in England, and M[r] Painter Acquitted of the 100 lb to M[r] Viner

(2) M[r] White produced an order vnder the hands and seales of the Ho[ble] comittee of the Parliament of England for settlinge of Religion in forraigne plantacons Intimatinge thereby a libertie of conscience to the Inhabitants of the Islands Vppon debate hereof it was considered whether wee could submitt and tollerate M[r] White to put that order in execution without violation of our oathes wee beinge sworne by the Ho[ble] Company to maintaine the Gouermen[t] of this place accordinge to his Ma[ties] Letters Pattents and the Lawes of the ho[ble] Company the which being thoroughly weighed and considered It was voated that we would not admitt of that toleracon, being not confirmed in a Quarter Court of the company

Wherevppon Capt[n] fforster, M[r] Sherriffe and M[r] Wilkinson went in the name of the Gouernor and counsell and tendered M[r] White libertie to goe to his owne house prouided he meadle not with the publique ministry vntill the arrival of our magazine shipp by w[ch] wee expect further order M[r] White answered that he was a weake man and knewe not whether he should liue till the shipp came but if God would enable him his conscience would not give him leave to forbeare to preach publiquely

The premisses considered and debated, and putt the question whether M[r] White should haue the libertie or not it was then voated that it was more safe to stay him at the marshallsey in regard of his owne safetie and the peace of the Islands vntill wee receaue order by the next shipp in regard of the distraction of the country beinge ready to rise in armes as wee haue bene this day informed

(3) The Rev. Nath. White addressed a letter to the Governor, apparently asking to be confined at his own house, on the ground of his feeble health, and promising not to exercise his ministry. It is too much decayed for transcription.

68. Att a court holden for the Somers Islands Company at the accustomed place in Watlinge street, Tuesday the 27 June 1648.

This day Mr Deputy made report to the court that he with some members of the Company accordinge to an order of

Court of the 21st of this instant had advised with Councell vppon the accusations of high treason sent from the Somers Islands by Capt Turner deputie Gouernor and councell there. against Mr Nathaniell White: and Mr Stephen Painter, wthout menconing the names of the said Mr White and Mr Painter in stateinge their cases to the Councell as is ordered by the saide courte, and then it was the oppinion of the Councell that the matter contained in the said accusacons as against the said Mr White and Mr Painter were not treason as to them in the Islands Wherevppon the Court forthwith putt it to the voate Whether all the proceedings against the said Mr White and Mr Painter concerninge the said accusations of High treason should be made voyd, and null wch was ordered accordingly The court further tooke into consideracon a former suspension of the said Mr White and Mr Painter not to sett as members of this Court, vntill the said accusacons of high treason were determined wch beinge putt to the question was therevppon voated to be taken off, and was then ordered accordingly And the said Mr White and Mr Painter beinge at the doores were called to com into Court, and the Court acquainted them of their proceedings in the said accusacons sent over against them and that the court had ordered that all the proceedings against them touchinge the said accusacons to be made voyd and null and that they were discharged of the same And the said Mr Painter was restored to sitt in court as formerly a member of the Company.

68*a*. A Councell Table at Mr. Leacrafts House Tuesday the 16 January 164$\frac{8}{9}$ All ye Councell present except Capt Seamer and Mr Stowe

Mr. Wilkinson is suspended from the Councell vntill we know the Honble Companies further pleasure, by a generall voate of the Counsell, the sherriffe only excepted.

(2) Capt Jenyns appointed commander of the trained bands within Smiths and Hamilton tribe

(3) The warrants for searching for Armes and Amunicon was consented vnto by the Councell and voated by a generall voate to be put in execucon

(4) There were divers of the Inhabitants that presented a paper wth certaine Articles of Agrievances, wth a Resolution not to admitt but one way of worshipp in these Islands. It was herevpon ordered by the Gour nour and Councell that a proclamacon shold yssue for the suppressinge of all conventicles and priuate meetinges, and that all such that will not conforme to

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the discipline established must prepare to goe out of the land, the proclamacons were published the saboath day followinge

[The 'new Governor' of the next extract was Capt. Josias fforster, who went to England about May, 1647 (ante, p. 620), and on the 1st January, 1650, was by order of the Council of State confirmed in that office, to which he had been already appointed by the Company. At the same time John Vaughan was ordered to be removed from his office of Secretary, and the persons of Captain Turnor and the Rev. W. Viner to be arrested and sent to England for disaffection to the Commonwealth.]

69. Leftenant Michael Burrows *Jan^y being required to submit a* charge in writing *against M^r John Somersall of Sandis Tribe* delivered it vppon *oath as here followeth*

(1) M^r John Somersall of Sandis Tribe beinge in Somerset Isl^d in the tribe aforesaid about some busines: the said Somershall fell into discourse w^th the s^d Lift M. Burrowes w^ch Lift tould him that it was reported that the new Goue^rnor should be kept out when he came, but he knew noe such thinge, the said Somersall replied that he would venture his life to bring him in, and further that if he read his commission vppon fflemishe[1] Rocke point it would be sufficient, the said Michaell answered Trewly mate, I will not venture my life for any Gou^r or vppon such tearmes. the said Somersall answered I haue but one life to loose, and for my pte I haue suffered and bene imprisoned yet we are not altogether fooles, for though wee are disarmed, yet there is other armes besides guns and Bullets. And for what wee doe, we haue [order ?] from vnder the p.liant^s hands, and some of the chiefe, and I know wee and our adherents are as stronge as yo^u and much more all to this effect was spoaken by the said Somersall, if not worse. He further said that he heard they shold be banished or sent away, but if any durst carry them, they would bringe them on the Rocke, and plunder them, and this and much more was spoken by the said Somersall at the present, and much more formerly by him to the same purpose, but then only *pro* and *con:* that could not soe justly be taken notice of.

(Signed) Michael Burrowes

[1] The Flemish wreck is marked in Norwood's first chart of 1622, and Flemish Rock Point was no doubt in the neighbourhood; probably what is now Daniel's Head.

The w^{ch} being debated M^{r} Somersall confessed much of the matter, and did put another jnterpretation vppon the meaninge of the words, the Gou^{r} and Counsell w^{h} vnanimous consent comitted him to prison there to remaine vntill the next Assizes. M^{r} Somersall said however that he would tender no security if it might be accepted, and soe yielded himselfe into the marshalls hands

Left^{t} Michaell Burrows bound to our Sou^{r}aigne Lord the kinge in xx^{lb} sterl to bringe in evidence against Jo^{n} Somersall at next assizes.

(2) Memorandum That I Henry Tucker Sheriffe haue disposed of a negroe child called Ellicke the sonne of ould Saunders a negroe, vnto Jn^{o} Stowe Marshall and to his assignes, vntill the said child attain to the age of twentie yeares, to be brought vpp by him in the feare of god and to readinge, as far as the vnderstandinge of the bible, and at the expiracon of the said tearme if he shall so longe liue to be for the use of the Colloney Witnes my hand this 3rd day of ffebruarij $164\frac{8}{9}$

In the presence of JOHN VAUGHAN Secrett — HENRIE TUCKER Shirriffe, JOHN STOWE

70. The date of the next entry, which is in a new hand, has perished, with nearly half of each of the first ten lines of the MS., the sense of which can only be inferred from what remains. It may be assigned to March $164\frac{8}{9}$. As in some previous instances, the Editor has thought it more preferable to attempt a restoration, distinguished by *italics*, than to pass over what was a critical time in the struggle of parties in Bermuda. A magazine ship had evidently brought intelligence, not indeed of the king's execution—having left England before the 30th of January—but of his approaching trial and of the temporary triumph of the Revolution, and the near approach of the end. It is very probable that this was the first intelligence received by Governor Turner and his council of the gravity of the political crisis at home. R. Norwood remarks in one of his letters that a vessel just arrived had brought the first news they had had from September 1640 to the end of December 1641. Another

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and longer interruption of communication may have well occurred since the king's imprisonment. The complete neglect of the Plantations at this exciting time is curiously shown by the fact that the Calendar of Colonial Papers in the Record Office in London shows only four for 1647 and only one for 1648. Be this, however, as it may, the policy of the Bermuda Company, which was Royalist in 1647, had evidently undergone a change since their letter of that date, already given; and an order was now received removing Captain Thomas Turner from his government. It is inferred from the entry below that a government by Commission was to be tried. Richard Norwood, a moderate man, attached to the Church, but finally to the Independents, whom he preferred to the Presbyterians, was to be one of the joint Governors; Mr. Wilkinson, a strong Independent, another. Apparently Captain Leacraft was to have been a third, the introduction of his name being best explained by that supposition. Leacraft had previously died. Wilkinson, being obnoxious to the dominant Church faction, was not permitted by them to exercise his commission, and Norwood declined to do so without him. Captain Turner, therefore, reluctantly, on pressure from his Council, consented to resume his post, only to be ejected from it as too moderate by the same party six months later.

The magazine shipp hauing arrived M^r^ Buckleman delivered the boxe from the *company vnto the Gouernor, whereuppon* Mr Wilkinson, Captaine Leicroft being dead *demanded receaue his letters from the* secretary, and the boxe being opened, the Secretary *took account of its contents and deliuered* ltres to the Councellors of each tribe, and then cleared *the counsell chamber, while he next* proceded to reade the generall Letter, because *the people were clamoring for us to choose* another instead of Cap^t^ Leicroft vppon the *Commission* . . . as in such case by *election of* the surviuor or suruiors was to take place. . . . *And the Gou^r^no^r^* propounded that Mr Norwood and Mr Wilkinson should go to the Church according to the *usual custome and there haue the* comission Read, but imediately

came in our two ministers and *diuers others* from the countrey *who all* Cried, but one Gouern^{r}! and the minister desired to haue *their* names putt vpp to goe for Barbados and declared that they had p.sented condicons *alreadie to* the ho^{ble} companie and that they would never liue where should be a finger of an Independent Gouern^{t}, the rest of the people cried out they would be gouerned by the booke of Orders and the Letters Pattents. And another p.tie cried out reade the Commission! insomuch that there was a very rude carriage amongst them. M^{r} Norwood very mildly p.suaded with them to be ciuill and that he would deferre the readinge of the commission till next morning, and soe the people p.ted. M^{r} Norwood and M^{r} Williamson conferred togeather, and next morning they met with the councell and all agreed to haue the bell rung, but the maior pte of the councell saide that they would never act with M^{r} Wilkinson but would surrender vpp their places and in the jnterim comes in diuers of the people having locked the church doors, and saide pointe Blanke that he which refused to come to the church to heare the word of God should not go to that church to receave any honor, and soe declared themselues that they would haue but one gouernor, and that they would informe the Company vnder their hands, and produced a declaracon with some 3 or 400 hands whereupon M^{r} Norwood would not meadle with the Gouernment. M^{r} Wilkinson tendered himselfe to searue the Hon^{ble} Company, but neither counsell nor people would agree that he should haue any hand in the Gouernment with M^{r} Norwood Capt^{n} Turner delivered vpp the place in obedience to the Orders of the ho^{ble} Companie so that wee had no Gouernor here, whereuppon the council pleaded with the people that they would be patient, and giue them leaue to conferre and consult together what course were best to be vsed for preservinge the peace and the preseruation of the Rights and priuilledges of the ho^{ble} company The whole Councell beinge in debate of the premisses, it was vnderstoode by the maior pte of the councell accordinge to the 148th Article in the Booke of orders that they ought and thereby had power in the vacancie of a Gouernor to choose another to succeed in that Gouernment, vntill the company take other order And there vppon Captaine Wood Capt Fforster and Capt Turner was called out and the rest of the councell to choose one of the three to succeede in the Gou^{r}ment till further order from the Hon. Company. The whole councell voted for Capt Turner except the sherriffe and Capt Jenyns who passed for Capt Wood, so Capt Turnor with much persuasion tooke his oath againe

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71. The councell met againe at Capt Woods house March 24 $164\frac{8}{9}$

Cap^{t} Seamer
M Stowe
M Morgan
} Absent

The commissioners declaringe that they *all agreed, proceed to* d*is*c*harge their trust* except M^{r} Wilkinson and M^{r} Norwood *who refuse. Capt. Turnor* freely declared himselfe that he was farr from *desiring to take the Gou*^{r}*ment but* the councell cast it vppon him after M^{r} *Norwood had refused and he would lay it* doune againe provided the countrey might *be satisfied the better thereby. Then they concluded that* Munday following they would all meete. . .

72. All the councell mett [March 26] according to the former order and M^{r} Wilkinson and M^{r} Norwood did require the commission the which the Secretary produced Capt^{n} Turnor then demanded whether there was not a commission from the right hon^{ble} the Committees for the settlinge of Religion in forraigne plantacons, to w^{ch} the secretary made answere that there was none in the boxe whereuppon Capt^{n} Turner declared that he had taken oathe not to deliuer vpp the Government to any but to such as should haue the approbacon of that Right Hon^{ble} Committee confirmed vnder the hande and seale of 6 of them at the least accordinge to an ordinance of Parliament dated 1643, and soe yet *neuer the lesse* he desires the aduise of this councell and putt it to a voate whether the Hon^{ble} companyes comission should take place being not ratified by the saide Right Hon^{ble} committee in virtue of the said ordinance of p^{r}liament and vppon serious debate hereof Jt was voated as follows

The secretary did conceave that in regard the Hon^{ble} company hath yielded obedience to the ordinance of Parliament dated 1643 and to the Right Honorable committee thereby ordained for Forraigne Plantacons And that Capt^{n} Turnors power for the gouernment is derived from that power, he is of opinion that it is not safe for Capt^{n} Turner to deliuer vpp that power without order from that Hon^{ble} comittee confirming the Ho^{ble} companies comission accordinge to the tenor of that ordinance

M^{r} Morgan
M^{r} Johnston
M^{r} Burrows
} of the same opinion because M^{r} Norwood would not accept the comission at first

Capt[n] Jenyns oppinion that in regard of his Oathe to maintaine the companies rights and priviledges that the saide last commission ought to take place

M[r] Wiseman
M[r] Trimingham } as the Secretary verbatim
M[r] Hall

Captain Woods oppinion that the saide last comission ought not to stande beinge not Confirmed by the saide committee as Captain Turners was

M[r] Sherriffs opinion that the saide last commission ought to take place

Capt[n] Forsters opinion that in regarde by Oathe he is bound to maintain the companys rightes and that he knows not of any officers made by the said comittee, but after they haue been made they haue confirmed them

Wherevppon it was ordered that the said Comission should be returned to Capt[n] fforster the Sheriff and Capt[n] Jenyns voted the negative.

73. The Commissioners for the wrecke mett at the marshalls House

Then the w*hole* Cou*ncell at* theire request gaue them a meeting *May* 1649 *wherevppon they reported* that they found some obstruccons *in the consider*acon of *the premises* by reason that Capt Turner was r*eturned to* his *place amongst* them they demanded whether the councell would continue him Capt Wood answered that he shold be continued till further order from the Company, but neuertheless he shold be responsible to them for the matter of the wrecke, and therevppon the Gou[r]nor came and brought his accompt and produced the goods and treasure remaining in his hands and divided it, the one halfe for the Company th' other halfe for himselfe, of the treasure . . . in his owne house, the rest he tooke onely one third, and so they concluded for the present

74. Att the Gouernors House June 20. 1649 All the councell present except Captain fforster

Ordered that noe powder be spent, nor shott vpon any occasion or pretence whatsoeuer without order of the comander in chiefe of each diuision, vppon paine of imprisonment Ordered

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that every Councellor and other officer be vigilant and carefull in their respective tribes to suppresse, and punish all drunkenes, accordinge to Lawe

M^r^ Axson, Washington, and Bethell, Bayled to answer at next assizes for some words spoken ag^t^ his Ma^tie^

75. Att *M^r^* ——— *House* July 5, 1649

Present all the Councell

Except Captain Stowe
And many of the *country also present*

Proposition *made by the country vnto the* Goue^r^ and Councell

Wee uppon sufficient grounds reports and circumstances are convinced that our Royall Sou^r^aigne Charles the first is slaine wch horrid act wee defie and detest and unwillinge to have our conscience stained with the breach of the oath [to] our god and to avoid fallinge into a premunire, acknowledge the high-borne Charles prince of Wales to be the undobted heire apparent to the kingdomes of great Brittan ffrance and Ireland wee desire the said prince accordinge to his birthright may speedily be proclaymed

2ndly. Wee desire that the oath of alledgeance and supremacy may be forthwith administerd to all people in these Islands who are capable thereof without exception and if any shall deny the taking of the said oathes or by any manner of practice whatsoever transgress against either the ptie or p.ties beinge Lawfully convict thereof, to be speedily punished accordinge as the Lawes of our nation hath provided in such cases

3rdly. Wee desire the Gou^r^mt of our church and state may forthwith be regulated accordinge to his Ma^s^ Letters Pattents granted to the hon^ble^ company and noe other either admitted or tolerated in these Islands

Lastly. Wee desire that all manner of psons whatsoever Inhabiting these Islands may accordinge to the Lawes of our nation be comanded vniformitie Jn matters of Church Gov^mt^ And uppon refusall of conformity to be proceeded against as our Lawes in that case hath provided

Wee desire these our Just demands and Requests may be putt into speedy execution

Hereupon the gov^r^ desired the people to withdrawe and to give us some tyme to consider of the p.misses and uppon mature deliberation had thereof they were answered as followeth

76. The Gou^{r} & counill^{rs} Answer to the Countreys p.position

To the first wee doe give our heartie thanks for your loyaltie to the kinge and Crown of Englande wee doe acknowledge *the high-born Charles Prince of Wales to be heir* to the crowne and kingdome *of England Scotland* ffrance and Ireland after the de*cease of his royal* father and wee doe hereby declare and utter, we detest and dissent that horrid Act of Slayinge his Maj^{tie} and by the oath wch wee have taken, wee shall beare faith and alleadgiance to the Lawfulle Kinge of England his heirss and successors.

To the second wee have ordered that euery Justice in their respective Tribes shall forthwith administer the oath of alleadguance and supremacy to all manner of psons wch are capable to receave the same, and for such as shall refuse the lawe shall be speedilie putt in execution against them

To the third we are bound by oath soe wee shall to the uttermost of our power pforme and maintaine the gou^{r}nmt of *this Place* accordinge to his Maj^{s} letters pattents and the Lawes and orders of the Hon^{ble} Company the same being consonant to the Lawes of England

To the fourth q.ent wee are not fully prepared to give yo^{u} a positive Answeare in regard that the Oath is to be tendered speedilie for wee conceave you shall then discouer more than wee have yet done, and when the oath hath been tendered wee will giue you a meetinge in some convenient place and give yo^{u} our finall Resolution not doubting but this will be very satisfactory for the present Assuringe that wee shall not be wantinge with our Liues and fortunes to maintain yo^{u} in yo^{r} Rights and prividedges against all opposition whatsoever

This beeing done the Tribes were to choose two men to present their agrievances to the Gou^{r} and counsell and soe wee adiourned, and noe tyme or place appointed for the next meetinge

77. *At a Councell Table*, August 20, 1649.

Ordered that *a Proclamacon* be drawne and published to re*quire of all psons conformit*y or ells to with drawe all *protection from such* notwithstanding all former Orders

The Proclamacon

21° die Augusti 1649

Whereas divers of the Inhabitants of these Islands haueinge

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taken the oath of supremacy and alleadgiance vnto his ma^tie the Lawfull kinge of England and yet neuertheles they contrarye to theire oathes doe deny conformity to the lawes and Goverment here established. Wee doe therefore order and declare that all such psons as shall refuse conformity to the Gou^rnment of these Islands boath in church and state, imediately after the publication hereof, or otherwise (*sic*) to expect noe protection from vs, by virtue of any former power or order whatsoeuer, but they and euery of them shall be liable to answere the Lawe as disturbers of the Peace, and contemners of authority. Wee doe order that this be published in all places of publique meetinge in these Islands

Ordered to be published.

THOMAS TURNNOR

(2) The same day M^r Romer and Tho Wilson were committed to prison for not takinge the Oathe of alleadgeance

(3) M^r Gouldinge sent the bookes for newe England[1]

M^r Pasque had 8 pans 4 gallons of mulliasses (molasses the goods that M^r Leicraft had, was bought at Antigua: Goodman Yates had the cotton

78. [One Hunt was summoned, August 1649, before the Council for treasonable speeches against the 'kinge the P.liament and the Gou^rnor.']

He said the Council had no power to question him and would not answer it vnto them, but would appeale to the Assizes, and vsed many bould imperious speeches against the whole Councell

Vppon full debate of the matter he was censured of the whole councell with vnanimous consent to stand one houre in the pillory with a paper writt in Capitall Letters For scandalous words against the Gou^r, and thence to prison vntill he giues baile to the good behaviour

Ordered by the same councell that this be putt in execucon speedily by M^r Sheriffe

M^r Hunt contemninge the censure of this councell and refused to submitt vnto it, but oposed it, the Sheriffe being loath to vrge too much violence, informed the councell there-

[1] Probably for Harvard College, where Rev. George Stirke, Rev. Nathaniel White, and others of the Puritan party in Bermuda, sent their sons for education. See 'Harvard Graduates,' by John Langdon Sibley.

with and they all voate him to lye in Irons vntill he shall willingly submitt to the saide censure he hauinge at that Instant abused Gou^rno^r and Councell and the Sheriffe with many vile reproachfull speeches.

(2) Ordered that noe boate is to goe out vppon the discouery of any shipp, but such as the Justice of the tribe where she is first discovered shall appoint

(3) The Dutchman had a grant from the countrey to have a trade for tobacco

79. M^r Bullocke is to be comitted to the castle 18 Sept 1649 for 3 monthes, and to be vnder the comand of the Left^t. M^rs Bullocke to send him prouision

[The charge does not appear.]

(2) John Burrowes was censured to pay 50*s* for abusinge the councellors and church officers, for demandinge of him to send backe the church Ladder w^ch he had taken without acquainting any of the church officers therewith and for refusinge to bringe home the same againe. And he submittinge to that censure and tenderinge the money he had x*s* backe againe

(3) Mr. Whetenhall in the name of the countrey did impeach M^r Nathaniell White for an enemy to the Kinge company and countrey Wherevppon it was ordered that a warrant shold be yssued out for the apprehending of M^r White to answere that charge and his contempt against the last proclamacon

80. A meeting of the Council and the country was held at Mr. Trimingham's house Sept. 25, the record of which is imperfect. It may be gathered that the party in arms called 'The Country,' under the warrant last issued, had seized upon the persons of the Rev. N. White, and 'of most of the Independents, which were formerly prisoners in the house of Mrs. Taylor.'

Att which tyme certaine Articles were exhibited against Gou^rno^r Turnor by the Countrey vnto the councell: the councell conceaved those Articles to be noe grounds for them to displace him yet neuertheless the Countrey beinge invetrate against him, Capt Turnor layd downe his place

Wherevppon the Countrey presented to the Councell M^r John Trimingham and M^r Thomas Burrowes that one of them might

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be elected to supplye the Gou^{rs} place vntill further order from his Ma^{tie} and the hon^{ble} Company, and the countrey declared that they would submitt to be gouerned by the kinges Lawes and the Companyes orders Then M^{r} Trimingham and M^{r} Burrows went out and the rest of the councell put it to the voate whether M^{r} Trimingham or M^{r} Burrows should be Gou^{r} It was voated for M^{r} Trimingham and by much pswasion of the Councell and countrey he vndertooke the same, and condiconed with the countrey as followeth

81. Propositions to the Countrey by me John Trimingham 25 September 1649

That where as you were pleased to choose me to the place of Gou^{r}ment I doe most heartilye thanke you And I am very willinge to searve my kinge the ho^{ble} Company and yo^{r}selues of this poore colloney to the vttmost of my power

1 I desire that the houses belonginge to the Gou^{r} may be conveniently repaired

2 That some prouision be made for my entertainm^{t} at first cominge, being to remoave from my place of beinge from a private to a publique w^{ch} will require a greater expence than I at present am able to beare

3 I shall expect the *same entertainment that* my predecessor had

4 That you will *continue my office the term of* three yeares except *the Lords or the Hon^{ble}* Company doe otherwise order

The premises considered and ratified by you I will endeavour the performance of the trust to the vttmost of my power

Condescended to as followeth

Ffor the first second and fourth wee doe subscribe For the third wee can giue no answere till it be delivered into the countreyes hands, it beinge crosse to the proposicons of the countrey w^{ch} you haue subscribed

Jo^{n} Dorrell

Secretary to the Army

The Independents conditioned to goe out of the Land [all] but *such* as would conforme. And so diuers of them agreed to goe with Capt. Sayle, and had their libertie to goe and dispose

of theire meanes and to prouide for the voyadge, yet the countrey would not laye downe armes vntill they are gone [1]

82. Vppon Thursday [27 Sept.] the Army brought downe the new Gou^r and he tooke his oathe in the Church accordinge to the usuall forme and vppon ffryday they marched awaye out of the towne (of S^t Georges) into the mayne

(2) To the worthy gou^r and councell 28 Sept. 1649 Whereas I was censured by the councell and did opose the censure, for w^ch I did giue offence vnto them These are to certifie to all the world that I am heartily sorry for any offence giuen vnto them And desire them to passe it by and to accept of this acknowledgement vnder my hand

(Sign^d) Richard Hunt
vera copia J. Vaughan Secretary

83. *M^r John Trimingham* was sworne Gouernor

This entry presents some difficulty, the date and the name being both wanting. Mr. Trimingham, as appears above, took the oaths on September 27, and it is not clear why the entry should be repeated; but it can refer to nobody else, unless he had a coadjutor. His signature as Governor appears but once. (MS. ii. p. 172, Dec. 6, 1649.)

84. *At a Council Table the* — of Octo: Att the Gov^rs *House*

All the councell present except Capt Fforster and Capt Seamer

(1) Ordered and consented to by Mr Sheriffe that a peece of ordinance shalbe sould and the produce to pay for the repaire of the sherriffes House. and if the some amounts aboue the chardges the overplus to returne for the vse of the hon^ble company.

[1] The following entry seems to indicate the precise time of Rev. Nathaniel White's banishment with the other Independents:—

'25 Oct. 1649. Memorandum that I Nathaniell White haue sould my negro man called Toney to M^r John Wainwright to haue and to hold the said negro to *him* and to his heires and assignes soe longe as he liveth.

'Witness my hand

'Nath. White'

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(2) The division for the generall Leavy was agreed on, to begin on munday the Eighth day of October 1649

	Tob.
The whole Leavy for the generall did amount to	4177 lbs
The publique rents	760
There remains	3430
The w^{ch} being taxed at 1¼ lb p head into y^{e} severall tribes comes to	3542

[giving only 322 taxpayers.]

Minute of Privy Council Die Martis 16° Octobr 1649 Interregnum Entry Book. (Vol. XCI. p. 141.)

Lo. President	M^{r} Heveningham	S^{r} W^{m} Masham.
S^{r} John Davers.	M^{r} Holland	Sheriffe Wilson.
M^{r} Scott	Col. Jones.	S^{r} Henry Vane.

(1) That the Peticõn of severall Members of the Company of Adventurers for the Sum̃er Islands be referred to the Consideracõn of the Comittee of this Councell appointed for the businesse of Plantacõns, And that they may if they shall see cause send for any of the persons mentioned in the said peticõn. And that they may likewise make stay of the ship w^{ch} is bound for those Islands, if they shall finde that her goeing off at this tyme may prove prejudiciall to the peace of the said Islands.

Minutes of Privy Council A Meredie 19°: Novemb: 1649

p^{r}sent.

Lo. Pres: Bradshaw.	E. of Pembrooke	M^{r} Heveningham
S^{r} John Davers.	E. of Denbigh.	M^{r} Bond
M^{r} Scott.	E. of Salisbury.	S^{r} W^{m} Masham
S^{r} Henry Mildmay.	S^{r} Hen Vane.	S^{r} Arth: Hesilrige.
Col: Purefoy.	S^{r} W^{m} Constable.	

(7) That a letter be written to the Comission^{r}s for the Customes or to any two of them, to direct them to prepare a roule of parchment upon the top of which is to be written the late engagement, and thereon to take the subscriptions of the Governo^{rs} and all the Companyes tradeing to the Sum̃er Islands,

and of all persons who from tyme to tyme shall goe unto those Islands or any of them, And that they doe provide Roules for the severall Companyes of Merchants, and accordingly take their subscription, and the subscriptions of all persons sent from them or any of them into transmarine parts.

(11). That the Company of Adventurers to Bermuda be sum̄oned to appeare at the Councell on Wednesday next in the afternoone every man in person to receive some directions from this Councell concerning some things complayned of to be done in the said Island of Bermuda, and that the Petic̄oners concerning the same be here at that tyme to make good their charge ag^{t} them, both concerning the Governo^{r} there and alsoe the Secretary and Minister.

CHAPTER X.

1650–1652.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE LAST TERM OF GOVERNMENT OF CAPTAIN JOSIAS FFORSTER, DOWN TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMONWEALTH IN THE SOMERS ISLANDS.

1. The Council of State, December 18, 1649 Appointed the Earl of Pembroke, Colonel Purefoy, Sir W. Constable, Earl of Denbigh, Lord Whitelocke, Colonel Wanton, and Mr. Holland, or any three of them, to be a committee to examine the business of the Bermudas islands, to meet on the 20th inst. when the company is directed to attend. (C.P. p 331.)

2. The Council of State Orders Jan. 1. 1650. Domestic Entry Book Interregnum. (No. 91. pp. 461–2.)

(17) That the following Reports brought in from the Com^{ttee} Appointed for the business of the Summers Island bee approved of vizt:

(18) That the Government of the Summers Island bee setled on Capt Foster, and his Councell, as already is appointed by ye Company

(19) That all Captaines and Commanders of the Forts and Castles within y^{e} said Island, bee nominated and appointed, by y^{e} said Governour wth the Consent of this Councell.

(20) That the said Governour and Councell, doe choose another Secretary in y^{e} place of Vaughan if they see cause;

That the Gouernour and all other officers of Trust doe take the Engagm^{t} according to y^{e} order of Parliament.

That Imediatly after the Settlement of the said Governer and y^{e} Councell, y^{e} persons of Capt Turner, late Governour and

Mr Viner the Minister bee secured, and upon Examinations and proofes taken concerning the Crimes and misdemeanours wch are informed against them, they bee forthwith sent over to England togeather wh ye said Examination & proofe.

3. Came in the London *shipp* [Wednesday, the 29th May, 1650] *and brought the* comission to Capt *Fforster, which when the country heard* they came and brought *in sundry charges against Capt* fforster and Capt *Jennings, and demanded their answers* before it was read: *also many of the council* denied to take notice of it *because the l'tre was not* directed to them with the Gour as here to fore and after much debate they all agreed that the commission should be read, and went to the Church the secr read the commission and ministered the oath to the Gour whereuppon the people taking good notice of the extent of the comission accepted of the new Gour cheerfully Then wee returned to ye house the Gour read his Instrucon to the councell which gaue most of them satisfaccon only exceptinge against Mr Painter to be *of the councell* but he beinge not in these Islands that obstacle was remoued [1]

4. The oath of a councellor beinge tendered to Mr Norwood [Thursday, the 30th of May, 1650] he refused to take it Alleadginge in his opinion that it would be preiudiciall to the company: but could showe noe reason for the contrary

Mr Trimingham Mr Millor Capt Jenyns Mr Morgan accepted

Mr Norwood Mr Berkeley Mr Wainwright refused

Mr Deuitt would not accept because the company deserted him

(2) Capt Jennyns Commission beinge read the Countrey came in And articled against him that he had a plot to betray the Islands and that he had taken the ingagement, but these beinge not proued it was deferred and tyme allowed to produce witnesses in that behalfe [2]

(3) [Revd] Mr Hooper informed *the councell* that there was a shipp and 100 men to com over to take the Island, which

[1] This fragment is too important to be omitted; but so much is wanting of the page that the words in italics, or something like them, must be supplied to connect the story. 'The country' invariably means the Royalist party, who crossed over to St. George's from the main island.

[2] There is an entry dated August 8, 1650, of charges brought against Mr. Francis White, 'that he shold say that the last rising in armes was against Capt Jenyn's Gouernor, and Gouernment,' for which he apologised; apparently alluding to some disturbance at this time; but the Editor has found no document which directly proves that he ever exercised the functions of Governor.

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was vnder the command of Capt Powell, Colonell Rich M^r^ Hollond Capt Norwood and Capt Bond Commissioners aboard it, as he was informed from good hands, and he doubts not but he would proue it

5. Att the Committee of the Admiralty Die Martis Septemb 10. 1650. Interregnum Entry Book. (Vol. CXLVI. p. 228.)

Sir H. Vane. Coll. Morley. M^r^ Chaloner. M^r^ Bond.

(1) The draught of an Act concerning the reducing y^e^ Island of Barbados, Bermodas, & Virginia, was this day read, uppon reading of w^ch^ (in the p^r^sence of divers Barbados men) the Matter of fact not appearing to bee rightly stated. Itt was Ordered that Docto^r^ Walker bee desired to attend M^r^ Chaloner to Morrow Morning att 7 of the Clocke w^th^ some of the Gentlemen that came from Barbados to Conferr togeither touching the right stating of the Matter of fact, & to prepare itt for the Committee, to present itt to the Councell to bee transmitted thence to the Parliam^t^ for their approbacon and allowance. . . .

(2) Resolved. That itt bee reported to the Councell of State as the opinion of this Committe, y^t^ all such shipps & vessells as are new laden, or to be laden in any of the Ports of this Commonwealth Bound for any of the Caribe Islands, Bermoudas & Virginia bee stayed till further Order shall be given therin.

That all shipps and vessells whatsoev^r^ and y^e^ Goods therein w^ch^ shall come from thence be stayed and examyned.

That all the Lres and writings taken in any such shipps, or vessells be sent up to y^e^ Comittee of the Admirallty to be perused, and that the Invoyces and Bills of Lading be sent to the Com^rs^ of the Customes who may be impowred to examyne whythe^r^ the Goods in such shipps doe belong to persons well affected to this Commonwealth or not.

6. 3 October 1650. An Act is passed by the Long Parliament prohibiting trade and commerce with Barbadoes, Antigua, Virginia and the Somers Islands because of their rebellion against the commonwealth and government of England. (C.P. p. 343.)

7. On the same date an order of Parliament directs the Council of State to give orders to the generals at sea

that they take care, in case any ships be found by them trading to Barbadoes, Bermuda, Virginia, Antigua and other islands contrary to the above Act prohibiting trade to those parts, that they make stay of them until they shall have given an account to Parliament or the Council of State, and receive further directions therein. (C.P. p. 334.)

8. October 1650. At a Counsell Table Bermuda.

The Gou'nor is commander of the kings castle by consent of the councell

The Totall of the generall Leavy this yere doth amount to 6048lbs

To be divided by 400 shares comes to 15lb per share, and 48lb short

The castle boat to be kept in repair by Mr John Stowe

9. Assizes held November 11–22, 1650.

(1) The Jury of our Soveraigne Lord the kinge doe present Thomas Walker late of Pagetts Tribe, Taylor: as a false Traytor against our most gratious and dread Soveraigne and his Leidge Lord the King of Greate Brittane ffrance and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c haveinge not the feare of God in his harte nor weighinge his due allegiance but seduced by the Instigaton of the Devill maliciously and traitorously compassinge imagining and diviseing and intending the deprivacon and disposeing of our said soveraigne Lord from his *rightfull* and Royall name of the Imperiall crowne of that Realme of England &c on the 19th day of September in the first yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord the kinge that now is, att his house or cabbin in Pagitts Tribe of his owne prverse and traytorous minde and Imaginacon maliciously expressly advisenly directly and trayterously in the presence and hearinge of Edmund Suggden and Robert Baggett and the presence and hearing of other faithfull subiects of our said Soueraigne Lord those false mallicouse and traytorous English words followinge vizt The kinge hath sould his subiects, reitteratinge the words againe vnto the said Suggden, swearinge Soe sure as I am a liveinge man, soe sure hath the king sould you and all his subiects, and further sayd that if he were Kinge why did hee not goe and take the crowne that wee may know him to bee kinge. . .

To which indictment he pleaded not guilty but being by the

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grand Inquest found a true Bill and for his further tryall did put himselfe vppon gode and the country w^{ch} beinge a Jury of 12 sworne men did find him not guilty.

(2) The Jury of our Soveraigne Lord the Kinge doe present George Washington of Hambleton Tribe, Taylor, as a false Traytor against our most gratious and dread Soveraigne and his Liedge Lord, the Kinge &c, haveinge not the feare of God in his hearte, but seduced by the Instigation of the devil, maliciously and traytorously on the 25th day of December in the yeare of our Lord 1648, at the house of Roger Axon in the said Tribe, did then and there advisedly and directly speak and say in the hearing of the said Roger Axon these words vizt, the King has sould his subjects to Popery, and farther, the said George Washington did then and there maliciously and traiterously say that the King was a Rogue and deserved to bee hanged 7 yeares ago, The said George Washington having uttered all these traytorous and malicious words to the takinge away of his Majesty's whole power, and that hee was nor is sorry therefore, to the greate scandal and derogation of the person and Royalty of our saide Soveraigne Lord the Kinge, to the subversion of the State of the Realme of England, and the Government of this place and contrary to the form of a Statute in that case made and provided, and alsoe against the peace of our Soveraigne Lord the Kinge his Crowne and dignity.

To which Indictment being by the Grand Inquest found a true bill, hee pleaded not guilty, and for his further tryal did put himselfe uppon God and the Country, which beinge a Jury of 12 sworne men, did find him guilty, whereupon he prayed his appeale for England, which was granted him.

(3) Edward Pearman was indicted for robbing, but craved the benefitt of his clergie, w^{ch} being granted the Ordinary pronounced legitt vt clericus, soe the Judge sentenced him to be burnte in the hand, w^{ch} was donne accordingly at the Barr in the face of the Courte.

(4) That whereas it hath been the advice of many well disposed Gentlemen of our native Country to give some land for good and pious uses, so it hath pleased the worthy Treasurer and some of the Honorable Company to come *forwards with* some *certain* shares of land, with other yearely meanes, for the erecting of a Free School for the learninge and tutoringe vpp of youth, which gifts of the Donners thereof, is much abused by him which should be the chiefe in the execution of the same, so by that meanes the country receives no benefitt thereby, to the much discontent, assuring ourselves that it is contrary to the true meaninge and intent of those well disposed Gentlemen that were the first founders of the same, besides M^{r} Norwood hath

shewn an ill president in turninge of a very ancient man Thomas * * * in Warwick Tribe off one of them shares which is appropriatt for that use, and we conceive that the custome of our nation is not to rayse the rents of any Colledge Lands, nor any in that nature, but whilst hee or any that shall enjoy that place should be content with the accustomed rent of it, and not to turne poore men out of doores Alsoe we come suitors vnto your worshipp and Councell that you would be pleased to take unto your consideration that there may be some course taken that there may be some lines transmitted to the Honoble Company of the abuse of it, and that they would be pleased that some certaine proportion of that land might be conferred upon the severall Tribes towards the maintenance of Schooles, which would bee a greate helpe and ease to the poor inhabitants, and an encouragement to them that shall officiate the place.

(5) Also wee doe p^{r}sent the inequallity of the generall Leavy and desire that the Leavy may be raysed by the heads as formerly: the country in generall finds the burden of it, and especially house keepers, and the younge men goe free.

(6) Wee of the Grand Inquest for the conformacon of what wee have presented this present assizes beinge held at S^{te} Georges the 11th of November and ended the 22nd of the same month A^{o} Dom. 1650 have hereunto subscribed our names

Thomas Wood, *Foreman*,
John Fox,
Henry Sandys,
Jno: Ballord,
Tho: Brereton,
Rob^{t} Pulford,
Thomas his O mark. Hilton,
Henry Jones,
Bartholomew Paine,
Will^{m}: Bullock,
Christopher Smith,
Roger Cox,
Capt Christopher Lea,
William Guise,
Henry Wethersby.

10. Minute of the Council of State, Thursday 19° Decembris 1650. Interregnum Entry Book. (Vol. XLIII. p. 24.)

Lord President.
S^{r} James Harrington.
M^{r} Robinson.
E. of Salisburie.
S^{r} W. Armyne.
M^{r} Bond.
Lo. Howard.
Lord Grey.
Lo: Chief Baron.
M Gurdon.

Bermudas.

That y^{e} Petition of y^{e} Banished persons from Bermudas bee referred to the Consideration of the Committee for Barbadoes

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who are in y^e^ drawing of their Instructions to Consider of something to be inserted in them in order to the recovering of that Island.

11. Extracts from the Register of Pembroke Parish.

John Casson and Abigail Wilford were married the 13^th^ day of Jannuary 165$\frac{0}{1}$ by Mr Thomas Hooper mynister.

M^r^ John Elicke and M^rs^ Sibbilla Vyner were married on the 25th day of March 165$\frac{1}{2}$ by Captain Josias fforster Goue^r^no^r^.

M^r^ Thomas Dunscombe and Ann Middleton were married on the 29th Day of September 1652 by Capt^n^ Josias fforster Goue^r^no^r^.

Mr Henry Moore and Mrs Mary Johnstoane weare marryed ou the 29th day of September 1652 by Capt Josias fforster Goue^r^no^r^.

[The next entry is three years later.]

Mr Richard Hanger and Martha Hutchings weare marryed the 10th day of May 1655 by Doct Tho. Browne minister.[1]

12. Additional Instructions for S^r^ George Ayscue Kn^t^ & the other Com^rs^ appointed with him for the inducem^t^ of the Islands of Barbada's Bermuda's &c. : to their due obedience unto the comonwealth of England. Domestic Entry Book. Interregnum. (Vol. XLV. p. 84.)

(1) Whereas you have received a Comission from this Councell bearing date the first of February instant appointing & authorising you to be Com^rs^ for the reduceing of the Island of Barbada's &c: And have therewith received Instructions bearing the same date for the direction & regulacõn of yo^r^selves & those under yo^r^ Comand in order to that service and settlem^t^ : of a peaceable and good Governmen^t^ there subordinate to the

[1] The oldest parish records of which any trace remains are those of Port Royal, now called Southampton Parish. They contain baptisms from 1620, one indeed of 1619. The next are those of Pembroke parish, where we have baptisms from 1645, burials from 1646, and marriages from 1647. Edward Morgan and Affliction Watkins, married 25 Sept. 1647, head the latter list. The entries are imperfect and discontinuous. There are one or two baptisms of earlier date than 1668 in Devonshire parish; but the records generally do not go further back, and only commence to be pretty full in 1700. There is nothing at St. George's of earlier date than 1710, and the registers proper begin with 1755. If any of the other four parishes preserve early records, it is more than the writer, after frequent enquiry, has been able to ascertain.

Authority of this Comonwealth; And whereas by a late Act of Parlt (mencõned in the s^{d} Comission and Instructions) authority is given to the Councell of State, aswell to take Care for the reducem^{t} of Bermuda's Virginia & Antego, as of the Island of Barbada's. All of the said Plantacõns haveing made defection from the just & due obedience, w^{ch} they owe unto this Comonwealth and the Authority thereof In order therefore to the reducem^{ts} of the said Plantacõns & as a supplem^{t} & addition to yo^{r} former Instructions this Councell doth require & enjoyne you to observe & follow these ensuing further directions.

(2) In case that (through the blessing of God upon yo^{r} endeavo^{rs}) you shall be able to recover the Island of Barbada's unto its due subjection to this Comonwealth or after you have used your utmost dilligence to effect the same. If that you finde yo^{r}selves in a Capacity to send one or more of yo ships for the reduceing of any or all of the other plantacõns to the like obedience. You are hereby Authorized and required soe to doe. And you are to make yo^{r} attempt upon the Island of Bermuda's, w^{ch} it is informed may without much strength or difficulty be gained or upon any the other plantacõns now in defection as your Intelligence and oportunity shall serve.

(3) And for the better regulating of this service It is required That one of you the said Comission^{r}s (if two or more of you are then surviving, soe that one may possibly be spared from Barbada's) shall in person take the charge & government of the forces w^{ch} are to be sent for the reduceing of Bermudas, or the other plantacõns (this Councell reposing speciall Confidence in yo^{r} wise Conduct & managem^{t} of the businesse comitted to yo^{r} Care) But if by reason of death or sicknesse one of you cannot attend this service, then are you and the survivo^{rs} and survivo^{r} of you hereby authorised to make Choice of some other able & faithfull person to take the charge thereof who is to receive a Comission & Instructions from you or the survivo^{rs} or survivor of you for his deportment & proceedings therein, The tenor of w^{ch} Comission & Instructions are to be agreable in substance wth those you have received for the reducement of the Island of Barbada's. And in case yo^{r}selves or any of you be employed personally in that service you are alsoe to observe like order in substance as is limitted for the reducem^{t} of the Barbada's.

(4) In case it may please God that the Bermudas or any of the other plantacõns aforesaid shall be recovered to their due obedience, then he who Comands in cheife the forces that reduce the same shall have the Governm^{t} thereof, if he thinke fit and w^{tn} safety to the publiq service he may be spared to attend that charge untill the parlt or the Councell of State

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shall take further order, And he shall have power to elect for his assistance therein such able and well qualified persons, both for judgement & good affection to the Interest of this Comon-wealth, as he judgeth meet to be a Councell by whose advice, he may both settle and mannage the publiq affaires theire.

(5) But if either the Care of the Fleet wth you or any othar important publiq service, will not admit of his Continuance there, to exercise the office & Comand of Governo^{r} thereof then it shall be lawfull for him the said Com^{r} or Command^{rs} in chiefe to depute & Constitute William Wilkinson of the Island of Bermudas or some other able and faithfull person to be Governo^{r} there, and to appoint such & soe many well affected & discreet persons to be a Councell for his Assistance as he thinks fit.

(6) The said Governo^{rs} & all other subordinate Officers shall administer Justice faithfully & indifferently to all, and Cause all proceedings therein to be executed in the Name of the Keepers of the libertyes of England by Authority of Parlam^{t} according to the formes directed by this present parlt to be observed since the abolishing of Kingship & Alteracõn of the Governm^{t} in this Comõnwealth.

(7) And the Goveno^{r} of each of the said Plantacõns (being reduced) shall be enjoyned both in the settlem and managem^{t} of the trust Coñitted to his charge to observe and follow Instructions to the same effect as those you have received in relation to the settlem & Governm^{t} of the Island of Barbada's, For w^{ch} purpose you & the survivo^{rs} & Survivo of you are Authorised & required to issue forth Instructions to each of them accordingly.

Signed &c.

Whitehall 13° Februarii $165\frac{0}{5\,1}$

13. Assizes March? $165\frac{0}{1}$ [earlier than May]

(1) The Jury for our Sovereigne Lord the King doe present John Winge Servant to Thomas Jenyns Pagitt tribe in the said Islands, ffor that the said John Winge hauing not the fear of god before his eyes, but giuen over to the delusion of Satan did on or about the three and twentieth daye of ffebuary $165\frac{0}{1}$ by practice and combination feloneously mallitiously in the day tyme, by force and Armes enter in and vppon the mantion house of the said Capt. Tho^{s} Jenyns, and then and there beinge set the said house on fire and burnt it to the ground, and all that was in it contrary to the peace of our Soueraigne the Kinge his crowne and dignitie

[The grand inquest found a true bill, but the jury returned not guilty.]

(2) The same Winge and Ralph Harryes are presented vppon suspicion of breakinge into Capt Thos Jenyns his house, and stealing from thence a Eleaven Cheares (eleven chairs?) and for want of euidence to ground said Indictment wee leave them to the censure of the court

And vppon examinacon findinge noe proofe, they were discharged and Mr Tremingham was ordered to call Ralph Harries to the behaivour if he did see cause.[1]

(3) We doe present Nicholas Spencer and his wife for very Lewd Livers and vppon suspicion of pilfering and Stealinge. Ordered to be of the behaviour and to appeare at next Assizes.

(4) Nicholas Spencer presented upon suspicion of stealing Liftenant Whites turkies, censured to be whipt by his father before the constable because he was but a child.

(5) John Browne and Henry Attwell presented for Incontinencie wth Dorothie Longbottome as by their owne mouthes they have confest. Attwell was sentenced to pay 500lb of tobacco or five pounds stirl. in mony because he had bene often admonished of her, and would not reforme, and that fine to goe for the buildinge of a House of correction. Browne was sentenced to receaue 21 lashes at the post, which was done accordingly

(6) Thomas Longbottome for conniveinge at his wife's infidelity was declared infamous.

(7) Dorothy Longbottom for conspireinge to take away her husbands life, and comittinge adulterie, [and grossly slandering all the men of her tribe,] was censured to receaue 39 lashes on the naked body att the comon whippinge post, and to be after tied to a stake with a fire before her, wch was done accordingly

[The latter part of the sentence seems to have been a nominal infliction of the legal punishment for petit treason. The present writer well remembers putting to the late Sir Francis Palgrave, and an eminent lawyer still living, the question whether the punishment of burning, of which instances occurred in England so late as 1773–1778–1788 (*see* Howard's Tables) was inflicted on living females for this offence, and both those high authorities agreed that such undoubtedly was the fact.]

[1] This is followed by the presentment of Anne Bowen for witchcraft. See Vol. II., ch. xi.

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(8) Three couples are presented for incontinency before marriage and censured to give satisfaction to the Church before the Vestrie. Hanna a negroe woman for a similar offence ordered that the councellor is to see her punished

(9) Presentments follow of the Highways. Of the neglected state of the Forts. Of the unnecessary spoylinge and cutting of that vsefull tree the Pallmetto by negroes and others for Bibey and the like. For rashe swearinge out of malice and the like, whereby some are ready to runne into wilfull perjury. The abuse of forestalling marketts at shippinge, and the abuse of slanderinge and tale bearinge, the abuse of robbinge orchards and vinyards on the sabboath day. The great complaint of the inhabitants of Tanners and Shoemakers, in beinge excessiue in their prices for worke and for cuttinge of Barke[1] in mens grounds without leaue, and that sometimes to the spoylinge of harbours for boats. The mode of taking the leavy by the share instead of by the Head, as formerly.

14. The chardge and accompt of Tobaccoes sold in Holland.[2] A Memorandum.

	lbs.
The Totall chardge of Tobaccos	9616
Whereof is to be deducted for rotten Tobacco 50lb in the 1000lb.	2875
And for shrinkage and difference of weight 25 in the 100lb	
	6741

	Gilders.
6741 of tobacco at 14 gild per 100 comes . .	943
Whereof is to be abated for freight &c 5½ lb in the 100lb wh. comes to cleere	363½
The cleere some is	579½

[1] This bark was used for tanning, and is frequently referred to in old laws. The olive-wood still bears the name of bark (sometimes pronounced barrack) (*Elœodendron xylocarpum*), but the tree intended is probably the button-tree (*Conocarpus erectus*, which must not be confused with the button-wood of the United States, a different tree), which often overhangs the sea, and has been frequently confused in statutes with the bark proper, the leaves having a general resemblance.

[2] This sale of tobacco was deeply resented by the Company in London, as will appear later (see Vol. II.)

[3] The percentages give: for rotten tobacco, 480 lbs.; for shrinkage, 2,404 lbs. The whole 2,884 lbs., very nearly as entered, but the last deduction is excessive, and something besides mere loss of weight by drying must have occasioned it.

Skipper George & Moyses have appraised seuerall goods as followeth the 14 Oct 1651 one piece of holland as it cost in Holland at the first peny, besides their charge 2*s*. pr English yarde. The narrowe browne Lynnen at 2*s* per yarde All the broadest browne Lynnen at 2*s* 2*d* pr yde. Canvas at 1*s* per English yarde.

JARVIS LATRY
MOOYSES CATEAU

Teste HENRY TUCKER Sheriffe.

15. March 17 $165\frac{0}{1}$ The Governor and Deputy of the Company of Adventurers are ordered by the Councell of State to cause all the letters, declarations, and other papers recently received by certain ships from the Bermudas, to be brought to the council for their perusal. The Island haveing been declared by Parliament to be in rebellion.

Interregnum Entry Book (Vol. XCIII. C.P. p. 353.)

16. May 6, 1651. Upon consideration of the present state of the Somers Islands, and of the complaints made to the Council of State. They are referred to a committee, and the company of adventurers are ordered to forbear electing any officers for a month. (Ibid. Vol. XLVIII. C.P. p. 355.)

17. June 19, 1651 The Council of State orders the return of all papers belonging to the Bermuda Company in their custody, provided they belong to the business of their trade or the affairs of the company, and contain no intelligence on matters of state. (Ibid. Vol. XLVIII. C.P. p. 357.)

18. An agreement and contract Betweene Phillipp Lea of th'one ptie and William Williams of the other ptie vppon the Marriadge of their serv^ts James and ffrancis, boath Indians August 2 Anno 1651 Imprimis jt is agreed by the said pties vppon the marriadge of the foresd Phillipp & William's servants That the foresaid William shall haue the first child borne and produceinge from the said Indians, and the said

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Phillipp to haue the second and the said William Williams vppon consideration of hauing the first child borne, is to nurse the foresd child for the said Phillipp Lea one yeare and a day. The said Phillip Lea to pay for the midwife and prouide one servant for the tyme the mother of the child lyeth inn for six weeks, and find the said second child clothes necessary And after to pay for what children shalbe his findinge one servant and other necessaries as aforesaid payinge one pound five shillings p one yeare and a day whereunto the sd pties haue sett their hands the day and date aforesd.

19. From the Council of State to the Governour and Company of the Adventurers to y^e^ Summer Islands. Letter Book. Interregnum Entry Book. (Vol. CXVII. p. 561.) Whitehall Sept 30 1651

Gent.

The Lyst of Names for y^e^ Offices and Commands to them Annexed hath beene presented to this Councell Where y^e^ same hath been taken into Consideration, the said Persons here approved for y^e^ said Offices and Commands, Wee therefore desire yo^u^ by the Authoritie of yo^r^ Company to place y^e^ Persons in the said Commands and Offices in y^e^ said Paper expressed; And that yo^u^ allsoe withdraw the former Oaths, and that the Oaths they now are to take bee, That they shall be true and faithfull to the Common Wealth of England, as it is now established without a King, or House of Lords; And that they shall execute faithfully the Place of Councellor, Commander or Captaine respectively, Which Wee desire yo^u^ to take Order may be done accordingly.

20. Minute of Privy Council Tuesday y^e^ 21^th^ of October 1651. Interregnum Entry Book. (Vol. LI. p. 51.)

Lord President	M^r^ Gurdon	S^r^ Jo: Trevor
M^r^ Bond	S^r^ Will. Brereton	S^r^ John Bourchier
S^r^ William Masham	L: C: J: St John	M^r^ Darley
S^r^ Hen: Vane	M^r^ Leman	M^r^ Cawley.

Comittee for Scotts prisoners

That y^e^ Com^ttee^ for prisoners doe upon usuall securitie give licence for y^e^ transporting of some Scotts prison^r^s to y^e^ Bermudas.

[A subsequent order directs the Committee not to dispose of any lieutenants or cornets of horse or of any above that quality, but if any have been already disposed of, to give private soldiers in lieu of them.]

21. Bermuda Assizes—October 1651.[1]

(1) John Phillipps indicted for stealing a shirt prised 12*d* from a Portugueze. Not guilty.

(2) The grand Inquest doe present vnto yo^{r} consideracons the great abuse and profanacon of the Lords day by many inhabitants of these Islands by makeinge a common practice to sayle in Boates vppon the said day.

(3) Alsoe it is our request that yo^{u} wilbe pleased that it may be ordered that the Dutchman may receaue his tob. by our English weights. Ordered accordingly.

(4) Also wee thought good to present to your consideracon the great abuse and neglect of the Tanners in the tanninge of their leather, w^{ch} is so basely donne that it is a generall wronge. Now o^{r} desire is that you would be pleased that there may be some course taken therein, for the prevencon thereof. And that there may be some sufficient men appointed for the viewinge thereof, and that it may passe vnder a scale according to the custome of England It was soe ordered before and now to be put in execucon accordingly.

(5) Also we present the hard and unjust dealinges of Mr Rich Hunt against Left Nelmes wherein he hath in his p.ticulars of accompt chardged him debitor for 5*s* 6*d* payd vnto Robert Dickenson w^{ch} Rob. Dickenson doth averr he never paid him any for the sd Nelmes.

Dismissed wth admonicon

(6) A presentment of roads, and a presentment for attempted seduction follow.

22. The Governor and Council to the Company. State Papers, Colonial. (Vol. II. 1644–52. No. 39.)

Somers Island primo die Januarii Anno 165½ &c.

Right hon^{ble} Company &c.

Our humble Service premised. Wee have not omitted any opportunitie whereby wee might give yo^{u} Adverticement, of the

[1] An assize was also held in the month of May, 1651, but the only criminal business recorded is the trial of Jeanne Gardiner for witchcraft. See Vol. II., ch. xi.

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State, and condicōn, of this yo^{r} Collony. But wee have not bene so hapie, as to receave one lyne of Instruction, in returne, Either from the whole body or any member of the Company. Soe that it ought be acted here by us, w^{ch} may seeme to purchase yo^{r} displeasure: (the following reasons considered) we will not dobt of yo^{r} free pardonne.

Wee have longe since, mett wth a printed paper, Intituled an Acte prohibitinge trade with the Barbada, Virginia, Bermooda, and Antigua, In w^{ch} Acte wee are tearmed Rebells, and Traitors, forbiddinge all shipps, wheither Foraigners or others to trade wth us, whereby our necessities might be relived. And beinge in this sadd condicōn, debarred of shippinge, hopeles of any supply, in the day of our distresse, It pleased the Lord by his good hand of providence, to send into our harbour about the latter end of October, a Dutch vessell fraughted wth many necessarie Comodities for the poore Inhabitants.

Whereuppon the people in generall (Apprehending God's wonderfull and seasonable mercie) came downe to the Towne and presented seuerall humble peticons in the name of each tribe, prayinge trade wth the present Dutch Shipp then in harbour, And wee beinge well acquainted, wth their present wants, and in despair of any other Supply, as also by reason of a great wynd w^{ch} happened uppon the 16th of August last, that blewe away most of our Somer Tobaccoes wee did presume to give them libertie to trade, for such latter tobacco as should be made, and not Merchantable for the Port of London, by w^{ch} meanes the poore people are Indifferently Supplyed wth many necessaries, and yo^{u} the ho^{ble} Company, noe way prejudiced; besides the peace of the Colloney is firmely strengthened, w^{ch} otherwise had bene Indangered, and all yo^{r} rents is secured.

It is not unlikely, but that yo^{u} may be Informed of many strange thinges, by some discontented and turbulent spiritts w^{ch} came home wth yo^{r} last shipp, w^{ch} practices hath ever bene too frequent Amongst us, boath to yo^{r} p^{r}judice as well as ours, But trewly this much wee can Informe yo^{u}, that at this present tyme, wee are in much peace and quietnes, And wee want noethinge more than yo^{r} Incourragement, And supply of some honest divines to goe in and out before the people, wee cannott be pswaded that the State of England, will debarr yo^{u} of any the priviledges w^{ch} you formerly have Enjoyed, but rather Inlardge it, by w^{ch} meanes yo^{u} will be the better inabled to looke uppon this poore colloney, and people, wth such seasonable Supplyes as may be for their reliefe. In the meane tyme wee humbly desire to knowe yo^{r} pleasures, and how the case stands wth you, And whether that Odium of Rebells & Traitors be taken off from us. Our Consciences bearinge us wittnesses, that wee

are Ignorant of any such Actions or Intencons in us, against any power whatsoever.

And soe wee shall ever remayne Loyall and faithfull to our betrustment.

John Milner	Josias Forster *Gov.*
Thomas Penistone	Tho Turnor
Charles Morgan	Roger Wood
John Turnor	Henrie Tucker *Shieriffe*
John Devitt	Jn° Trimingham
J. Vaughan *Secretty*	Nathaniell Stowe

(Indorsed) To the Right hon^ble^ the Company of Adventurers for Plantacon in the Somer Islands.

These present.

23. The surrender of Barbadoes, which occurred on the 13th January, 1652, after three months' blockade, and which was under negotiation for several weeks previously, cannot fail to have become known in the Somers Islands before the date of the following entry, and to have influenced the Royalist party; but there is no reference to it to be found on the Minutes of Council, or any explanation of the sudden change which it indicates in the policy of the Government. That the little body of settlers in Bermuda should have been so misinformed of the magnitude of the force they were opposing, as to have thought it possible for a moment to sustain the Royal cause unaided, is much more surprising than their prudent submission to the Commonwealth when it became plain that it was an established fact.

At a councell Table 25 of February 165$\frac{1}{2}$.

Present

Capt Josias Fforster Gove^r^nor	M^r^ Stephen Painter
Capt Roger wood	M Will Wilkinson
Capt Richard Jenyns	M^r^ John *Miller*
Capt Thomas Turner	M^r^ Will Berkeley
Capt Will Seymor	M^r^ Richard Norwood

Antho. Jenour Secretary.

(1) At this councell Table the Generall Letter sent from the hono^ble^ company with the orders of Court being read the Gov^r^

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with the counsell assembled observeing *the injunctions* from the Company for takeing the *engag*em^t^ to the comonwealth of England, *do receaue* them readyly, and willingly take the said engagem^t^ in these words following 'you *shall be* true and faithfull to the Comon wealth of England as yt is now established *without* a kinge or House of Lordes,' w^ch^ being solemnly performed y^t^ was likewise *ordered* that a proclamation should Issue for to require all the inhabitants to *take this* engagement also w^ch^ was done accordingly

(2) A Proclamation by y^e^ Gou^r^nor.

Amongst other things of great *moment* by this ship transmitted vnto vs by the Hono^ble^ Company wee have receaued an order for the drawing vp of an Act of indempnity for all such as haue acted anything agst the peace and tranquillity of this collony, wch ffavour ought not to be forgotten but to be embraced with all thankfullnes, therefore haue thought meet to publish the same: the coppy whereof ffolloweth.

Upon the 26^th^ August 1651 The *State* commytte etc: (as yt is already entered in the record for such last yere.) [This record has not been found.] We are therefore further to take notice that wee are comanded by the hono^ble^ company to yield obedience to the comonwealth of England as it is now Established without a kinge or house of Lords. In conformity herevnto, Wee the Gou^r^nor and counsell have in the first *place* taken the engagement comended vnto vs in these words (vizt) 'I do *swear* to be true and ffaythfull to the comon wealth of England as yt is established w^t^out king or house of Lordes.' And wee hereby comand all & euery the Inhabitants to take the said engagement when yt shall be tendered vnto them by their severall councellors, hereof fayle you not

(Signed) Josias Ffforster.

Then was entered a list of all councellers commanders and officers *as given* by the Councell of State, and as yt is inserted in the generall Letter in the booke of records for that end appoynted

[This letter is not extant.]

24. An order of court annihilating the Gou^r^ment here for the conveyance of Lands, read at the same council.

Whereas by the Lawes of the company the right of admytting all psons *and assignes* to the Titles and right of Landes

in the Somr Islands in all cases whatsoeuer wholly belongs to the company. It is therefor ordered that neither the Gouʳnor and councell in the Islands nor any others in authority or office there, shall for the futuer admytt any person or psons to any share or shares of Land vpon any coulor pretence or title whatsoever

Exa. by JOHN MORDANT Secret.

25. The defeat of the Royal cause had produced a great change before this time in the constitution of all representative or governing bodies. The two following lists will show how it affected the Bermuda Company. The names appended to letters in 1647 furnish the first. The commissioners appointed by the Council of State 25th June, 1653, most of whose names are appended to subsequent letters, constitute the second. No intermediate lists have been found.

1647	1653
Earl of Warwick *Govr*	Earl of Warwick *Gov* ?
Allen Thomas	Alleyne Francis
Cauley Charles	Carter Edward
Cauley —	Gourdan Dr. Allan
Ffelgate —	Hawes Nathaniel
Fforster Josias	Holland Cornelius
Grant —	Jessop William
Hobson —	Oxenbridge John[1]
Jessop William	Poade Edward
May —	Prynne George
Moorer Richard	Roberts Elias
Peniston Anth. *Treas.*	Rowe Colonel Owen[2]
Sandys Col. R. *Depy Gov.*	Rowe Isaac
Spencer William	Thomas Nathaniel
Trott Perient	Thomson Maurice
Turberville George	Todd Joseph[3]
Wilkinson W	Turberville George
	Warde Leonard
	Wreathe Sir Thomas

[1] Governor, 1655.
[2] A regicide, Deputy Governor, 1655.
[3] Treasurer, 1655.

APPENDIX.

I.

Note to page 1.

The extreme rarity of the first edition of Oviedo's work, printed at Toledo in 1526, makes it worth while to reproduce his actual words, taken from the copy in the British Museum, a translation of which is given on p. 2. The book is not paged. The passage occurs on folio xlix., six leaves from the end :—

Po en el año de M.d.xv años quando la primera vez yo vine a informar a V.M. de las cosas de indias & fuy en Flãdes luego el año siguiente al tiempo de su bienauenturada subcesiõ en estos sus reynos de Castilla & Aragõ : en aquel camino corriendo yo cõ la nao cerca de la ysla Bermuda q̃ por otro nombre se llama la Garça y es la mas lexos ysla de todas las q̃ oy se saben en el mundo, q̃ mas lexos esta de otra ninguna ysla o tierra firme : y llegue della hasta estar en ocho braças de agua & a tiro de lombarda della : y determinado de hazer saltar en tierra alguna gente a saber lo que ay alli : & aun para hazer dexar en aq̃lla ysla algunos puercos biuos de los q̃ yo traya en la nao para el camino por q̃ se multiplicassen alli, pero el tiẽpo salto luego al contrario & hizo q̃ no pudiessemos tomar la dicha ysla : la qual puede ser de longitud doze leguas y de latitud seys y terna hasta treynta leguas de circuyto y esta en xxxiii grados de la vanda de Santo Domingo hazia la parte de septẽtriõ y estãdo per alli cerca vi vn cõtraste destos pexes boladores y de las doradas, y de las gauiotas, q̃ en verdad me paresce que hera la cosa de mayor plazer, q̃ en mar se podia ver de semejantes cosas : las doradas, &c.

Oviedo de la natural hystoria de las Indias. Con preuilegio de la S.L.L.M. El p̃sente tratado intitulado Oviedo de la natural hystoria de las Indias se imprimio a costas del autor Gõçalo Fernãdez de Oviedo als de Valdes. Por industria de maestre Remõ de Petras & se acabo en la cibdad de Toledo a xv dias del mes de Hebrero de MDxxvj años.

II.

Being a continuation of the note at page 151 *on the Liturgy of Guernsey and Jersey, said to have been introduced into Bermuda by Captain Nathaniel Butler in* 1620.

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It may be readily conceded that the Liturgy of Guernsey and Jersey 'wherein all those particulars were omitted,' at which the Puritan ministers of Capt. Butler 'stumbled,' and which they 'gladly embraced,' cannot have been the Liturgy of Edward VI. It would have been needless to retranslate this out of French, the original being procurable, and it would have no advantages in their eyes over the Book of Common Prayer as revised in 1604; which all the bishops in England, Smith says, could not bring those ministers to subscribe to. Indeed it was much more calculated to arouse their opposition. It is, therefore, very natural that Presbyterian advocates should embrace the conclusion that it was the so-called Liturgy of Geneva, and hence that in Captain Butler's time at least—and Smith does not say that the novelty, whatever it was, lasted any longer—a Presbyterian form of public worship prevailed in the Somers Islands. The question being one of great interest to many persons in Bermuda, and the ecclesiastical authorities bearing upon it not readily accessible, a few pages are here devoted to it.

The history of the Church in Guernsey is fully related in Berry's History of Guernsey,[1] and he gives in full 'The Descipline Ecclesiastical, according as it hath been in Practice of the Church after the Reformation of the same, by the Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Serk and Alderney; confirmed by the Authority, and in the Presence, of

[1] 'The History of the Island of Guernsey, part of the ancient Duchy of Normandy, from the remotest period of antiquity to the year 1814.' By William Berry. London, 1815.

the Governors of the same Isles, in a Synod holden in Guernsey the 28th of June 1576 and afterwards revived by the said Ministers and Elders, and confirmed by the said Governors, in a Synod holden also in Guernsey the 11th to 17th October 1597.' This document is divided into twenty short chapters, six of which are headed 'The Liturgy of the Church, wherein there is contained the Preaching of the Gospel, the Administration of the Sacraments, the Laws of Marriage, the Visitation of the Sick, and somewhat also of Burial,' as follows :—

Chap. VIII. *Of the Preaching of the Gospel.*

Article I. The people shall be assembled twice every Sunday in the Church, to hear the Preaching of the Gospel, and to be assistant at the public prayers. They shall also meet together once or twice a week, on those days which shall be thought most convenient for the several parishes ; the master of every household bringing with them those of his family.

II. The people being assembled, before the sermon there shall be read a chapter out of the canonical books of Scripture only, and not of the Apocrypha ; and it shall be read by one which beareth office in the Church, or at least by one of honest conversation.

III. During the prayer, every one shall be upon his knees, with his head uncovered. Also during the singing of the psalms, the administration of the sacraments, and whilst the minister is reading of his text, every one shall be uncovered, and shall attentively observe all that is done or said.

IV. The ministers, every Sunday, after dinner, shall catechize, and shall choose some text of Scripture suitable to that section which they are to handle, and shall read in the beginning of that exercise the said text, as the foundation of the doctrine contained in that section.

V. The Church shall be locked immediately after sermon and the public prayers, to avoid superstition ; and the benches shall be orderly disposed, that every one may hear the voice of the preacher.

VI The Churches being dedicated to God's service, shall not be employed to profane uses ; and therefore entreaty shall be made to the magistrate, that no civil courts be there holden.

Chap. IX. *Of Baptism.*

Article I. The Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered in the Church, after the preaching of the Word, and before the benediction.

II. The parents of the infants, if they are not in some journey, shall be near the infants, together with the sureties, to present it unto God ; and shall jointly promise to instruct it, according as they are obliged.

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III. No man shall be admitted to be a surety in holy Baptism, which hath not formerly received the communion, or which is not fit to receive it, and doth promise so to do upon the next convenience, whereof he shall bring an attestation, if he be a stranger.

IV. They which intend to bring an infant unto holy Baptism, shall give competent warning unto the minister.

V. The minister shall not admit of such names as were used in the time of paganism, the names of idols, the names attributed to God in Scripture, or names of office, as Angel, Baptist, Apostle.

VI. In every parish there shall be kept a register of such as are baptized, their fathers, mothers, sureties, and the day of it; as also of marriages and funerals, which shall be carefully preserved.

Chap. X. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

Article I. The holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be celebrated four times a year, viz. at Easter, or the first Sunday of April; the first Sunday of July; the first Sunday of October; and the first Sunday of January; and that after the sermon, in which express mention shall be made of the business then in hand, or at least a touch of it in the end.

II. The manner of it shall be this:—The table shall be set in some convenient place near the pulpit; the people shall communicate in order, and that sitting, as is most conformable to the first institution, or else standing, as is accustomed in some places; the men first, and afterwards the women; none shall depart the place until after thanksgiving and the benediction.

III. They which intend to be communicants, shall first be catechized by the minister, that so they may be able to render a reason of their faith. They ought also to understand the Lord's prayer, the articles of their belief, the ten commandments, or at least the substance of them. They shall also abjure the Pope, the mass, and all superstition and idolatry.

IV. No man shall be admitted to the Lord's Supper which is not of the years of discretion, and which hath not a good testimony of his life and conversation, and which will not promise to submit himself unto the Discipline.

V. If any be accused before the Justice to have committed any crime, he shall be admonished to forbear the Supper until he be acquitted.

VI. The minister shall not receive any of another parish without a testimony from the pastor, or if there be no pastor, from one of the elders.

VII. They which refuse to be reconciled, shall be debarred the Communion.

VIII. The people shall have warning fifteen days at the least before the Communion, to the end they may be prepared for it.

IX. Besides the first examination which they undergo, before they are partakers of the Lord's Supper, every one shall again be cate-

chized, at the least once a year, at the best conveniency of the minister, and of his people. APP. II.

Chap. XI. *Of Fasts and Thanksgiving.*

Article I. The public Fasts shall be celebrated in the Church when the colloquy or the synod think it most expedient, as a day of rest; in which there shall be a Sermon both in the morning and the afternoon, accompanied with prayers, reading of the Scriptures, and singing of psalms; all this to be disposed according to the occasions and causes of the Fast, and by the authority of the magistrate.

II. Solemn Thanksgiving also shall be celebrated after the same manner as the Fast, the whole exercise being suitable to the occasion of the same.

Chap. XII. *Of Marriage.*

Article I. All contracts of marriage shall be made in the presence of parents friends guardians, or the masters of the parties, and with their consent; as also in the presence of the minister, or of an elder, or a deacon, before whom the contract shall be made with invocation on the name of God, without which it is no contract. And as for those which are *sui juris*, the presence of the minister, or of the elders, or of the deacons, shall be also necessary for good order's sake. And from a promise thus made, there shall be no departing.

II. Children, and such as are in wardship, shall not make any promise of Marriage without the consent of their fathers and mothers or of their guardians in whose power they are.

III. If the parents are so unreasonable as not to agree unto a thing so holy, the consistory shall give them such advice as is expedient, to which advice, if they not hearken, they shall have recourse unto the magistrate.

IV. They also which have been married shall owe so much respect unto their parents, as not to marry again without their leave; in default whereof they shall incur the censures of the Church.

V. No stranger shall be affianced without licence from the Governors or their Lieutenants.

VI. The degrees of consanguinity and of affinity, prohibited in the Word of God, shall be carefully looked into by such as purpose to be married.

VII. Those which are affianced, shall promise, and their parents with them, that they will be married within three months after the contract, or within six months, in case either of them have occasion of a journey; if they obey not, they shall incur the censures of the Church.

VIII. The bans shall be asked successively, three Sundays in the church, where the parties do inhabit; and if they marry in

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another parish, they shall carry with them a testimony from the minister by whom their bans were published; without which they shall not marry.

IX. For the avoiding of the abuse and profanation of the Lord's day, and the manifest prejudice done unto the Word of God, on those days wherein Marriage hath been solemnized, it is found expedient, that it be no longer solemnized upon the Sunday, but upon some lecture days which happen in the week.

X. If any purpose to forbid the bans he shall first address himself unto the minister, or two of the elders, by whom he shall be appointed to appear in the next consistory, there to allege the reason of his so doing, whereof the consistory shall be judge. If he appeal from thence, the cause shall be referred unto the next colloquy.

XI. Those which have too familiarly conversed together before their espousals, shall not be permitted to marry before they have made confession of their fault, if the crime be notoriously public, before the whole congregation; if less known, the consistory shall determine of it.

XII. Widows which are minded to re-marry, shall not be permitted to contract themselves until six months after the decease of their dead husbands, as well for honesty's sake and their own good report, as to avoid divers inconveniences. And as for men, they also shall be admonished to attend some certain time, but without constraint.

Chap. XIII. *Of the Visitation of the Sick.*

Article I. Those which are afflicted with Sickness shall, in due time, advertize them which bear office in the Church; to the end that by them they may be visited and comforted.

II. Those which are still sick shall, in due time, be admonished to make their wills, while as yet they be in perfect memory, and that in the presence of their minister or overseer, or other honest and sufficient persons, which shall witness to the said wills or testaments, that so they may be approved and stand in force.

Chap. XIV. *Of Burial.*

Article I. The corpse shall not be carried nor interred within the Church, but in the Church-yard only, appointed for the burial of the faithful.

II. The parents, friends, and neighbours of the deceased, and all such whom the parents shall entreat, as also the ministers, if they may conveniently (as members of the Church and brethren, but not in relation to their charge, no more than the elders and the deacons,) shall accompany the body in good fashion unto the grave. In which action there shall neither be a sermon nor prayers, nor sound of bell, nor any other ceremony whatsoever.

III. The bodies of the dead shall not be interred without notice given unto the minister. APP. II.

IV. The bodies of those which die excommunicate, shall not be interred among the faithful, without the appointment of the magistrate.

The two notorious leaders of the Puritan faction, Snape and Cartwright, were the first to sign the Discipline Ecclesiastical after the Governors and at the head of all the ministers. (Berry, p. 245.)

Now, it is difficult to see what object Captain Butler could have had in translating the above directions, which are no Liturgy at all in the sense in which the word is commonly used; or how it could have served his purpose of attempting some conformity and bringing the two ministers to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer. Nor is it probable that in the same year in which the severities of the Episcopal party drove the Pilgrim Fathers to seek an asylum in New England, the year following the establishment of the Episcopal Church in Virginia,[1] a governor, holding office under Royal letters patent, in a plantation whose settlers were solemnly pledged 'ever to continue in that faith in which they were baptised in the Church of England' (p. 63), would have dared to give open countenance to nonconformity. It is clearly established that the discipline of the Church of England was enforced in the Somers Islands previously to Captain Butler's arrival, by the presentments of William Pollard and of the churchwardens of Smith's Tribe in 1618 (pp. 131–2). It is also established that it prevailed under the succeeding governor by the order to all churchwardens in 1623 to provide Books of Common Prayer of the last edition (p. 318), and a reference to the index will furnish other proofs equally convincing that it prevailed continuously down to the rise of the Independent faction under Rev. Nathaniel White about 1646; nor was it at once subverted then. It is at variance with all the facts recorded concerning the Church in Bermuda to represent the principles of Presbyterianism as having been established by authority (whatever individuals may have been in favour of them) earlier than the year 1652. What, then, it may be asked, does Smith allude to, and how did the example of Guernsey and Jersey come to have any application to religious differences in Bermuda? This question, as the writer believes, can be fully answered by a further reference to the 'History of the Channel Islands.'

[1] See 'Treatise on the Law of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.' By Judge Hoffman, 1850, p. 20. Dr. Hawk's 'Contributions to Ecclesiastical History,' vol. i, p. 35.

APP. II.

Queen Elizabeth, in the same large spirit of sympathy which led her to assign the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral in 1561 to the refugee Walloons, assigned the parish churches of St. Peter's Port and St. Helier's in 1565 to the Huguenots, and in both cases permitted their use of the forms of worship of the Continental Reformation, to which they were attached. She, however, required the residue of the parishes of the islands to continue the order and service set forth within her realm.[1] One of the earliest acts of James I. on his accession to the throne was to sanction the continuation of this system, which had become very general, by the following order of August 8, 1603:—

JAMES REX *James* by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland &c unto all those whom these presents shall concern greeting. Whereas we ourselves and the Lords of our councell, have been given to understand that it pleased God to put into the heart of the late Queen our most dear sister, to permit and allow unto the Isles of Jarzey and Guernsey, parcel of our Dutchy of Normandy, the use of the Government of the reformed Churches in the said Dutchy, whereof they have stood possessed until our coming to this crown: For this cause, we, desiring to follow the pious example of our late sister in this behalf, as well for the advancement of the glory of Almighty God, as for the edification of his church, do will and ordain, that our said Isles shall quietly enjoy their said liberty in the use of the Ecclesiastical Discipline there now established: forbidding any one to give them any trouble or impeachment, so long as they contain themselves in our obedience, and attempt not anything against the pure and sacred word of God.

Given at our Palace at Hampton Court, the eighth day of August 1603 and of our reign in England the first.

Under this authority the Assembly of ministers and elders called the Colloquy, exercised Church patronage and enforced the Genevese discipline in Guernsey and Jersey until the beginning of the year 1619, when precisely the same state of things occurred which afterwards made the yoke of Puritanism intolerable in Bermuda and wherever else it obtained a temporary supremacy.

The arbitrary proceedings of the consistories, whose inquisitorial powers led them to meddle with everything, to pry into family secrets, and to bring under censure the most trivial error in domestic life, became the subject of just complaint to the magistracy, who were not backward in exerting their rival powers to repress the petulancy of those little parochial tribunals; in short, the confusion became general, and the people began to lament their apostacy from the Established Church of England, to which the major part were

[1] See Order of Council, 7th August, 1565. Berry, p. 244.

now anxious to return. A representation of their grievances was accordingly drawn and presented to the King and Council, praying for the re-establishment of the Liturgy and episcopal jurisdiction. The subject was warmly disputed for some time, till at length the Council, foreseeing that a sudden innovation would, in all probability, make matters worse, cause a schism, and divide the people more; and that the prejudice of the clergy, if not too narrowly circumscribed, might in time wear off, and effect the wished-for reformation: it was wisely determined that, for the restoration of present peace and good order in the Island it was necessary to revive the office of Dean among them (which had been abolished upon the entrance of the Genevan platform) who should have Instructions given him by way of interim, as it was termed, or present conduct, till things should be more perfectly settled. . .

It may not be out of the way to remark, that the interim, or instructions given to the Dean before the proper canons could be prepared and settled, dispensed with three ceremonies at that time (1619) much controverted in England, viz., the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, and the administering the Lord's Supper to the people kneeling, which the Presbyterians considered to savour too much of the Romish Church, and was expressly forbidden by the Discipline.[1]

The office of Dean was accordingly revived by letters patent, dated 8th March, 1619.

Of the three ministers who may have been concerned in Captain Nathaniel Butler's act, the Rev. George Keith had subscribed in August 1612 the pledge ever to remain faithful to the Church of England. Another, the Rev. George Stirke, was one of those serving in 1632 when Captain Roger Wood complains that they were required to read the Homilies of Edward VI. in the churches; of the third, the Rev. Lewis Hues or Hughes (frequently referred to as Mr. Lewis), the records say very little; there is no mention of him after 1622, but he was appointed in 1616, when the title preacher (p. 107) meant officially an episcopally ordained minister and nothing else; and no other appointment by a public body like the Bermuda Company would have been possible. The ministers, therefore, were ministers of the Church of England. Like so many other pious men of their day, they probably preferred the more thoroughgoing system of Calvin to the sober reformation of the Church of England, and they shared the objections of the Puritan party to portions of her Liturgy. Captain Butler, whose acquaintance with the Liturgy of the Channel Islands at all, proves some connection of former service with them, for there were no other English residents then than a few officers of the Crown, 'bethought himself' of what the Crown had so

[1] Berry, pp. 25[illegible]-257.

APP. II. recently conceded to the ministers there, and he appears to have made the same concessions to his own, which they 'gladly embraced.'

With respect to the present Presbyterian communion in Bermuda, it has no historical connection with the Presbyterians or Independents of the Commonwealth, although it is probable enough that the same principles may have descended from that period in a few families. It cannot be traced back to an earlier date than 1719, when Thos. Gilbert the elder, 'for the manifestation of his Love and Regard to the people of the Presbyterian Persuasion who were destitute of a Tabernacle or Meeting House wherein to assemble in exercise of Religious Worship,' conveyed half an acre of land in Warwick parish to certain nominees for the purpose of erecting one. This conveyance was by Thos. Gilbert the younger converted in 1754 into a regular trust.[1]

The original tabernacle or meeting-house was enlarged and nearly rebuilt about 1837 and is now the Presbyterian church of Warwick Parish. In 1843 Governor Reid, whose father had been a minister of the Scotch establishment, conveyed two lots in the town of Hamilton to trustees, for a church to be erected in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, which was done accordingly; and about 1850 the congregation usually attending the Presbyterian church in Warwick declared themselves to be in connection with the Free Church of Scotland, and invited a minister of that denomination to officiate as their pastor, in which connection they have remained. The other or Hamilton congregation is also now in the communion of the Free Church; but its ecclesiastical connection is with the Presbytery in Canada. This departure from the terms of the trust upon which he had given the site is said to have been made with the consent of Sir William Reid; but no proof of this has as yet been produced, nor is it known to the surviving members of his family that any change took place before his death in 1858 in the sentiments of preference for the Established Church which he originally entertained.

[1] Recital of Deeds of Lease and Release, dated August 23–24, 1754.

III.

APP. III.

The two following Lists of Emigrants to Bermuda in the year 1635 are given by Mr. John Camden Hotten, in his laborious and valuable compilation from MSS. preserved in the State Paper Department of the Public Record Office.[1] Although the majority are youths, some of them actually children, evidently apprentices and not free agents, there are a proportion of heads of families, and from the presence of the Rev. John Oxenbridge, Josias Fforster, and Hugh Wentworth among them, we are probably not wrong in associating with these arrivals the impetus given about that time to Puritan sentiment in Bermuda. The names are mostly obscure, but one of them, that of Dorrell, became conspicuous on the Royalist side in the struggles which preceded the subjection of the plantation to the Commonwealth, about thirteen years later.

xi Junij 1635.

Theis vnder written names are to be transported to the Bermoodes or Somer Islands. inbarqued in the *Truelove* de London Robert Dennis Mr, being examined by the minister of Gravesend concerning their conformitie to the orders and discipline of the Church of England as it now stands established, and tooke the oath of allegeance.

(The names have been arranged in alphabetical order for convenience of reference.)

	Aged		Aged
Aleworth Edw.	13	Barrett Symon	16
Anderson Rich.	30	Bassit Thos	18
Aston James	22	Bates Wm	17
Barnes Jo	16	Baylie Jo	18

[1] The 'Original Lists of Persons of Quality: Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, &c., who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600–1700.' J. W. Bouton, New York, 1874, pp. 580.

APP. III.

	Aged		Aged
Bee Jo	17	Jonas David	15
Blanch Robert	20	Jones Thos.	17
Bloes Thos.	10	Lake Jo	16
Brookes Jo	12	Larkynn Thos	15
Browne Jo	16	Lee W^{m}	18
Bull Thos	13	Mayo Samvell	10
Bullock Antho	19	Meverill Sampson	20
Burrows Ellen	30	Miller Benjamin	30
Calverlie Geo	14	Mordin Thos.	18
Cañon Rich	24	More Henry	19
Cañon Eliz vxor	23	Morgan Joe	12
Clark Eliz	18	Morris Davie	18
Claxon Abra.	17	Norman Geo	25
Colman Bernard	26	Norman Jo	19
Cooper Antho	17	Norris Jo.	18
Daughton Rich	13	Oxenbridge Jo, minister	24
Dene Thos.	17	Page Jo	33
Dorrell Thos	22	Page Mary	3 mos
Ewynn Tho	16	Page Sara	31
Fletcher Henry	35	Page Sara	3
Forster Josias	43	Palmer Geo	18
Forster Thos	27	Parnell Edw	16
Gaughton Nich.	14	Paul W^{m}	20
Gibbs Edw.	17	Pendleton W^{m}	27
Gilliard Anto	38	Poole Rob.	20
Goddin Edw	16	Powell W^{m}	15
Goffe Marie	18	Raynne Francis	10
Greene Rich	17	Reason James	27
Grove Eliz	35	Richards Jo	21
Groves Jo	3 mos	Richards Thos	24
Hall Thos	24	Saires Geo.	12
Harris Richard	17	Sares W^{m}	17
Hart Christo.	20	Sell Edw	18
Hart Robert	30	Short Sam.	24
Hamond Daniell	12	Smith Humphrey	14
Hanmer Geo.	24	Smith Tho.	14
Hedges Francis	13	Staughton Edw	50
Hedley Edw.	13	Stevens Matth	12
Hedley Thos	11	Stock Rob.	26
Henry Wm	18	Stockwell Gabr.	16
Hill Hy	24	Stoneward Hen	13
Hodges Roger	17	Strange Ben	18
Holt W^{m}	19	Tayler Anne	24
Hooper W^{m}	18	Tayler Jas	28
Hurt Rich	17	Tayler Rich	16
Hubbard Sam.	16	Tayler W^{m}	17
Huswith D	22	Thomson Tho	17
Jennicom Tho	21	Toolie Tho.	27
Jennings Henry, minister	24	Trippatt Jo	17
Jo: a negroe	18	Tuke Christ.	16

	Aged		Aged
Vennable Ralph	21	Wharton Phil	14
Vicears Zwerin	18	White Katherine	18
Vincent Edw	18	Williams Roger	16
Warren Jo	19	Williamson Nath	17
Watson Francis	16	Wilson Jacob	18
Wells W^{m}	17	Woodcott Fran.	16
Wentworth Hugh	44	Wright Jeffery	18
West Thos	17	Yates Jo	48

Tricessimo die September 1635.

Aboard the *Dorset* John Flower M^{r} bound for y^{e} Bormodos.

Absolon Geo	16	Inland Thos	10
Alburie W^{m}	15	Jennings Rich	35
Aldin Thos	16	Jennings Sara vxor	18
Aldworth Eliz	15	Johnson Jno	23
Atkins Thos	16	Joyner Thos	16
Bagley Judith	58	Kent Humphrey	16
Barnes W^{m}	15	Loe Jo	18
Barrith W.	16	Lort Sampson	30
Bonnick Nath	16	Mansfield Jo	19
Brabant Alex	30	Marthew vxor (sic)	30
Bruister W^{m}	17	Mathews Jo	16
Bunting Rich	17	Middleton Edw	15
Cassa W^{m}	19	Miller Jo	47
Casson John	18	Mitchell Jonn	20
Chaplin Edw	20	More Tho	18
Cheeseman W^{m}	20	Morris Edw	18
Dart Jane	17	Mosdell Jo	21
Davies Edw.	17	Nicklen Jo	17
Day Jo	16	Nowell Peternell	46
Denman Jo	14	Palmer Ellis vxor	21
Donn John	14	Palmer Geo	27
East Will	15	Palmer Rich	30
Edwyn Edw.	15	Pennington W^{m}	18
Elliston Will	13	Pynder Margaret	41
Fisher Rob.	10	Pynder Timothie	26
Fulcock Henry	15	Ramsey Robt	15
Glassinden John	30	Redford John	16
Goldenham Jonas	16	Riley Thos	16
Griffin Ann	35	Ridley Eliz	30
Griffin Thos	32	Ridley Robt	23
Grubthorne Edw	16	Rising James	18
Haldin Rich	14	Rosden W^{m}	16
Harding W^{m}	30	Rose Henry	31
Harding Sarah vxor	30	Rowland Jo	21
Harkwood Jo	20	Russell Francis	23
Heth Jo	21	Sell Jo	15
Holt Humphrey	18	Sharp Thos	17
Hubbard Geo	16	Simpson Edw	13

APP. III.

	Aged		Aged
Simpson Edw	13	Vardell Rob.	20
Simpson W^{m}	17	Vyncent Ezia	30
Stoker W^{m}	19	vxor Marthew (sic)	30
Stokes Thos	30	Wellman Christian	43
Thomas David	26	West Nathaniell	15
Thomas W^{m}	17	Wheeler W^{m}	22
Thorne Arthur	33	Williams John	16
Tragagell Rich.	18	Wite Daniell, minister	30
Turk George, minister	40	Woodcock Josua	11
Tustin Jo	16	Wright Lubas	16

IV.

Notices of the Clergy in the Somers Islands under the Bermuda Company, 1612–1685.

Abercrombie, Rev. Thomas.—He was appointed in August 1661, and arrived with his wife and one child October 21. The Company sent by him 'Critica Sacra,' a book in nine volumes, to be added to the library, to have it in his possession and use while he should continue in their service, till more ministers arrive; but so that if any in the meantime desire they should have the perusal thereof (MS. iv. p. 36). There are baptisms performed by him in Pembroke parish registers in May 1662. He is returned by Norwood, 1663, as the occupant of the glebe land (50 acres) at Tucker's Town, but died soon after. The Company wrote, March 1, 166$\frac{4}{5}$:—

Complaint having bin made and information giuen vnto vs of the Wast and destruction of tymber comitted by M^{r} Thomas Abercrombie in his life tyme on the gleabs belong to Smiths and Hamilton Tribes Wee haue ordered That the Councillor and Churchwardens to any the Tribes respectiuely belonging, do take especiall care that the stocke of cedar standing or growing on any the gleabes be from tyme to tyme preserved and that none of the Tymber on the Gleabes be at any time felled for any other vse saue only for the repayre of the houses thereof, and that the same be in such maner ascertayned as the sayd councell^{or} and Churchwardens by warrant under their hands shall direct and appoint And for the future Wee shall take care that a clause be inserted in the ministers comissions for preseruing the Tymber on the Gleabes in any the Tribes to which they shall be assigned to serue

The vacancy in Smith's tribe was not filled up at once. The services were ordered to be taken by the other four ministers in turn (MS. iv. p. 65).

Bernard, Rev. Nathaniel.—He was appointed in 1622 (see

APP. IV. p. 258), and was one of three ministers present at the General Assembly in 1623. He was imprisoned by Captain Henry Wodehouse in 1625, for espousing the popular side in resistance to that Governor (p. 342), but released by order of the Company.

He appears to have been again imprisoned in 1627; and if the Editor is right in his conjecture that several of Roger Wood's letters without superscription are addressed to him, he left before 1631, and obtained a benefice in England, where his Puritan principles, for some years at least, exposed him to ecclesiastical displeasure.

In 1636 'one M^{r} Bernard a minister at Batcomb in Somersetshire' sent over two MS. books, one to the magistrates of New England, and one to the elders of the Church, wherein he laid down arguments against the manner of their gathering their churches, which the Elders did not answer for two years, by reason of the many troubles about Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, &c. (Winthrop). We find the name of Nathaniel Bernard among the prisoners in Newcastle Gaol, for whom a *Habeas corpus* was granted, by order of Parliament, March 7, 164$\frac{2}{3}$ (Journals), along with other prisoners in the bishopric of Durham; apparently, therefore, he was imprisoned for an ecclesiastical offence.

Bond, Rev. Sampson.—This turbulent minister fills a considerable space in the records. The earliest fact mentioned of him is that 'Hee had bin active for the king against the Parliament in 1642,'[1] but this was long antecedent to his connection with the Somers Islands, which only dates from October 1662. He arrived there January 12, 1663, in company with the Rev. Samuel Smith. There are baptisms by him in Pembroke parish register from March 1, 1663, to October 6, 1666, and again at intervals from 1679 to 1690. Complaints against him are perpetual. Thus the Governor and Council write, March 15, 167$\frac{9}{1}$:—

After the reading of your generall Letter wee sent Mr Sampson Bond a copy of your order for his dismission that he might haue timely notice The next Council Table following he sent to mee and councell a Petition fraughted with coler and spleene against y^{r} Hono^{rs} and o^{r}selues your seruants In answer to that Petition it was by the Gouernor and councell ordered That y^{r} order against Mr Bond should be put in execution and warrants imediately issued ordered execution of the same, there being seuerall shipps in Harbor fit for accomodacon som bound for old England and New Virginia Barbadoes Leeward Islands and one vessell for Carolina to Ashlie

[1] MS. iv. p. 149.

river. After the warrant was out Mr Sampson Bond made it his practice to preach against the Governm^{t} which soe stirred up the people insomuch that many of them cast out vnhandsome language, saying that never an honest men would haue a hand in executing the Companies comand against Mr Bond, but the Gouerno^{r} and Councell And they were sure he would not goe out of his house vnless he was pulled out and carried awaie by force. The next Councell Table Mr Bond appeared before vs with another Petition somew^{t} like his former and desired his staie To which he was answered it could not be granted and tould he must depart in some of the shipps in Harbor, he answered the Gouernor and council in court he would not goe and if they did send him awaie, they should pull him out of his house and carrie him, and if they did soe he was a man, vttering these kinds of languages in a great passion, with a kind of threatening language against som of the councell. And when the councell rose and came out they found seuerall of his partie com to towne, and standing near the court, some of them being the cheefe p.sons that imprisoned Mr Smith, who wee haue prevailed with in compliance to y^{r} hono^{rs} desires to staie to the return of the magazeene ship, hoping that y^{r} Hon^{rs} will be pleased to put a period to his agreevances, which are spread before you And send another minister ouer to supply Mr Bonds place that wee may haue more peace in the countrie: ffor his return will set vs all at variance for now Wee understand he intendeth for England with Captain Pensax as he hath publickly declared in the Church last sundaie to his congregation wee not knowing whether he would complie with his Declaration of going with Capt Pensax, hee hauing the last year writt to the Gouernor of New Yorke and promised to come with his ffamily thither vpon w^{ch} writing the Gouernor of New Yorke caused a shipp to tuch here and staie a fortnighte for the accomodacon of Mr Bond and his ffamily And when the ship came he would not goe Afterwards he pretended to goe to New Yorke in one of o^{r} country vessells and promised if shee would staie a fortnight for him he would goe, after her staie granted, he at the same time requested leaue of the Gouernor to depart these Islands, his request being granted, he tould the Gouerno^{r} he hoped he would haue denied him, And that would haue been a faire excuse for him to the Gouerno^{r} of New Yorke[1] And least by such shifts as these hee should com for England and clamor against the Gouerno^{r} or any of his councell or M^{r} Samuell Smith (for whom he hath not any loue) being a person desirous to promote the designe of Mr Smiths enemies as witness the papers herewith sent Wee haue thought fitt to send this to y^{r} hono^{r} with his Petition to vs sent.

[1] Bond had been already in communication with the Rev. Samuel Maverick, of New York. who wrote to him on May 30, 1669, advising him to remove to that colony. He held out the inducements following:—

(I.) Ecclesiastical Liberties are (1) Liberty of conscience to all, prouided they rase not fundamentalls in religion, nor disturb the peace. (2) Ceremonies may be used or omitted. (3) the Book of Common prayer may be made vse or not.

(II.) Civil Liberties are: All freeholders, not scandalous in their liues and conversations are capable to vote att all the elections of officers military and civill, in their severall towne-shipps (Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc.)

APP. IV. And likewise a copy from the Records of Mr John Stowes acknowledgmt that thereby yr honors may the better know him, and not giue credit to any of his language against vs or Mr Smith till wee are heard to speak for ourselues If Mr Sampson Bond the p.son that said the Booke of Comon Prayer was a mass Booke, or a company of packt praiers made vp by the pope and the words Godfather and Godmother be blasphemy or words to that effect [be heard] What condition shall yr servants here liue vnder if such practices are suffered vnder yr Gouernmt.

Notwithstanding these serious charges, the Rev. Sampson Bond was reinstated, and returned from New England in July 1674; his ministry was prolonged at least to 1689, when his salary from Pembroke parish is mentioned to have been 15*l.* sterling to be paid in money or tobacco at current rates. 'Bond's Bay,' at the end of Pembroke glebe, once a favourite ship-building place, is named from him (J. H. D.)

Bridges, Rev.—There appears to have been a minister of this name in 1624–25, but the only reference to him is in a mutilated council minute dated early in March 1625, awarding him the fee for the performance of a marriage; and laying down the rule that '*From* henceforth, whosoeuer shall require a lycence to the same *shall pay . . lbs.* of Tobaco to the secretary of the Sumr Islands for it.' He is perhaps the individual alluded to in Roger Wood's will as a minister at St. George's in 1654.

Browne, Rev. Robert, D.D., was appointed under the Protectorate in September 1655, a circumstance which leaves little room to doubt the nature of his doctrinal views. He was officiating in St. George's in January 1656, and in Smith and Hamilton parishes in September 1658. There are marriages and baptisms performed by him in Pembroke parish registers in the years 1658–59 and 1660.

Browne, Rev. Thomas, was also appointed under the Protectorate, and a little earlier than his namesake. There are baptisms performed by him in Pembroke parish registry in September and October 1654, some of the children, it is mentioned, being three years old. There are marriages performed after banns published three several Lord's days, from May to October 1655.

Buck or Bucke, Rev. Richard.—The first minister who performed the services of the Church of England in the Somers Islands, having been chaplain to the expedition of Sir Thomas

Gates and Sir George Somers, and a sharer of all their hardships in 1609. He accompanied them to Virginia, where he settled, and was the chaplain to the first Virginian Assembly, held at James Town, on July 30, 1619. (E. D. Neill, p. 113.) APP. IV.

Burr, Jonathan, preacher.—There is no positive evidence that this person was an ordained minister. His will, which was proved by his widow, March 8, 1665, makes no reference to his having been in Orders. But he was allowed, under the Commonwealth, 'to preach at large, being not yet admitted, or approved by the Company' (July 22, 1656). The Company, October 10, 1662, direct 40*l.* to be paid to him, 'in full of all salary, ending the 10 April last, and have discharged him from the service of the Company in relation to the ministry, of which you are to give him timely notice' (iv. p. 43).

Copland, Copeland, or Coapland, Rev. Patrick.—'A scotish man' (R. Wood, No. 41). Of this enthusiastic, learned, and devoted man, who played no inconsiderable part in the religious movements of his times, and whose name is identified with the first serious efforts of the Church of England for the conversion of the Indians of the East and of the West, the Somers Islands can claim a larger share than any other of the many fields in which he laboured. He resided here more than twenty years, and if he did not succeed in all his pious endeavours to disseminate the Gospel abroad, and build up the Church at home, he has nevertheless left behind him traces of activity and zeal which entitle him to very honorable remembrance.

Patrick Copeland is said by Mr. E. D. Neill to have entered the service of the East India Company as chaplain immediately after the establishment of a trading port at Surat, and to have been then about forty years of age; this was in 1612. Certain it is that in 1614 he returned to England with a native convert, who was baptized by the absurd names of Petrus Papa[1] with much pomp and public ceremony, at the church of St. Dennis, Fenchurch Street, on December 22, 1616. Copeland and Peter Pope re-embarked for India on February 4, 161$\frac{6}{7}$, from whence he returned in September 1621, after visiting Japan and sharing in the dangers of a terrible typhoon, of which he has left a vigorous account (see Neill, p. 109). It is not unlikely that his thoughts were turned to the West during this voyage, for his commander, Sir Thomas Dale, had previously been Deputy-Governor of Virginia, and must have

[1] The names were given by James I.

APP. IV. often discoursed of the populous and warlike tribes which at that time disputed the soil with the English.

In 1619 the large sum of 2,043*l.* was raised by the Virginia Company under the patronage of James I., for erecting and building a college in Virginia for the training and bringing up of infidels' children to the true knowledge of God and understanding of righteousness; and many generous donations coming in, it was ordered, December 1, that a tablet should hang in the court where the Company held their meetings, and that the ministers of Virginia and the Somers Islands should have intelligence thereof, that for their pious works they might recommend these benefactors to God in their prayers, which was generally thought very fit and expedient.

Copeland entered with eagerness into these schemes, to which was shortly added the erection of a church and schools upon funds raised chiefly in the East India Company through his instrumentality, and not a little romance was thrown round the whole undertaking by sensational and mysterious proceedings of anonymous benefactors. On April 18, 1622, he delivered, amidst great circumstances of publicity, before the Lord Mayor, an eloquent sermon or address in Bow Church on behalf of the Virginia Company, urging, on quasi-religious grounds, the importance to England and to the Gospel of the vigorous prosecution of that plantation. The sermon is given somewhat fully by Neill, and was published under the title 'Virginias God be thanked, or A sermon of thanksgiving for the happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare. Preached by Patrick Copland &c.' Copland had been himself appointed rector of the new college when news arrived of the terrible massacre of the white settlers by the Indians on Good Friday of the same year, which put a temporary stop to every arrangement, and the next year (1624) James I. revoked the charter of the Company.

The opening in Virginia being thus closed, Copland turned his attention to the Somers Islands, and his friend Nicholas Farrar the younger transferred to them an endowment of 300*l.* given four or five years before by Nicholas Farrar, sen. to the Virginia Company, upon what trust or conditions, the editor has not learnt.[1] Copland, or as he should be hereafter called, Copeland, left England for Bermuda in 1626, having a stipend of 100 marks guaranteed to him, about one-half more than the

[1] Possibly it was applied to the purchase of two shares of land in Pembroke tribe, Nos. 19-20, immediately west of Long House, which appear in Norwood's 'Book of Survey,' 1663, as 'given to the ffree schoole by Mr ffarrer.' See, for much valuable information respecting school lands, a Report by Hon. John Harvey Darrell, then Attorney-General, in the 'Journals of Assembly' for 1843, p. 16.

other ministers received. The colony remitted in 1628, 533 lbs. of tobacco in payment. He is thenceforward identified with the history of the Bermuda Church. His name first occurs as one of the clerical councillors on November 20, 1626, and he was often present down to 1638. It is almost always written Coapland or Copeland. His residence appears to have been in Warwick parish. He is described as a preacher in Paget's tribe in an indenture dated 1634 (V.B. p. 521). In 1628 he imported from England a large number of Church Catechisms for the instruction of the people. In 1632 he appears, by the private letters of Governor Roger Wood, with whom he was no favourite, to have suggested the imposition of tithes for the support of the clergy; a little later, however, he veered to the Puritan side, which he ultimately joined, and renounced his own orders to become an elder of the Independent congregation formed in January 164$\frac{3}{4}$, by the Rev. N. White, himself a seceder from the Church of England. He then became obnoxious to the dominant Royalist and Church party, and was made a prisoner in August 1647, but with much consideration for his advanced age and long services. He was released in October of that year. Shortly after he was attracted by the wild promises of the founders of Eleutheria, and joined that ill-starred colony in 1648; after which we hear no more about him; but there is an entry dated February 9, 165$\frac{4}{5}$, respecting a 'halfe share of land in Aaron Pedles hands w^{ch} is part of a share w^{ch} M^{r} Patricke Copeland gaue to the free schoole in his life time.'[1] He therefore died before 1655, and probably in Eleutheria. I find no corroboration of the statement that he died about 1651, and in Bermuda.[2] The following letters are preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society:—

1. Hugh Peter, of New England, to Patrick Copeland, December 10, 1638. (Vol. iv. Fourth Series, Mass. Hist. Coll., p. 98.)

To my Worthy and reurend brother Mr Copeland preacher of the Gospell in Bermuda.

Good Brother—By these you may vnderstand that wee doe not a little reioyce at any intercourse betwixt yourselfe and vs. These bearers I pray bid welcome to you as any of yours should bee to vs, The Master is an honest godly man of our Church and such as you will haue much ioy in, wee hope, and I pray helpe vs by prayers what you can. These can inform you of the state of things with

[1] See MS. vol. iii. p. 435. The share was No. 23 in Paget's tribe, since alienated and now private property.

[2] E. D. Neill, p. 187.

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us, and how it is in England and Scotland, even sad enough, Wee haue a printery here and thinke to goe to worke with some speciall things—and if you have anything you may send it safely by these. Our Churches flourish & the more by some late familistical error intruded by Satan: and truly troubles wee must look for on all hands, but wee know whom wee haue trusted. The God of all peace bee with you and all your worke for him. Our plantations doe reach a great way South and East, and I am perswaded will look into the West Indies—of which I would have your opinion.

Good Sir bee earnest, with the Lord for vs that wee may bee to his praise in Jesus Christ. Amen.

Yours Ever

HUGH PETER.[1]

Salem 10, 10ber 1638.

Note.—The 'Book of Psalms,' newly turned into metre, was the third work done at the printery herein mentioned, in 1640. One or two copies are still to be found in the New England Library, Boston.

2. Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop, December 4, 1639. (Vol. i. Fifth Series, Mass. Hist. Collections.)

To the worthy and wor[ll] M[r] John Winthrop, Governor of Boston in New England d[vr] this,

Grace and peace from the fountain of both

Worthy and Wor[ll] S[r]—I perceive by yours your remembrance of vs in sending 12 New England Indians to vs which were left at Providence. If they had safety here, I wold haue had a care of them, to haue disposed them to such honest men as should have trained them vp in the principles of religion and so when they had been fit for your plantations haue returned them againe, to have done God some service in being instruments to doe some good vpon their countrymen. The Dutch in Amboino in the East-Indies, haue gayned many to God and his Truth after this manner. Their preacher, Danker, & scholemaisters (when I was in those parts in the East India Companies service) learned first the Molaya tongue, (The current language of India as the Latine tongue is of Europe) and their preacher bestowed halfe of his labors vpon the Indians—(who were conquered by the Dutch) and the other half vpon the Dutch. Their Scholemasters likewise taught the Indians the Dutch tongue: and they taught the Dutch children (whereof there were then and still are yeerly sent from the Low Countries some hundreds)

[1] Hugh Peter, or Peters, born in 1599, M.A. of Cambridge, sometime on the stage, afterwards a Lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, was sent by the Independent party, which he had joined, to stir up disaffection in New England; returning on the outbreak of rebellion at home, he became one of the chaplains to the Parliament. Lord Clarendon relates his 'vile artifices' to compass the condemnation of Sir John Hotham and his son in 1644 (Clar. Hist. bk. v. iii.) He shared the fate of other regicides in 1660.

the Malaya tongue, both Dutch and English being brought vp in the same schole together: and having thus taught them to read and vnderstand the Dutch character their preachers penned the grounds of Christian faith in the Malaya tongue and Dutch letter, which they sent to Holland to be imprinted there, and transported to the Malacca Islands, so that by these meanes many thousands of them were converted to the Christian Faith. This practise of the Dutch learned of the Jesuits, whose practice it was to get the children of great personages to tutor them, and teaching them the Latin Roman letter, they penned the grounds of Popery in the Gogriate, Malaya, Japan and other languages, but in the Roman letter and having their printers in Goa Naugasack, & other cities vpon the Continent of Asia, and the Isles of Java and Japan they caused those catechisms of Popery to be imprinted there, wherewith they poysoned thousands, and so in a manner became maisters of the sweetest places of the Continent of Asia and Japan, as I observed by my travels in those places: so that beeing myselfe in Naugasack, a famous city of Japan, I saw with my owne eyes the monuments of many faire Churches and an University which sometimes they had there, but their pragmaticall intermedling with state matters, were banished from Japan, by Augushestioma the then Emperour, being informed by our countryman Capt. Adams (who made shipwreck on Japan, and there lived many years at the Emperours Court) of their treacherous practises in Christendome: so that their churches and vniversity which they had in Naugasack, were ruined at the Emperours commands but that whole city to this day speak the Spanish and Portugal tongues, and are all seasoned with Popery. These I had of Capt Cox our Cape-merchant, a popish catechism imprinted in Naugasack, in the Italian letter and Japan tongue, which catechism I have now in my study, with this practise of the Jesuits in perverting, and of the Dutch in converting Indians, I acquainted the Earle of Southampton and the Governour of the Virginia Company S^{r} Edwin Sandys, and the Council of Virginia, who liked well of it, and gave order to S^{r} Francis Wyat their then governor in Virginia, to follow this practise, but in a better manner, Thus briefely I thought good to acquaint with this practise of the Jesuits and Dutch in the Eastern parts of the world, which if it be followed by your preachers and scholemaisters, through Gods blessing vpon their labours I doubt not many of your heathen may be gayned to the Christian faith. I would to God that His work did thrive so vvell with vs, as you write it doth with you. Wee haue within these two yeeres many that seeke to vndermine vs, and to ruine the good that wee have endeavored to doe here, as Mr Cotton will acquaint you, to whome I written somewhat more at large of this matter.

I have sent you a small poesie of our Preachers whom the Lord hath taken to himselfe,[1] hee hath left behinde him a hopefull sonne of his owne name, who is reasonable well entred in the Latine tongue, if there be any good schole and scholemaister with you.

[1] Rev. Geo. Stirke, whose son, Geo. Stirke, graduated at Harvard in 1665.

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I wish with all my heart that hee might have his education, rather with you than in old England, where our company there have, by their letters this yeere to our Governo^{r} Capt Thomas Chaddock (who desires the continuance of your love) promised after a year or two to take charge of his education with them. Hee is a fatherless childe, and of good expectation, if God sanctifie his spirit.

If you send vs any more of your captive Indians, I will see them disposed of here to honest men: or if you send mee a couple, a boy and a girle for my selfe, I will pay for their passage, so they be hopefull.

Thus in some haste, our London ship being neere ready to set sayle, and I having many of my friends to visite by letters, I commit you to the blessing of the Almighty, and blesse God for raysing you from the gates of death to doe him some further service.

Yours in the Lord,

PAT. COPELAND.

Pagets-Tribe, this 4th Decemb 1639.

Indorsed by Governor Winthrop 'Mr Copeland.
Recd p M^{r} Babb (5)7.—40 Resp. p Alle. . .'

3. Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop, July 31, 1647.

To the right wor^{ll} Mr Winthrop, Governour of Boston and of the Precincts belonging therunto; at his house in Boston present this.

Grace and Peace from the rich fountain of both.

Worthy and Wor^{ll} S^{r}—Calling to mind what some yeeres agoe you wrote to myselfe, to stir mee vp to set vpon the way of God in this Iland, it pleased the Lord that in the Governm^{t} of Capt Sayle, Mr White, Mr Golding, and my selfe, being solicited by our then Governour to bestow a Lecture upon the Iland on the weeke-day, because (being but 3, and the Tribes of the Iland being 8, besides Georges where the Governour resided), wee could not accommodate all by preaching on the Lord's day, entring vpon consideration of Capt. Sales motion to vs, wee yealded to his request, vpon condition hee would give way to vs to hold out to the people the way of the Churches in the New Testament, which hee willingly yeelded vnto: though as yet hee himselfe is not a member (his wife being): since which time wee have met with much opposition [1]—both in the government of Capt Foster, and also since our present Governor Capt Thos Turner his being sent to us from our Company. I have drawen out a few passages, by which you may judge ex vngue Leonem, I suppose brother White hath more at large writen of our troubles to your teacher M^{r} Cotton or to yo^{r} Pastor, M^{r} Wilson,

[1] The period referred to seems to be about 1644.

who I doubt not will imparte what he hath written, to your selfe— as you may be pleased to imparte to them, and the rest of our reverend fathers and brethern with you. what here I have sent to yo^{r} selfe, if there be any thing here worthy your taking notice of, the rather that you and they may sympathize wth vs in our distracted condition by spreading these with your owne requests before the Lord, as often as you present your selves at the throne of grace. Capt Sayle and brother Golding the Churches messingers to Parliment and Company, are not yet returned to vs from old England, yet by this Ship whereof M^{r} Campion comes maister, wee had letters from them, by way of Barbadoes, which beare date the 15th of the first moneth, 46, wherein they certifie vs that they finde our Company inclinable to heare our complaints and to right vs in the wrongs wee have sustained by our Governor, Council, and Assembly here. As yet they had not dealt with Parliament, til they saw what redresse they might have by Company: but if Company right vs not, they write they intended to spread our complaints before higher powers: and this is the true cause, they say, of their long stay in England, and absence from us. They write little of the affaires of England, but that the King was at Hornby House by order of Parliament: and that hee refused to take the National Covenant, and to sign vnto Parliaments propositions: but since wee heare by others that there are new broyles a brewing, and that my Lord Fairfax and his Lieutenant, Cromwell, have sided with the King, and removed him from Hornby house to Yorke,[1] which seems to vs very strange newes, that they that have managed the Parliam^{t} and the Kingdoms Warres, should now turn against them and the Kingdom. As for Ireland, wee heare it is given as lost, and that the French have preparations against it: wee trust the Lord of Hostes who hath fought for His, will still not leave His own cause, and His poor people The Congregationall way still gets footing, but with much opposition of evil and vnreasonable men, yea with the whole ignorant and malignant body of the kingdome, which cannot away with the light and easie yoake of Christ, for that they were never acquainted with it. The Prince of Orange is dead,[2] who lived not to see the issue of that peace which he so much laboured. Our Friends write thay had a miserable voyage from you to old England, but at last they safely arrived at their native country, where at first dealing with the Parliament they found it ful of businesse, and a great body moving slowly, and therefore, having litle encouragement to goe that way, they addressed themselves to the Company—Whom they found (as they write) very high at first, but more moderate now, since they have rightly informed them of passages here. But since their departure from vs more wrongs are put vpon vs then ever before, as you will perceive by the writings of brother White, and the things I send with this, which, if it seeme good to you—after you have perused them you may imparte them to

[1] The king was removed from Hornby House June 4, 1647.
[2] He died March 14, 164$\frac{8}{7}$.

APP. IV. Mr Dunster, and Mr Shepheard (that hee may acquainte his father in law Mr Hooker, Mr Davenport, and other of our brethren with them, that are remote from Boston and Cambridge). Your reverent teacher Mr Cotton, and pastor Mr Wilson, to whom and all others I pray remember my best respects, as if I named them by their names. I could condole with you for your losse [1] and my owne, but that I am not willing to renew your grief and my owne. I have written some letters to my noble friends our honoll Governour the Earle of Warwick, my Lord Say, and the Earle of Manchester. Let mee be beholden to yor love and care to deliver them to some trustie friend going from you to old England, who may deliver them (if possible) into their owne hands, Thus surceasing to interrupt your weighter affairs, I commit you and them to the blessing of the Almighty—and rest

Yours to be commanded in the Lord,

PATRICK COPELAND.

Mrs Barckley longs after her husband. Mr Campion tels vs hee came fron New England with him, when hee set sayle from you to Barbadoes, As yet there is no newes of him, Remember vs at the throne of grace, and intreat our brethren to minde vs often there, as often wee doe you and them—according to our poore ability—The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all—.

I doubt not but you will afford your grave counsel to George Stirke, whom both his father and my selfe dedicated vnto God. I heare he practices physick. I ever intended divinity should be his maine study.

4. From Georges Prison, Christ's School, this last of the 7th mo. '47.—July 31, 1647.

You may percieve by our scholemasters considerations what a friend wee have of him: or rather what a secret vnderminer of the truth.

I have sent you Mr Norwoods considerations in print. I pray imparte them to such as you know will make best vse of them. I have sent you also a taste of the fruits of our orchard, though as yet not come to their full maturity. Capt Keane will deliver them: I pray accept of them such as they are, as a small pledge of much love—.

I pray convey this other packet to my noble friends by some safe hand going for London, that may deliver it to our deputie Colonel Row, that he may present the enclosed to our Governour, the Earle of Warwicke, Lord Say, and Earle of Manchester.

Crumbey, Rev. Thomas.—Nothing has been discovered about this minister, except that his name occurs in Pembroke parish register as officiating between March 1661 and March 1663.

[1] Governor Winthrop's third wife died June 13, 1647.

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Edwards, Rev. William, M.A., Oxon, was appointed by the Company to Smith and Hamilton tribes by letter dated Feb. 28, $16\frac{6}{70}\frac{9}{}$, with a stipulation that he was not to be required to preach out of those tribes without or against his own consent. There are baptisms performed by him in Pembroke parish register from August 1671 to November 1673, and he was indeed the only minister in the islands from 1673 to 1675. The Company write to Sir John Heydon, September 21, 1674 :—

Whereas wee formerly ordered that Mrs White the widdow of Mr Nathaniell White should enioy the Gleabe dureing her life time, and wee being since certifyed of her death, wee doe order that Mr. William Edwards o^{r} present minister there doe enioy the said Gleabe and the rents and proffitts thereof (iv. p. 12).

The Governor and Council, in their reply, dated June 28, 1670, remark :—

Whereas your Court hath bin informed that the Widdows of ministers after their husbands deceases in these Islands haue bin by the Gouernm^{t} here required forthwith to avoyd the Gleab of their Husbands Wee doe make bould to certifie That y^{r} Court the Governm^{t} here, and the generalitie of the Inhabitants haue bin by that suggestion abused For that no widdow or widdowes haue bin hitherto, in any of o^{r} remembrances outed. [until ?] A fresh Incumbent hath bin sent ouer by the Hon^{ble} Comp^{ie} for the supplie of the vacancie Neuertheless as y^{r} order therevnto relating hath bin published, soe the purport thereof as occasion shall present shalbe effectuallie observed.

Edwards was minister of Southampton in 1675, when he was succeeded by Rev. John Ffoule; but he continued in the service of the Company to 1689.

Ffowle, Ffoule, or *Ffoole, Rev. John.*—At a Council, Nov. 12, 1675, 'Mr. John ffoule, minister, being sent by y^{e} Hon^{ble} Company to officiate his ministerial ffunction in Southampton and Sandis Tribes more especially: appeared in Court and presented his commission, which was Read, and the said Mr. John ffoule received and confirmed' (vol. v. p. 304). His appointment was renewed Oct. 16, 1678, and again Oct. 25, 1683 (vol. iv. pp. 170-200). In 1680 he received a general license to preach in any part of the island. His name occurs in Pembroke parish register so late as July 1694.

Goulding, Rev. William.—The records of the colony are

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almost entirely wanting for the period of this minister's service. We learn from the petition, printed by Prynne (see p. 608) that he took an active part with Patrick Copeland and Nathaniel White in the secession of the Independents in January 164$\frac{3}{4}$. He was sent home in 1646 by his party, in company with Capt. W. Sayle, as the Church's messenger to the Parliament and Company (see p. 623). He died towards the end of 1648, and his will has been given in full at p. 638. His son Percival Goulding, succeeded Norwood as schoolmaster in 1655, and held the office down to 1681, when Mr. James Hill was appointed, leaving him, however, in honorary charge.

Graeme, Grames, Rev. Abraham.—The name of this minister first appears on a list of the Council present 17th July, 1628. He was then posted to St. George's and Hamilton parishes; soon afterwards to Pembroke and Devonshire parishes. He appears to have been possessed of an ungovernable temper, which brought him into early collision with the Governor, Phillip Bell, and with his brother ministers, especially the Rev. Nath. Warde, and some time in 1629 he was dismissed as 'a stirrer up of strifes and contentions betwixt the inhabitants of the Sum̃er Islands, an open opposer of the Governor and Government, a defamer of the whole Counsell, a man . . . . . seditious and turbulent,' and the Governor and Council sent him to England (p. 486).

Hooper, Rev. John.—The name of this minister first occurs as bringing information to the Governor and Council, May 30, 1650, that there was a ship and 100 men to come over to take the island (see p. 659), an apparent anticipation of the orders given later in that year by the Parliament for the reduction of the Somers Islands and Barbadoes. He espoused the Royalist side, and had the honour of being especially distinguished by the Council of State in 1658 as 'a scandalous minister.' There are marriages and baptisms performed by him from December 1650 to March 1651 in Pembroke register. The clergy having ceased at that time to sit on the Council, there is a difficulty in tracing him further. His widow was paid by the Company 20*l.* arrears of salary due to him at the time of his decease, by an order given in 1663 (iv. p. 50).

Hotham, Rev. Charles, M.A., Cambridge, was appointed by the Company to Warwick and Paget tribes by letter dated February 28, 16$\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{0}$, with a stipulation that he was not to be required to preach out of those tribes without or against his own consent (iv. p. 86).

Wee doe according to o^{r} bounden dutye, return you thanks for your care and charge in sending ouer M^{r} Will Edwards and M^{r} Charles Hotham ministers. Gentlemen well approved of amongst vs, the which are settled according to y^{r} order vpon the respective Gleabes, whereunto they have bin by you designed and to their full contents soe far as is knowne to vs to the contrary.' (Governor and Council to the Company, 28 June, 1670.) He died in 1672.

Concerning ecclesiasticall affaires (write the Governor and Council, 28 June, 1672) wee are not insensible of y^{e} Lords hand gone forth against vs by causing y^{e} sun to goe downe vpon our prophets, wee meane the ministers and seruants of y^{e} Lord whome he hath bin pleased to stripe vs of by death. A sad instance whereof wee haue to acquaint y^{r} Honors with at this time. The Lord haueing remoued from vs that eminent man of Learneing and parts Mr Charles Hotham, minister of Gods holy word w^{ch} happened y^{e} third day of march last past, whose ffunerall was solemnized by the chiefest of the Islands and his body decently interred in the earth the ffifth day of the aforementioned month of march y^{e} consideration of w^{ch} losse and y^{e} vacancie likewise of other parishes wanting ministers doth occasion vs to Redouble our request to y^{r} Hono^{rs} in our last Generall Letter for a supply of orthodox holy graue and peaceable ministers their beeing but one (Edwards) left for y^{e} vse of y^{e} whole Islands. (This statement is repeated fifteen months later.)

Hues, *Hughs*, *Heughes*, or *Hughes*, *Rev. Lewis.*—One of the two ministers associated on the Council of Captain Daniell Tucker, by the Company's instructions of 1616,[1] but he had apparently been sent out by the Virginia Company before.[2] He was imprisoned in 1615 for opposing the six Governors (p. 80). One of those whose conscientious objections to some parts of the English Liturgy led to the compromise effected by Captain N. Butler in 1620. He appears to have been the bearer of certain grievances to England about 1621, and his name does not occur again. Smith relates, with internal mirth, how he was robbed by one Barker, of a compass.[3] He was the author of a little work, entitled 'Certaine Grievances, or the errours of the service-booke, plainly layd open, with some reasons wherefore it may and ought to be removed, well worthy the serious consideration of the Right Honorable and High Court of Parliament. Set forth by way of Dialogue between a country Gentleman and a Minister of God's Word.'[4] As there was no printing press in Bermuda before 1784, it may very well be that it was to bring this out that Hughes went to England.

Jennings, *Rev. Henry.*—The name of this minister, aged 24, occurs as a companion to that of Rev. J. Oxenbridge, in

[1] P. 107. [2] P. 80. [3] P. 135. [4] E. D. Neill, p. 318.

APP. IV. 1635 (see Oxenbridge), but has not been met with elsewhere. He probably served a term of three years, during the period for which we have almost no records, and returned to England.

Keth, Keath, or *Keith, Rev. George.*—'A Scotchman,' says Smith,[1] 'that professed schollership.' He was the minister engaged by the Virginia Company to accompany their first body of emigrants, under Governor Richard Moore, in 1612, and was his principal councillor. He subscribed, with the rest, the Articles pledging them to that faith in which they were baptised in the Church of England.[2] He had violent dissensions with his brother minister, Hughes, but was again appointed by the Bermuda Company councillor to Governor Daniel Tucker,[3] and is named after the Rev. Lewis Hughes, which may help to account for the animosity that apparently existed between them.[4] His name occurs but once in the Colonial Records as the recipient of a bequest of forty-five shillings in 1616.[5]

Morgan, Rev. Bellingham, was sent out to the Somers Islands with the Rev. Patrick Copeland in 1626. His name appears as present in Council on several occasions between February 16 and April 28, 1627. He died in 1628.

Oxenbridge, Rev. John.—The name of Jo Oxenbridge, minister, aged 24, occurs in Mr. Hotten's list of passengers 'to be transported to the Bormoodes or Somer Islands embarqued in the *True Love*, of London 10 June 1635, being examined by the minister of Gravesend concerning their conformitie to the orders and discipline of the Church of England as it now stands established; and who took the oath of allegiance.'[6] He was son of a Rev. Dr. Oxenbridge, a prominent divine in London, and a cousin of Governor Josias Fforster (ii. p. 208). The first mention to be found of him in the Colonial MSS. records his purchase of a female negro slave called Lucra, aged 18, January 16, 1637 (ii. p. 31), of Hugh Wentworth, for 12*l.* sterling, and for a term of fourscore and nineteen years. We are indebted to correspondence of Richard Norwood, preserved in the Record Office, London, and to papers printed by W. Prynne, for information about him. His pledge of conformity to the order and discipline of the Church of England was broken very soon after his arrival in Bermuda, and he was one of the four ministers who left no stone unturned to set

[1] P. 80. [2] P. 63. [3] P. 107. [4] P. 80. [5] P. 124.
[6] 'Lists of Emigrants, &c.' by John Camden Hotten, 1874, p. 87; and see App. III.

up the new order and new discipline, administered by themselves alone, which soon convulsed the little community. Richard Beake refers to him, and to his wife especially, as 'the first ground-work of this faction,' which was afterwards headed by Nathaniell White. He returned to England about 1641 (Norwood) to agitate and influence Parliament; thence he sent out the catechism called 'Baby Milk,' which was at first instilled into youth alone, one day in the week for two hours at noon (Beake), but soon afterwards was forced with great vehemency (Norwood) upon grown men and women, with a degree of spiritual arrogance which to the milder temper of our times is hardly conceivable.

In November 1651 John Oxenbridge of London (without any clerical designation) disposes of his affairs in Bermuda. Two shares in Devonshire tribe are to be let at 3*l.* 13*s.* by the year, or offered to the occupier, John Hariott, for 60*l.*, various negroes sold, &c. From the reference to 'my father Copeland,' Mr. Wilkinson, and others, there can be little doubt that this is the same individual (ii. p. 208).

Smith, Rev. Samuel, of Emanuel College, Cambridge.—The Company write, October 10, 1662, to Capt. Florentia Seymer :—

> We haue sent you two ministers by this ship M^r^ Sason. . . . (Sampson Bond?) *and Mr* Samuell Smith the successe of whose labors in the ministry we comend to *care* of the great God And their Persons for courteous entertainment, countenance and incouragement we comend vnto you as the eminence of their employment shall deservedly call for at your hands (iv. p. 42).

He arrived January 12, 166$\frac{2}{3}$, and served until 1671, when 'having bin by his Reuerend ffather and other Relations invited for England,' he left the colony. Like many of the clergy he was at one time imprisoned for offence to the magistrate, apparently, however, without authority from the Governor (see Bond, Rev. Sampson).

Staples, Rev. Robert.—As early as October, 1621, Mr. Robert Staples, 'a minister much commended,' offered his services to the Virginia Company, to proceed to that plantation, where he had a brother living. The Company at the time declined them; but in April 1622, on a renewed application, supported by a certificate under the hands of near twenty divines,[1] they both appointed him and gave him 20*l.* to pay for the passages of himself, his wife, and child. Whether he went to Virginia then is uncertain; but next year (1623) we find him

[1] E. D. Neill, p. 324.

APP. IV. in Bermuda at the General Assembly. In 1626 his stipend was made 700 lbs. of tobacco, in consideration of his extraordinary pains. He was present at several councils in 1626 and 1627. He returned to England in 1628, and, in company with 67 other 'poor planters,'[1] petitioned Parliament against the oppressive tax of 9*d.* in the pound upon their tobacco, which was stated to be more than it would fetch. Parliament itself memorialised the King for their relief, affirming that three halfpence per pound was as much as should be levied. The result was a reduction of the duty to 6*d.* He was not long after dismissed from the Company and the country's service, but was reinstated and appointed to Hambleton Tribe Feb. 10, 162$\frac{8}{9}$. He next appears in a transaction which indicates the ungovernable temper of the man, and is memorable for language seldom heard, let us hope, from clerical lips, even in those days (see p. 513). Refusing any retractation, he was again and finally dismissed, November 2, 1630.

Stirke, or *Styrke*, *Rev. George.*—'A Scottish man.'[2] He was one of the ministers present at the General Assembly in May, 1623, and re-engaged for the service of Southampton parish in 1626, on a stipend of 540 lbs. of tobacco. His name appears on the Council in 1627 and 1628. He went to England about 1632 (see Warde, Rev. N.), but returned to Bermuda, and died there in 1636, or early in 1637.[3] The Company granted to his widow the use of five acres of land, which was overplus of the glebes, 'to have and enjoye the same, and the benefitt thereof during her lyfe,' for the education of her children.[4]

Turk, *Rev. George.*—This minister was a passenger for the Somers Islands, by the *Dorset*, Sept. 30, 1635 (see Hotten's Lists), beyond which nothing is known about him.

Vaughan, *Rev. Henry* (*Senior*), *M.A.*—

Wee haue accordinge to your more than ordinary request to vs for sendinge ouer another minister. . . Chosen and appointed Mr Henry Vaughan master of Arts of the Vniversitie by our commission to performe the office of Minister to Warwicke and Padgetts Tribes. . . . You may take notice that wee have graunted unto M^{r} Henry Vaughan minister that if there should happen to be an occasion requireinge his returne for England (for hee is in expectation of an estate to fall to him here) that you permit him freely to depart and graunt him leave accordingly.' (Company to Capt. Seymer 4 December, 1663.)

[1] P. 480. [2] Roger Wood, No. 41.
[3] Copeland sends 'a small Poesie' of his to Governor Winthrop in 1639.
[4] Letter dated August 11, 1637.

Such an occasion perhaps arose, as he returned to England, and was by liberal offers again induced some years later (1678) to return to the same charge,[1] where he died in 1680 (iv. p. 184). His will is extant, dated November 1679.

Vaughan. Rev. Henry (Junior.)—When 'old Mr. Vaughan' was induced by the Company, in October 1678 (iv. p. 170), to return to Bermuda, he was accompanied by a son, of the same name, who was 'chosen and appointed to preach at St. George's.'

Vincent, Rev. Isaiah.—A memorandum of his letters of orders, made by the Secretary in 1637, is the only trace found of this clergyman. He was ordained deacon by John Lincolne, 1622, minister by Francis *Erlyr*, 1632. The last abbreviation is not very legible, and the editor has been unable to ascertain what see is intended.

Viner, Rev. William.—One of the ministers who remained faithful to the Church of England, and to the Crown, in the troubled times of the Long Parliament, for which he was ordered to be arrested in 1649, and had the honour of being specially remembered as a 'scandalous minister' by the Committee of the Council of State in 1658. There are baptisms and marriages performed by him in Pembroke parish register, from March 1645 to November 1648. His own burial is entered on December 14, 1649, and after the Restoration, in December 1663, the Company paid his widow 20*l.* arrears of salary then due to him (iv. p. 50).

Wallace, or *Wallis, Rev. James.*—His appointment has not been found. He is casually mentioned in April 1681 as allowed to preach in Warwick tribe church sabbath day next (viii. p. 96), and on 19th July, 1684, he made oath before Hon. Colonel R. Coney, Governor, that he was in true orders according to the Church of England (ix. p. 164).

Ward, Rev. John.—He is mentioned as 'a minister of the Somer Islands' in a letter dated Feb. 7, 163½, written by the Company for Providence Island to their Governor, Captain Phillip Bell (formerly Governor of the Somers Islands), and he went to that colony in 1638.[2] His name has not been found in the Bermuda records.

[1] 'To encourage M^r^ Vaughan to goe ouer to you wee haue done very largely for him,' *id.*

[2] 'Colonial Papers,' pp. 127 and 271.

APP. IV.

Ward, or *Warde*, *Rev. Nathaniell.*—This minister's name occurs first on the Council of December 2, 1628. At that time the tobacco, in which the ministers were paid their stipends (700 lbs. per annum) was almost worthless, and although it was increased to 1,000 lbs. in 1631, it was still so poor a provision that Warde speedily resigned his charge, not a little to the indignation of the Governor, Roger Wood, who refers to him in terms of severity. He afterwards became a minister of high authority in New England.[1]

. . . I thank God (says Roger Wood) we abound with victualls in varietie and plenty, both flesh and fysh, roots fruits, so that we excell all the plantations in the kings dominions and wee desire to vndertake any travell & labour if wee had a subject to work upon to cloath o^{r}selves [he had before referred to the lacke of canvasse, shirts, and shoes] but it is our miserie to live in these tymes that the more we labour the more wee are Indebted thro the extreame ympost layd vpon our goods w^{ch} exceeds the value of the commoditie, a thing without presedent and neuer before heard of I pray God amend yt and send us helpe from heaven for on earth I see but little hope.[2] And our miserie comes not alone for o^{r} ministers seeing our comoditie decay in value they declyne in affection and leaue vs two of them now togeather, and the third hath written to the noble gouernour to speake with the compa about his salarie of 100 markes p ann if which be not payd hee will fly to the king and counsell, and, my honored friend, take this from me that I have obserued from my youth, and since I was a souldier, that I neuer knew a skoteman to this day to loose the least pretence he had to any Title or anything due vnto him And I am of opinion that you shall finde M^{r} Stirke as he hath been reputed, more vyolent in his courses than M^{r} Warde, who is professedly oppositious. (Roger Wood, No. 13, probably Feb. 163½.)

White, *Rev. Richard.*—In a pamphlet printed at Baltimore, 1864, by Mr. Benjamin Gibbs Michell, who claims to have been born in the parish of Warwick, Island of Bermuda, August 5, 1593,[3] there is an entry of 'Elizabeth Mitchell, baptized September 22, 1619, by the Rev. Richard White, the first Protestant minister in Southampton tribe, and who died in 1687, very aged.'

This is the only authority the editor has met with for the insertion of this name, which is not found in the records, or in Norwood's list of occupants of lands in 1663. On the other hand, Smith mentions the arrival of a preacher and his

[1] Winthrop, i. p. 388.

[2] In the next letter he adds, 'Wee haue made our grievance known to o^{r} thrice worthy Gouernor the Noble Earle of Dorset by a ltre.' . . .

[3] The consanguinity of the families of Gibbs and Mitchells, pp. 32. Benjamin Gibbs Mitchell was a claimant to the great Jennens estate, 1864.

family in 1619 (see page 147) who has not been identified, and if we suppose a mistake as to the date of his death, he may be the man. APP. IV

White or *Whyte, Rev. Nathaniell.*—Nathaniell White is the central figure in the ecclesiastial history of Bermuda, and in an age of passion, intolerance, and spiritual tyranny, carried those characteristics to an extreme which would scarcely appear possible in so small a sphere. That he was a man of natural ascendency may be inferred from the subordinate position which Patrick Copeland, many years his senior, was contented to fill in his church, and that he was as ready to suffer persecution as to domineer over those he differed from, may be fully conceded; but the traits of his character disclosed by the complaints of Richard Norwood and Richard Beake are of the most unlovely type, and fully account for the reaction against clerical tyranny which quickly followed on the temporary triumph of the Independent party.

He was sent out by the Earl of Dorset, when Governor of the Bermuda Company, about 1638, as minister for Pembroke and Devonshire tribes, bound, according to Richard Beake, in a bond of 200*l.* sterling to live quietly and peaceably, and to follow the orders and discipline of the Church for the space of three years after his arrival, which argued, he proceeds, that he was

> a man of turbulent spirit in the place where he was, at Knightsbridge, near Westminster; during this time of his bonds he was as hot a zealot as possibly might or could be both for the book of Common Prayer, as also for all other ceremonies of the Church, as kneeling at the Sacrament, Cross in Baptism, Ring in the marriage, and all other things whatsoever so long as his bonds lasted, but suddenly after he turned upside down and after four years he began these things &c.

The first mention of him in the colonial records is in June 1639, when he is a claimant for compensation for loss by a fire; next in 1642, as relinquishing his right and interest in a negro child born by a female slave of John Bayley, of which a negro man of his was said to be the father. Norwood refers to him in 1642, as one of those who 'though they have been long among us yet they are in a manner strangers to us, for they are not the same men as formerly they were, having changed their opinions and practices in many things that we know, and it is like, in many things that we know not.' In 1641, according to Norwood, the ministers, especially Nathaniell White, had main sway in the Government, and he demands 'whether they

APP. IV. intend to set up vestries again, the instruments of their tyrannical rule. Whether they mean to continue Loblolly feasts, whereof they were the chiefs. Whether they mean to continue that Lordly and masterly practise of universally catechising all men and women weekly begun here almost two years ago' (in 1640), and very many more questions of a like nature, given rather more fully in the text, which indicate the abject submission of a section, at least, of the laity, to their authority. About this time White is described by Beake as 'a most seditious turbulent and hateful malitious person, as politic as Achitophel, and as subtle as the Devil'; and even Captain Josias Fforster did not escape his denunciations. White brought against him the preposterous charge that 'He so hates the ministers only for religion's sake, that it is justly feared upon probable grounds that when the ships are gone he will suborne false witnesses to take away their lives.' White, with Patrick Copeland and William Golding, formally renounced the Church of England on January 31, $164\frac{3}{4}$, and adopted the designation of 'Pastor of the Church of Christ,' in which capacity we find him January 10, $164\frac{5}{6}$, buying for a sum of 10*l.* Hanna, daughter of James Sarnando, *alias* James the Negro, to have and to hold for a term of fourscore and nineteen years (ii. p. 113).

Soon after this date he went to England, and there published a book which is referred to by R. Beake. He was there when W. Prynne, in 1646, published his pamphlet, entitled 'A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New Wandering Blasing Stars and Firebrands, &c.' (see p. 579); and he speedily replied to him with equal volubility and fury by another pamphlet, entitled 'Truth Gloriously Appearing, &c.' (*id.*) He was followed to England by accusations of high treason, preferred against him by the Governor, Captain Turnor, and the Council. These were taken into consideration at a Court held in Watling-street, June 27, 1648, and, as was inevitable from the then state of parties, he and Mr. Stephen Painter, who was involved with him, were acquitted. Returning to Bermuda, Nathaniel White must have found, to his mortification, a reaction set in. The records of several years preceding 1647 are unfortunately wanting, rendering it difficult to follow every step of the struggle; but he found Captain Thomas Turnor Governor, his own great supporters, Stephen Paynter, William Wilkinson, and Robert Kesteven removed from the Council, and a strong determination to maintain the Church animating the colonial authorities. He now became in turn the object of persecution, was impeached for sedition in September 1649, and sent out of the Island to Eleutheria, where he remained, with some 60 others, until 1657, when the Council of State directed them to be

invited to Jamaica; but he returned to Bermuda, and died there about Sept. 1668. The last ten years of his life appear to have been peaceable, and he evidently conformed again to the Church of England. His will will be found in Vol. II. His widow survived him to July 15, 1673.

Wight, or *Wite*, *Rev. Daniell*, arrived towards the end of 1635 in the 'Dorset' (Hotten, p. 133). His name first appears as a minister and councillor of State at the Assizes of November 1638. He resigned his appointment about 1644, on grounds of disagreement with the Puritan party. 'We are told out of the pulpit that let a man frequent hearing the Word, read the Scriptures in his house, sing Psalms, catechise and instruct his children and servants, &c., yet all is nothing worth, unless that man will be a Japhet, alureable to dwell in the tents of Shem, which is (as they would have us believe) their visible Congregational Independent Church. The Company is very sensibly affected with our want of a minister; if our ministers had been so affected we had not lost Master Daniell Wight, for we conceive upon good grounds that the difference of opinion between them and him, caused him to leave our Islands.' (Petition of the inhabitants to the Company, 1645, in Prynne's pamphlet.)

Wright, *Rev. Joseph*, was appointed a minister in 1622, but his name has only been found in the commission printed at p. 258.

V.

Trade and Navigation of the Somers Islands in the Seventeenth Century.

APP. V.

1. The strenuous efforts of the Bermuda Company to monopolise every source of commercial profit connected with their plantation, led not only to the attempted restriction of the export trade of the colony to their own store or magazine ships, but to repeated enactments against the importation of supplies by any other vessels, and had it been possible to enforce them, the shipping register of the Somers Islands would have recorded little else than the annual arrival and departure of one or two vessels from the Thames. The Company, however, never enjoyed their monopoly in peace. In the earlier years of the colony, John Delbridge, of Barnstable, and in the latter years, Perient Trott, of London, both of them shareholders, waged unceasing war with the governing body in the interests of free trade,[1] and neither the prohibition of shipbuilding, nor the discouragements given to interlopers, could entirely prevent a trade in which the Company had no share from springing up. Vessels bound for Virginia or New England frequently touched at the Somers Islands. Occasionally, but not very frequently, Dutch and Spanish vessels called, frequent wars with both powers naturally restricting their intercourse; and the islanders themselves developed early that seafaring enterprise and activity, which a century later made the Bermudians the principal carriers between the maritime provinces of North America and the West Indies, and still characterises the people. A few pages must, therefore, be devoted to shipping records, especially as they have many points of contact with the history of the other British plantations of the seventeenth century. Here, as elsewhere, we turn to Smith's 'History of Virginia' for the earliest information. There is occasional mention of the arrival and departure of ships between 1624 and 1656, but not enough to give a complete picture of this branch of the transatlantic commerce of that period; we have such a picture, however, in a regular Shipping

[1] Perient Trott ceased to trouble the Company about 1682, but Mr. William Righton Sen. maintained the contest (MS. iv. p. 175).

Register kept (with some interruptions) from May 1656 to February 1671. The beginning of the book is wanting, but it is probable that during the troubled times of the Civil War there was not much to record, as there are numerous references to the dearth of supplies and irregularity of communication during that period. APP. V.

2. The vessels trading with Bermuda are entered under many obsolete designations, as

Barque,	Galliott,
Brigantine,	Pinke,
Dogger,	Pinnace,
Ketch, or Catch,	Shallop,
Frigott, or Frigate,	Ship,
Galley,	Sloop.
Galley-Frigott,	

The largest ship appears not to have exceeded 350 tons; while the small size, for ocean navigation, of many of the others is surprising. For example:—The 'Ship or Catch' 'Speedwell,' of Salem, New England (1657), 20 tons; the 'ship or vessel' 'Blessing,' 30 tons; a Catch, of Providence, N.E., 30 tons; a French ship, not named, 40 tons; a ship from Barbadoes, 40 tons; the ship 'Charles,' of Bristol, 80 tons (1644); the ship 'Imployment,' of London, 110 tons; the ship 'Susan and Anne,' 180 tons; the ship 'Spread Eagle,' 300 tons; the ship 'Anne,' *alias* 'Somers Island Merchant,' 350 tons. The number of passengers carried is considerable, especially between Bermuda, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Eleutheria—seldom any to or from the American colonies; and we find under the dry catalogue of arrivals, traces of the Cromwellian settlement of Jamaica: of many obscure expeditions against the Spanish or Dutch: of the settlement of the Carolinas and of other events of bygone interest which occupied the public mind of their day, and made the England of ours in a measure what it is. It deserves notice that we find no trace of any system of quarantine, and no mention of any sickness imported for want of it. The services of a pilot are only once mentioned (January 1670), but the terms seem to show that he was a recognised officer, as he certainly was by law in 1694. Passengers leaving Bermuda were required to give securities to answer all just demands, and long lists of 'exceptions' are given, *e.g.* 'Capt^{n} Lea excepted ag^{t} by Richard Bowen, Jun^{r} for 60*l.* sterling per former covenant, according to agreement upon record. Liften^{t} John Rawlinges and John Seymor are his attorneyes to answer this exception.' (Passenger of the 'Discovery,' Oct. 1656.)

3. There are numerous wrecks entered, some of which throw incidental light upon the physical condition of the reefs then

APP. V. surrounding Bermuda, and corroborate arguments which may be brought from many sources to prove that no inconsiderable changes have occurred in them since the discovery of the islands. But the first entry of interest is not one of this character, but an incident of the Civil War, the operation of which upon the high seas is not much regarded in general history. The ship 'Charles,' of Bristol, of the burden of fourscore tons, was taken by Capt. Robert Taylor by commission, and by him sold to Capt. William Johnson, and by him sold to Capt. Bartholomew Preston, 1 Jan., 164$\frac{4}{5}$; by him again sold to Vincent Rayner, August 12, 1646, with all the appurtenances belonging to the said ship, with victuals and all other things aboard; 'except two gunns with carriages and the bread now uppon the said ship and halfe a barrell of powder already received, for the sum of one hundred pounds to be paid in goods as they are usually sold by the said Vincent Reyner for ready money. That is to say one 4th part in wine, and the rest in such comodities as shalbe tendered by the sayd Mr. Vyncent Rayner excepting the somme of fiue pounds in money.'

This capture must have been made before the news of the surrender of the City of Bristol to the Royal forces in July 1643 had reached the West Indies, as it is hardly to be supposed that its citizens would be exposed to lose their property by sea after their reduction.

4. There is perhaps no feature of these records more interesting at the present day than the evidence they afford of the use of Castle Harbour, which was entered by almost all the large ships, and from which we frequently find the small ones passing into the harbour of St. George's. This fine harbour is now almost entirely disused, although I am informed that about thirty years ago the West Indian mail steamers habitually entered it. In some parts of the channel leading from it into St. George's Harbour there is at present less than 8 ft. at high water.

The list of shipping may best be given in a tabular form; but a few entries of general interest deserve precedence:—

9. It is agreed [Sept. 22, 1653] betweene Captain Lockyer and William Coxen the older, that the said William Coxen is to goe along in the vessell called the Discouery or the Rebecca to be a diver vnder the tuition of the said Capt Lockyer and the said William is to haue for eu^{r}y thousand peeces of eight that he doth recouer by diveing Ten peeces of eight, and to have a share besides the said ten peeces of eight, this they both have sett their hands vnto 22 Sept 1656

It is said that a few years later no less than twenty-

six tons of silver were recovered by divers for the Duke of Albemarle and Sir W. Phipps, from the wreck of a Spanish Plate ship which had been stranded in 1656 on a shoal to the N.E. of Hispaniola (Bryan Edwards, I. ch. iii.); and down to the close of the last century many small vessels from Bermuda were habitually engaged in looking for wrecks at the Bahamas. Mr. John Harvey Darrell has here noted—'I myself remember two or three such vessels. Old Capt. Sears, of the Flatts, Bermuda, considered a rich man, was generally reported to have acquired his wealth in that way.

10. William Browne of Salem in the county of Salem new England merchant and owner of the good shipp or Catch called the Speedwell of Salem of the Burthen of 20 tons or thereabouts. Sells the said ship to John Holwey of Bristol with all and singular her masts, sailes, sayleyards, Ankers, cables, ropes, cordes, takles, apparrell, artillery, munitions. Boat skiffe and furniture whatsoever, for a sum of seventy pounds current money—and for himself his heirs &c.—the said ship against all men shall warrant and defend by these presents for one whole yeare and a day next ensueing the date hereof According to the Laws of Oleron. Perill of the Seas fier and enemyes excepted.[1]

John Holway in like form Sells $\frac{2}{3}$rds of her to John Stowe Sen^{r} of Bermuda for £96.

11. The conquest of Jamaica by Cromwell's forces in 1655 was followed by endeavours, pursued by the Lord Protector with his usual vigour, to introduce settlers, chiefly from Ireland, and from the Windward Islands; but among them we are told there arrived 'some industrious planters from New England and the Bermudas.'[2] The following list of the latter is preserved. They must have arrived but a few months before the final defeat of the Spaniards by Colonel D'Oyley at Rio Nueve, in July 1658.

'The ship called the Paule and the ship called the Goulden Ffalcon Capt^{n} Wentworth and Capt^{n} fformase being Comanders both of Jamaica came into the Towne harbor the 24th October, 1657.' They came to fetch passengers to Jamaica.

[1] 'Richard I., when abroad, composed a body of naval laws at the Isle of Oléron, which are still extant and of high authority, for in his time we began to discover that, as an island, we were naturally a maritime power. . . . The proceedings of the High Court of Admiralty bear much resemblance to those of the civil law, but are not entirely founded thereon; and it likewise adopts and makes use of other laws as occasion requires, such as the Rhodian laws and the laws of Oléron.'—Stephen's 'New Commentaries,' iv. p. 591, and ii. p. 461.

[2] Bryan Edwards, I. ch. iii.

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Passengers that went off from Bermuda *als* Somr Islands wth Captn John Wentworth Comder of the Paule and Captn Benjamin fformase Comander of the Goulden ffalcon all bound for Jamaica, and all carryed off at the free charges of the state of England, who set saile from hence the 5th January $165\frac{7}{8}$

Abraham Aderley his wife and children
Rober Andeas
John Ashe and his wife
Abell Bayley his wife and sonne
John Biggs his wife and 5 children
Timothey Board his wife & 7 children
Thomas Bonham, his wife & family
William Bowe and his wife
Dr Thomas Browne and 2 more
William Bun, his wife & 3 children
Thomas Cahle
Cornelius Carter, his wife & 4 children
Ffrances Cawdall, her 6 sons & daughters
John Clarke, his wife 4 children and father
Thomas Cokoe his wife & 6 children
William Coxen, his wife and 3 children
Thomas Crossley
Ffrancis ffarrell, his wife and 2 children
William fford his wife & family
Bartlemew Gibbons
James Greene
Anthony Hart his wife & 2 children
James Hill & his wife
Edward Holmes, his wife & family
Alice How & 2 children
Peter Howe wth 4 more with him
Petter Hutton
Georg Jackson his wife & 7 children
Ffrances Jordame
William Liddall
Thomas Longbottom his wife & daughter
Robert Macham his wife & 5 sonnes
Phillip Mavare
George Mayne
Samuell Newell his wife, 2 children & father
Robert Nailer
Stephen Parker his wife & child
Bartlemew Payne
ffancis Powell & 5 p.sons
Captn Robert Pulford
Christopher Rodman
Ffrances Russell
Edward Ssabia
Richard Strede
Henry Spatchurst & 6 p.sons
John Smith
George Thornton & 8 p.sons
Thomas Twiff his wife & children
Edward Vincent
Jeromy Whitehand
Thomas Wiuerley
John Woodford his wife & children
Phillip Wright & his sonne
Jerome Whitaker

Anthony Peniston sailed forth wth those shipes abovesd in his small vessell called the Jamaca factor. And Benjamin Downeinge went seaman wth him.

12. Articles made between Captain James and his Company 28th May, 1658, at Jamaica:— APP. V.

Imp[s] That the Commissions parte be taken out of all merchants goodes whatsoeuer

(2) That all chists and hampers vnder locke and key vpon deckes or vnder deckes be free plunder whether there be gold siluer or whatelse soeuer in them. And likewise all gold and siluer found in what place soeuer.

(3) That all which is fetcht by canoa or Boat from the shoare or out of any vessell or shipp w[ch] the man of warr cannot come to comand be free plunder, or wher the man of warr cannot or does not come

(4) That all marchants goodes be devided into 4 fower equall parts, one to be for the ship, one for the shares and two for plunder

(5) That he which sees a saile that makes a voyage shall have double shares and double pillage. And likewise of any other saile whether it makes a voyage or not

(6) That if any man be shott and therewith maymed he shall have five hundred pieces of eight, or 3 negros as soone as may be conveniently done of the whole

(7) That if any ship or vessell that makes not a voyage be taken and hath in her anything vseful for the man of warre, the same to be taken for the vse of the man of warre. And the Capt. to have any such vessells to dispose of them to any good ffrends when he sees tyme

(8) That the Capt have the seaventh of all pillage or plunder

(Signed) William James.

(2) Receiued then of Cap[t] William James for the vse of my husband Capt[n] William Sayle, the sume of eighteene poundes sterling, and as in ffull satisfaction of and for all the p[r]visions or other damage taken or done to my husband at Eluthera by Capt[n] James or any that was then with him. And I do hereby accquit and for euer discharg the said Cap[t] James and all his company for and on the behalfe of my said husband Capt[n] Sayle 21 Oct. 1658.

(Signed) Margery Saile

(3) Then follows a notarial protest by one James Gressett, dated November 2, against Captain W. Jeames of the 'ffrigott James,' and others for detaining from him his sugar, and the part of a vessel which appertains to him :—

(4) The attestation of the underwritters taken in the Island aforesayd the second day of November 1658 in the publique notary of M[r] Anthony Jenoure Secretary

These are to certifie to all psons to whom these p[r]sents shall come, that wee vnder written doe know that there was taken 4800 peices of eight, two chest of broken silver and plate of silver sould at the highest price. As alsoe the cheste of white and muscavado sugar 400 farthells of fflower a 140 coverlette of compeach, 600

APP. V. Spanish skinne 30 peices of stuffe spanish, ffive chest of wax candles, two cheste of glasses, two fardells of Insense 14 farthells of cocoa nutte, 40 jars of pitch 6 Baskette of pap? All which was taken by Capt William James from the Spaniard out of a prize called by the name of the Holycrosse of Campecho and further these dept[s] say not

JOHN BALLENGER
NICHOLAS TUPPETH

1661. 13. Vppon the 3rd daye of ffebruarie 166$\frac{0}{1}$ being the Saboath daie or vppon the night following (as was conceiued) a vessell of about 35 tons belonging to Southampton, was cast awaie to the westward of the north west Rock The which vessell was found loaded with Porke and Beefe, and came from Virginia, and was intended for Boston But the people thereto belonging were all lost. In confirmation of the premises there was a Chest three daies after taken vp at sea, with this superscription nailed therevpon.

To his friends. James Tiley in Southampton

P.S.—Walter Collins, as it is conceived, was the master of this vessel.

It is to be observed that there is no conspicuous rock on the external reefs now called the North-west Rock. There is a North Rock so called, and it bears north-west from the eastern channel, but its situation is towards the eastern section of the reefs: and as east and west are now currently used, it never is and would never be described as the North-west Rock. Possibly, therefore, some other elevated rock more to the westward has disappeared since 1660.

1661. 14. Vppon Tuesdaie night, about midnight, being the 26[th] of March An[o] Dom 166$\frac{0}{1}$, was a shipp cast awaie of about 300 Tonns called the Virginia Marchant, bound for Virginia Capt[n] Robert Burke Comand[r] thereof, right against and neere vnto M[r] Richard Hunts House standing at Port Royall, wherein was one hundred and eightie persons, all which were then sodainlie drowned except tenn persons, the which with great difficultie and eminent perill of their liues did recouer the said shore [1]

[1] This extract confirms the old maps in showing that the Port Royal of the early settlement was on the south shore. The present Port Royal is in the great sound to the north.

SHIPPING LIST.

List of occasional visitors, emigrant vessels, magazine ships, and private traders, arriving at the Somers Islands down to 1684. APP. V.

PART I.

Collected from Smith's 'Virginia,' from proclamations, and other notices.

Arrival		
1515		'La Garza.' The vessel of Juan Bermudez touches.
1560–70		The Frenchman Russell wrecked.
1593		La Barbotière's ship wrecked.
1609	July 28	The 'Sea-venture' wrecked.
1610		The 'Patience' returns from Virginia (pp. 50–52).
1612	July 11	The 'Plough' with Gov. Moore and 60 settlers (p. 66).
,,	Dec.	An Adviso, with 30 settlers, left for Virginia (p. 74).
1613	June	The 'Martha,' with 60 settlers, left.
,,		The 'Elizabeth' with 40 settlers, her second visit.
,,		Two Spanish ships to recover treasure (p. 75).
,,		Capt. Daniel Elfrith or Elfrid with a carvel of meal.
1614		The 'Blessing' with 100 settlers.
,,		The 'Starre' with 180 settlers.
,,		The 'Margaret' and two frigates bringing Bartlet the surveyor and others.
1615		The 'Welcome' with provisions. Moore left by her (p. 77).
,,		Caldicot sailed with 32 men in a frigate for the West Indies (p. 80).
,,		The 'Edwin' with good supplies (p. 81).
1616	May	The 'George' with Capt. D. Tucker and others (p. 82).
,,		The 'Edwin' with many passengers; she proceeded on to the West Indies.
,,		The 'Sea-Flower,' Capt. Gardener (p. 120).
,,		Escape of a boat of three tons to Ireland (p. 136).
,,		The 'George' returns to England.
,,		The 'Edwin' returns from the West Indies.
1616		The 'Hopewell,' Capt. Powell, arrives with passengers and proceeds to the West Indies.
1617		The 'Neptune' sent out for whale fishing (p. 137).
,,		The 'Hopewell' returns from the West Indies with three prizes (p. 139).
		A carvel with 12 men sent to Virginia.

APP. V.

Arrival		
1618		The 'Diana,' the first magazine ship, arrived; she returned with 30,000 lbs. of tobacco (p. 145).
1619		The 'Blessinge' arrived. Capt. D. Tucker returned in this ship (p. 146).
,,		The 'Giliflower' arrived with supplies (p. 147).
,,		The 'Treasurer' arrived from Virginia.
,,		The 'Giliflower' returns, probably from Virginia, and leaves for Newfoundland.
,,		The 'Seaflower,' bound for Virginia, arrives and brings a preacher.
,,		A bark, Capt. Kerby, arrives from the West Indies.
,,		A Dutch 'frigot' cast away on the western shore.
,,	Oct. 20	The 'Warwick' arrived with Governor N. Butler; she was wrecked in a hurricane towards the end of November (p. 149).
,,	Nov.	The 'Garland,' of 25 tons, sent in June 1619 with 45 persons for Mr. John Farrar's plantation, Virginia, arrived.[1] 17 weeks out.
1620	Jan.	The 'Garland,' unable to proceed, returns to England with a cargo of tobacco (p. 150).
,,	Feb.	A tall ship nears the land but cannot make it.
,,		Captain Scoutans, a Dutchman, with two frigates, arrives, conducted by Captain Powell. Is hospitably received and remains two months.
1620	Aug.	The 'Joseph,' magazine ship, arrives, Simon Day master (p. 154), and returned with 70,000 lbs. of tobacco.
,,		The 'George' arrives (p. 321).
,,		Capt. Powell arrives in a Dutch ship; is not allowed to trade (p. 155).
1621		A magazine ship arrives in a very sickly state.
1622	Sept. 13	The 'Tiger,' of London, arrives (p. 257).
,,		A Spanish vessel from Carthagena (the 'S. Antonio') lost. The crew and passengers land at Mangrove Bay (p. 156).
,,		A second ship arrives in a sickly state (p. 157).
	Oct.	A third ship arrives with a small magazine.
,,		A small barque arrives from Virginia, and returned with 20,000 lbs. of potatoes and other freight (p. 159).
,,	,,	A bark sent out by two or three private men of the Company (p. 160) arrives in Castle Harbour, probably the 'Successe' of Barnstaple. N. Butler left the islands, without leave, in this vessel, about October 25, 1622.
,,	Nov.	The 'Darlinge' arrives, bringing a new Governor, Captain John Bernard (p. 161).
,,		Another ship arrived with the 'Darlinge.' *Query*, the 'Thomas' of Bristol? (p. 340). The two brought 140 passengers (p. 261).

[1] P. Force's 'Tracts,' Vol. iii. No. 5, p. 9.

Arrival		
1622	Dec.	The 'Successe' of Barnstaple sailed (p. 266).
1623		The 'Marmaduke,' bound for Virginia, arrived, John Dennis, master (p. 277).
,,	March	The 'Sea-Flower' is blown up before March 20 (p. 281).
$162\frac{4}{5}$	March 11	The 'George' arrives (pp. 341–424).
,,		The 'James,' Toby Ffolgate master, and sails for Virginia (p. 341).
1625	Sept.	The 'Larke' sent out by the Company, Mr. Richard Weller master (p. 372).
$162\frac{5}{6}$	March	The 'Victory,' sent by the Company, Wm. Kempthorn, master.
1626	May	The 'Olive,' a ship of John Delbridge's, leaves with freight (p. 448).
,,	Sept.	The 'Marmaduke,' — Day, master, takes tobacco.
1627	March 22	The 'Peter Bonaventura,' Capt. Thomas Sherwin, of Bermuda, and was captured by the Dutch in Torbay and carried to Dunkirk (p. 494).
,,		The 'Lydia,' her consort, Mr. Anthony Thorne, reached Dartmouth.
,,	April 16	The 'Exchange' sailed for England (p. 438).
,,		The 'Somer Islands Pinnace' of Barnstaple sailed (p. 473).
1629		The 'Tiger' of London leaves (p. 493).
1631	Jan. 20	The 'Tiger' sailed again (p. 523).
1632		The 'Sea-Flower' is mentioned by R. Wood, No. 1, John Rose master (*Do.* Nos. 2–3).
1633		The ship 'Pearle' arrives, bringing 100 suits and 200 shirts and shoes from the Company. (R. Wood, No. 64.)
,,	Oct. 14	The Dutch ship 'Peeter' sailed from Bermuda (MS.)
,,	Nov. 10	The 'Thunder' of New England arrived and left for Virginia with provisions January 2, 1634. (R. Wood, No. 64.)
,,	Dec. 4	The 'Elizabeth and Anne' magazine ship arrived, — Smith master, Peter Braelaer pilot. (R. Wood, Nos. 64–81.)
,,	Jan.	There were three ships in harbour besides the London ship. (R. Wood, No. 44.)
1635	June 10	The ship 'True-Love' sailed from Gravesend with 125 passengers for Bermuda. (Hotten, p. 85.)
,,	Sept. 30	The ship 'Dorset' sailed from Gravesend, J. Flower master, with 95 passengers for Bermuda. (Hotten, p. 123.)
$163\frac{6}{7}$	Jan. 9	The master of the 'Dorset,' John Flower, signs bills for supplies furnished. (MS. ii. p. 6.) There is a discrepancy of a year between these dates

[1] C. P., p. 52.

[2] The list of her crew is preserved. (See C. P., p. 77.)

APP. V.

Arrival		
		if they refer to the same voyage. The Bermuda entry is very plain: January 9, 1636; followed by January 18, 1636; January 8, 1636; December 1636; April 10, 1637; April 1637; therefore January $163\frac{6}{7}$ is evidently the year (ii. p. 6).
1637	April 10	Giles Marsh, captain of the 'Expectation,' sells two negroes, Sambo and Lucretia, to Governor Chaddocke for 20*l.* (ii. p. 62).
,,		The ship 'Phillip' leaves for England (ii. p. 62).
1638	Aug.	The ship 'Charles,' Robert Dennis master, in Bermuda (ii. p. 231).
1639	Jan.	A vessel from New England brings letters from Hugh Peter to Rev. Patrick Copeland (App. IV.)
,,	May	The 'America,' Alexander Cave master, is obliged by sickness to put into Bermuda (ii. p. 31).
$164\frac{0}{1}$	Feb. 5	The 'Charles,' Robert Dennis master, leaves Bermuda bound for Trinadado and England (ii. pp. 50, 59, 78).
1642	May	A Spanish ship laden with silver fell on the rocks (MS. iv. p. 83).
,,	Aug. 11	The 'Gillyflower,' Elias Pillgram master, leaves for Virginia (ii. pp. 72–3).
1643		The ship 'Anne' man of war, Captain Thomas Cromwell, formerly Captain Gyles Marsh, Lieutenant Lewis Morris, leaves for the West Indies (ii. 79, 105, 135).
1644	July 26	The 'Hopewell' of the Somers Islands, John Sessiones factor, brings 11,018 lbs. of cotton-wool from Barbadoes, purchased from fifteen growers. He makes declaration that it belongs to his owners.
,,	Aug. 20	John Jewett, master of the carvel 'Merchant,' binds John Waller apprentice to Thomas Day of David's Island (ii. p. 92).
$164\frac{4}{5}$	Jan.	Captain William Jackson brings many negroes and Indians captured from the Spaniards.
1645	June	The ship 'William' is bought by Captain William Sayle, John Trimingham, and four more for 274*l.* Each share is 45*l.* 13*s.* 4*d* (ii. p. 3).
$164\frac{5}{6}$	Jan.	The owners of the pinnace 'Dymond' in Bermuda are authorised by the Earl of Warwick to receive three negroes in satisfaction for a sum of 30*l.* due to them.
1646		The 'Tryall,' alias 'Rebecca, is sold by James Grollier of Bardadoes (ii. p. 133).
,,	Aug. 27	The 'Charles,' of Bristol, eighty tons, is sold to Vyncent Reynor.
1647	July	The 'Somer Islands Merchant': invoice of her freight (ii. p. 155).
1648	Sept. 20	The ship 'Endeavour' of Barbadoes: Peter Wither of Bermuda sells his share in her (ii. 166).

Arrival		
1648	Oct.	The ship 'Return,' Scarlet (p. 641).
1649		Mr. Brown's ship arrives from England (ii. 168). Governor Turner buys out of her fifteen muskets (ii. p. 168).
1651	Nov. 2	The Earl of Warwick licenses the building of a shallop by John Stowe (ii. p. 182).
165½	March	The 'Swan' of Barbadoes, George Munsey master, leaves Barbadoes (ii. p. 246).
1652	March 5	The 'King of Poland' was at Bermuda: memorandum of a sale of drugs by her surgeon (ii. 200).
,,	May 6	A ship leaves for New England; Mr. Frankes master (ii. p. 242).
,,	Oct. 4	The 'Elizabeth and Anne' from Barbadoes is in Bermuda: certain disputes between John Stow and Thomas Attwood master referred to four arbitrators (ii. 109). She paid 3,775 lbs. sugar valued at 3*d.* a lb. for fourteen cattle. Six passengers' fares are credited at 12*l.* 8*s.*; 6 cwt. of beef, 6*l.*; master's wages, 3*l.* per mensem. She brought letters of recall for Rev. N. White in Eleutheria (iv. p. 15).
1653	Dec. 13	The 'Anne and Elizabeth' (the same ship) is bound for Barbadoes (ii. p. 222).
,,		The 'Hopeful Luke' of London wrecked (iv. p. 9).
,,	,, 26	The 'Prosperous' sails for Barbadoes (ii. p. 234).
1654		The 'Swan,' 370 tons, magazine ship, miscarries on her way out (iv. p. 9).
1655		The 'Blessinge,' belonging to Anthony Peniston (p. 256), leaves for Barbadoes (ii. p. 249).
,,	May 26	The 'Elizabeth and Anne' sent without orders; arrived July 24 (iv. p. 9).
,,		The 'Imployment,' John Jenkins master (ii. p. 252), sent by the Company (ii. pp. 250, 310); she leaves December 27 (iv. p. 15).
,,		The 'Hopefull Luck,' John Wadsworth master, *wrecked* (ii. p. 251).
,,	Dec.	The 'Orange Tree.'
165⅝	Feb. 16	The 'Loyaltie,' Captain J. Limbrey, sails for England (iv. p. 15 and ii. p. 309).

PART II.

1656–1671.

Compiled from a Register Book, with additions from letters and other sources.

APP. V.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1656				1656	
May 22	The ship 'Rebecca and Anne'	--	—	June 22	For Segatoo, 2 passengers.[1]
„ 29	The 'Swan' of New England	1			
June 16	The 'little William' of Segatoo	The Flatts	—	July 5	For Barbadoes.
	The 'Blessing'; Eliakim Leigh Mr	—	—	June 30	For Barbadoes, 6 passengers.
	The ship '3-Brothers'	—	—	July	
July 18	The 'Marmaduke'	Off Davids Head	—	„ 21	
„ 18	The 'Mary' fflyboat	„	—	„ 21	
„ 18	'Elizabeth and Anne'; John Stowe	1	—	Nov. 30	Took 27 passengers.
„ 18	The 'Adam and Eve'	Davids Head	—	July 21	
„ 24	—	—	—	—	Justinian Martin brings in distressed Spaniards.
Sept. 30	The 'Peter' of Bristow	—	—	Sept. 30	
	The 'Discovery' (Spanish)	—	—	Oct. 7	Took 24 passengers.
Oct.	The 'Blessing' (3 negros imported)	—	—	Nov. 15	For Sagetoo.
—	—	—	—	—	The 'Loyalty' was dispatched for Bermuda in October, but took twelve months.
Nov.	The 'Swan'	1	—	Dec.	
Dec.	The 'Sun'; Matt. Forrest				
„ 16	The ship '3-Brothers'	1	—	Mar. 21	Took 6 passengers.
1657				1657	
Feb 7	The 'Spread-Eagle' of 300 tons	1	—	Feb.	For Virginia.
March	The 'John' from Elutheria	—	—	Mar. 12	Brought Capt. W. Saile, his wife, 3 children, and 13 other passengers.
April	The 'Blessinge'; Eliakim Lea				

[1] Segatoo or Segitto was another, and probably the original, name of Eleutheria. (See vol. ii.)

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1657				1657	
April	The ship 'Rebecca and Anne'	—	—	April	For Barbadoes, 15 passengers.
,,	The 'Martin' galley ffrigott; Capt. J. Wentworth	—	1	July	
,,	The '——'; Mr. Longson	—	1	May 5	Sailed for Plymouth
May 9	The 'Orange Tree'	1	—	June 6	Took Matt. Norwood and 6 more
June 3	The ship 'Marye' of Kingsale	1	—	July 17	Laden with stores to sell.
,, 16	The ship '3-Brothers'	1	—	,, 28	Took 10 passengers.
,, 17	The 'Swan'	—	—	,, 3	He would not give in his passengers.
July	A catch unnamed	1	—	,, 18	Brought 10 passengers.
	N.E. catch the 'Vouter' (Vulture)	—	—	,, 24	
,, 24	The 'Rebecca and Anne'	1	—	Feb. 16	Took 20 passengers.
Aug.	The 'Mary'; Will. Symmons	—	—		
Oct. 11	The 'Swan,' als 'Somer Islands Mercht'; Capt. John Jenkins	—	—	Dec. 13	Took 14 passengers.
,, 19	The 'Returne' of N.E.	—	—	Oct. 22	To stop her leaks.
,, 24	The ship 'Paule'	1	—	Jan. 1	Came for emigrants for Jamaica, and carries away about 200 (p. 717).
,, 24	The ship 'Goulden Falcon'	1	—	,, 1	
	'Elizabeth and Anne'; J. Stowe	1	—	Nov. 14	Took 26 passengers.
Nov. 7	The 'Loyalty' from Barbadoes	—	1	Jan. 29	Brought 'several negroes,' took 10 passengers.
	The '3-Brothers'	1	—	Feb. 16	Brought 7 passengers.
Dec.	The 'Hope'; Will. Penworden	—	—	—	From Nevis.
,,	The 'Summer Islands Mercht.'; John Jenkins				
	A Dutch vessell	1			
1658				1658	
Feb. 4	'Elizabeth and Anne'; J. Stowe	—	—	Mar. 21	John Waller among her passengers.
April 18	The ship 'Anne'	—	—	—	*Cast away upon the rocks.*
Mar. 13	The 'Oken Tree' of Holland	—	1	Mar. 13	
May 27	A catch of Providence, N.E., 30 tons	—	—	June 4	Set on shore Mr. Martin's passengers.
,, 31	A catch from Virginia	1	—	,, 8	Carried away several seamen cast away on our rocks.
June 2	The 'Hope' of Amsterdam trade	—	—	—	Sold.
,, 7	A catch from the Leeward Isl. for	—	—	July 10	Sold in Bermuda.
,, 17	'Elizabeth and Anne'	1	—	Nov. 10	Took 28 passengers.
,, 18	The '3-Brothers'	1	—	Oct. 14	
Aug. 2	The 'Rebecca and Anne'; Jas. Whittier				
,, 16	The 'Jeames'; Capt. W. Jeames	1	—	—	From Barbadoes, with a prize taken in the W.I. Sugar chiefly. French (?)

APP. V.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour: Town	Harbour: Castle	Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
1658				1658	
Aug. 15	The 'William'; Mr. Thos. Saile	1	—	Oct. 2	Brought 4 passengers.
	The ship 'Hope'	—	—	,, 14	
	The 'Hague'	—	—	,, 14	There went away in her 12 or 13 persons, Dutch and Indians, and in both the French-men which Capt. James brought in.
Nov. 5	The 'Bahamas' Frigott; A. Peniston	—	—	—	A share in her sold for 25*l.*
,, 9	Catch, 'John's Adventuer' from Bahamas	—	—	Mar. 4	Left for Surinam.
	'Hopefull Adventuer'; Captn. W. James.	—	—	Nov. 19	Probably the prize above mentioned; took 10 passengers.
,, 28	A ketch; Carver master	1	—	Dec. 12	For Virginia.
	A small vessel, formerly Stowe's	—	—	,, 17	
Dec. 28	The ship 'Orange tree'	—	1	Jan. 13	For Virginia.
1659				1659	
Jan. 3	The 'Somer Island Merchant'	—	1	Mar. 1	Magazine ship.
,, 11	The 'Virginia merchant'; Rob. Burlie	—	1	Feb. 18	For Virginia; carried away 'Eagle's' passengers.
,, 12	The ship 'Eagle' of London	—	—	—	*Cast away; crew saved.*
,, 30	The pinke 'Hope,' with salt; Edw. Stone	1	—	April 14	Sailed for the Leeward Islands with cattle.
,, 25	The 'Elizabeth and Anne'; J. Stowe	1	—	June 18	For Barbadoes.
Mar. 5	The Pinnace 'William'	1	—	April 3	For Barbadoes;[1] 10 passengers.
,, 18	The ketch 'Returne' of N.E.	1	—	,, 11	For Fyiall and Ireland.
June 19	The ketch 'Adventure'	—	—	July 27	
July 22	The 'ffrances,' a small vessel built in Bermuda	—	—	,, 1	First voyage; 10 passengers.
,, 22	The '3-Brothers'	1	—	,, 28	
Aug. 15	The ship 'Edward and Matthew'	—	1	,, 28	
,, 20	The ketch 'Employment' of Boston, N.E.	—	1	Sept. 20	
,, 26	The ship 'Maie-fflower' of Southampton	1	—	Aug. 31	Homeward bound.
Sept. 15	'Elizabeth and Anne'	1	—	Nov. 11	For Barbadoes.
Oct. 5	The good ship 'William'	1	—	,, 16	
,, 27	A small vessel, 'The ffortune,' from Bristol	1	—	,, 16	
Nov. 27	The ship 'Somer Isl. Merchant'; John Jenkins	—	1	Feb. 24	Left London about Sept. 20.
1660				1660	
Feb. 24	The good ship 'The William'	1	—	April 2	
Mar. 8	The 'Elizabeth & Anne'	1	—	June 25	Brought from Barbadoes 32 negroes; returned to the same port.

[1] The fare to Barbadoes was at this time 3*l.*

APP. V.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1660				1600	
Mar. 8	The good ship 'Prouidence' of London	1	—	April 1	
April 3	The good ketch of Boston, the 'Swallow'	1	—	„ 23	Was in danger of being lost among our shoals to the W.
	A small vessel, the '3-Brothers'	—	—	May 24	
June 3	The 'William,' loaded with salt	1	—	June 23	For Eleutheria.
July 6	The 'Recoverie' Pinnace	—	1	Aug. 21	
„ 11	The ketch 'Desire' of Boston	—	1	July 31	
„ 21	The ffrigott 'Abigail' of Barbadoes; James Roberts	1	—	„ 27	Sells a negro boy.
„ 29	The good ship 'Ffrances & Richard' of London	1	—	„ 27	
Aug. 7	The Pinnase 'Returne'	1	—	Aug. 2	
„ 12	The Pinnase 'Jameeco'	1	—	„ 22	
Sept. 12	The good ffrigat 'William'	1	—	Nov. 7	With despatches from Jamaica.
	The 'Rainbow'; W. Pugh		—	—	She went out through the Castle Harbour.
„ 21	The Barque 'Troyall' of Virginia; John Stevenson	1	—	Dec. 9	
„ 28	The 'Owners,' vessel of Barbadoes	1	—	Oct. 4	For Virginia; she carried away George Rose, the Quaker.
„ 24	The 'Elizabeth and Anne'; John Stowe	1	—	Dec. 11	From Barbadoes; sells 3 negroes.
Nov. 17	The 'Rainebowe' ffrigott of London	1	—	Mar. 30	
„ 23	The good ship 'Hopefull Jeames'	—	—	April 24	
Dec. 26	The Pinnase 'Returne'	—	—	„ 5	And carried away with him the Scotsman that did maim his countryman at Bartholomew Cotes, his house in Devonshire, in November last past.
1661				1661	
Feb. 11	The good ffrigott 'William'	1	—	April 24	For Eleutheria.
„ 13	The good ship 'Somer Isl. Merchant'	—	1	„ 17	
Mar. 26	The ship 'Virginia Merchant'	—	—	—	*Cast away on the south coast*, 170 *lives lost.*
April 1	The 'Elizabeth and Anne'	1	—	July 20	
„ 30	The ketch 'Vnitie' of Boston	1	—	May 14	
May 1	The Pinke 'Speedewell'	1	—	„ 22	
„ 12	The good ship 'ffrancis & Richard'	1	—	„ 22	
June 3	The good ship 'Old St. Jacob' of Amsterdam	—	1	June 28	
„ 26	The ketch 'William' of Boston	—	1	July 15	She went out through the Town Harbour.
July 3	The 'Roebuck' of Boston	1	—	„ 24	

APP. V.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1661				1661	
July 6	The good ship 'Ffellowship' of London	1	—	July 24	
,, 31	The Pinke 'Ffortune' of Jamaica	1	—	Aug. 20	
,, 31	The 'Rainebow' Ffrigott	1	—	,, 20	
Aug. 15	The good ketch 'Hope'	1	—	,, 20	
Sept. 2	The good Ffrigott 'Roman' of London	1	—	Sept. 8	
,, 30	The good Ffrigott 'William'	1	—	Nov. 15	
1662				1662	
Oct. 21	The 'Somer Islands Merchant'	—	1	Feb. 23	Magazine ship arrived at the Isle of Wight 23 March (iv. p. 41). London in April.
,, 30	The 'Elizabeth and Anne'	1	—	Jan. 17	There is no entry for the 5 months between these dates.
Mar. 30	The good ketch 'Endeavour' of Boston	1	—	April 25	
April 15	The Barque 'Hope' of Boston	—	1	May 8	
,, 27	The 'Elizabeth and Anne,' with salt	1	—	July 22	For Barbadoes.
May 10	The good vessell 'Troyall' of Plimoth, in N.E.	—	1	June 7	
	The small vessel 'John Adventure'	—	—	,, 18	Built upon the charges of Mr. John Perenchif. 1st voyage.
July 15	The 'Troyall'	1	—	Aug. 14	
	A shallop fitted vp vppon the charge of Capt. Wm. Sayle, and Mr James Sayle, (called the 'James') vppon an expedition for Elutheria, under the command of Matthew Norman	—	—	,, 5	
Aug. 2	The good ship 'The New Netherlands Indian'	1	—	,, 16	Carried away oranges, lemons, and hides.
,, 8	The good vessel 'Dolfin' of Boston	—	1	Sept. 10	
Sept. 2	The good ketch 'Prosperous' of London; (Mr J. Dorrell arr. in her)	Mullet Bay	—	Dec. 15	With Spaniards, 14 negroes, and 1 Indian, by them bought for the Port of Porto Rico in the West Indies.
Oct. 9	The 'John's Adventure'	Crow Lane	—	March 4	
	A small cedar vessel the 'Hope'	—	—	Dec. 19	Built in Crow Lane; sailed for Eleutheria by license extraordinary given unto him by Capt. Wm. Sayle the Governor.
Nov. 10	The 'Elizabeth and Anne'	1	—	May 4	
,, 7	The good ship 'St. Ffrancis & St. James' of Carthagena	—	1	Jan. 4	
Dec. 14	The good ship 'ffaire-Merchant' of Barnstaple	—	—	Dec. 22	

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1663				1663	
Jan. 12	The 'Somer Islands Merchant'	—	1	May 4	Rev. Sampson Bond and Rev. Samuell Smith arrived.
„ 19	The 'Francis and William' of Barbadoes	1	—	Jan. 28	
„ 21	The good ship 'James and John' of Boston	—	1	March 2	
„ 24	The good vessell 'Prosperous' from Porto Rico	—	1	Jan. 24	Left for England, Mr. J. Dorrell in her.
Feb. 13	The good vessell the 'Sarah' of Salisburie of New England	—	1	March 2	
Mar. 6	The good ship 'Rainbow' of Corke	1	—	April 27	
April 14	The good ship 'Boston Merchant'	1	—	„ 27	
„ 8	The good vessel 'ffriends supplie'	—	1	May 29	Came over the shoales from the westward.
May 14	The good ship 'Susannah'	1	—	July 22	
„ 27	The 'James Adventure'	1	—	„ 4	
June 4	The good ship 'John and Martha'	1	—	„ 22	
	A small vessell called the 'Thomas and Marie' fitted vpp by Edward Atwood sailed from these Islands for Leuis, and from thence to Elutheria with necessarie goods sent to Elutheria for the reliefe of the inhabitants in their great distresse by their friends in these Islands.	—	—	„ 22	
July 25	The good vessell the 'Three Brothers' of Jamaica	—	1	Aug. 13	
„ 28	The 'Elizabeth and Anne'	1 The Fflatts	—	Dec. 25	For Barbadoes.
Aug. 5	The 'James Adventure'				
„ 20	The good ship 'Jamaica Merchant' of Dover	1	—	Sept. 17	
„ 25	The good ship 'Successe' of Kingssale	1	—	„ 10	
Sept. 24	The good ship 'St John Baptista'	—	1	Oct. 11	
Oct. 18	The good ship 'ffaire-Merchant' of Barnstaple	1	—	Nov. 12	
„ 20	The good vessel 'Merimack'	1	—	„ 20	
„ 27	The vessell 'Elizabeth' of Barbadoes was Toed into the Castle Harbour by severall Bootes vppon the 27th day of Octobr. which said vessell by extreme tempestuous wether, had lost both her masts, sailes, and vpper riging, as likewise all her ankers and boate at sea	—	1	„ 17	

APP. V.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1663				1663	
Oct. 29	The good ship 'George' of Jamaica	1	—	Nov. 17	
Nov. 5	The good Barke 'Francis' of Boston	—	1	April 4	
—	The small vessell 'Thomas & Marie'	—	—	Dec. 7	
1664				1664	
Jan. 29	The good Ketch 'Phenix' of Boston	1	—	Feb. 13	
Feb. 10	The good ship 'John and Martha'	—	1	Mar. 10	
	The vessell 'Bermoodian Adventure'	—	—	Feb. 20	Built in Shellie Baie; left London about Dec. 5.
„ 27	The 'Sumer Islands Merchant'	—	1	Oct. 13	Brought Rev. H. Vaughan, minister.
May 19	The good vessell 'Merimack'	—	1	April 14	
April 16	The good shipp 'Elizabeth & Anne' 'Did make a formall protest before Capt fflorentin Seymor, Gouernr, against the winde and wether for damages done there by to the ship aforesaid in his voyadge from Barbadoes to these Islands, but prosecuted not his aforesaid Protest in regard his damage did not prove considerable.	1	—	Aug. 30	
„ 19	The good catch 'The Susan' of Salem N.E.	1	—	May 25	20*s.* powder money paid to the Sheriff himself
„ 24	The good Pinke 'Recouerie' of London	1	—	„ 2	8 bushels of salt paid in lieu of powder.
„ 24	The good catch of 'Boston' called the 'Returne'	1	—	„ 2	5 bushels of salt paid in lieu of powder.
„ 26	The good ffrigott 'Charles' of Jamaica	1	—	Sept. 24	
„ 26	The good Pinase 'Rebecca' of these Islands	The Ferry	—		
May 22	The good Pinke 'Troyall' of Boston and sailed the second time	1	—	June 11 Sept. 29	
„ 29	The good ship 'John and Martha'	1	—	July 19	Paid water money.
June 2	The good vessell 'Thomas & Marie'	—	1	Sept. 3	For the Bahamas.
„ 5	The good sloope 'Blessing' of Boston	1	—	July 16	For England with letters which were received Sept. 16 (iv. p. 59).
„ 8	The good shipp 'Thomas & Elizabeth' of Yaurmoath	1	—	„ 16	Paid not water money.
„ 27	The good shipp 'Reserue' of Southampton	1	—	June 30	
July 10	The good ketch 'Elizabeth' of London	1	—	July 14	Paid no water money.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1664				1664	
Aug. 15	The good ketch 'Troyall'	1	—	Sept. 16	Water money received.
,, 17	The good Pinke 'Elias' of London; Homes Mr.	1	—	Dec. 10	Carried home 44 hogsheads or 9 tons of whale oil.
	[*One leaf of the MS is here wanting.*]				
	The magazine ship left.	—	—	Oct. 5	Her letters were received in London Nov. 27.
1666				1666	
April 12	The vessell 'Thomas and Marie'	1			
,, 13	The good shipp 'Elizabeth & Anne'	1	—	Sept. 6	
,, 13	A Pinnace	1	—	,, 6	
,, 13	The good vessell 'Bermoodian Adv.'	1	—	Aug. 1	
May 23	The good vessel 'Troyall' of Plimoth N.E.	1	—	June 20	
June 28	The good vessell 'Joseph & Beniamin'	—	1	Jan. 10	
July 24	The Briganteene 'Ffriendship'	—	1	Nov. 21	
	The shallop 'Bettie'	—	—	Aug. 28	
Aug. 30	The good ship 'Hercules'	1	—	Sept. 9	Thomas Leech (ship not named) carried away about this time 117 hogsheads or 29 tons of whale oil.
Oct. 12	The Shallop 'Bettie'	—	1	June 1	
,, 23	The good vessell the 'Two Brothers' of Barbadoes	1	—	Nov. 1	
Nov. 13	The vessell 'Bermoodian Adventure'	1	—	Dec. 29	For Barbadoes.
Dec. 5	The good ship 'Elizabeth & Anne'	1	—	Mar. 22	
1667				1667	
Jan. 1	The vessell 'Blessinge'	1	—	Mar. 13	
Mar. 31	The good ship 'Charles' of Neuis	1	—	April 10	For Tangeere.
,, 31	The good catch 'Anne of Jamaica'	—	—	,, 10	For Tangeere.
	The small Barque 'Releif'	—	—	,, 10	For the Bahamas.
April 14	The good shipp 'Somer Islands Merchant'	—	1	June 30	This vessel 'By the providence of God narrowly escaped the Dutch Fleet, having first arrived at Sidmouth' (iv. p. 72).
,, 18	The good ffrigott 'Michael & George' of Jamaica	—	1	May 8	
May 2	The Barque 'Abigall' of Boston	—	1	,, 3	Stephen Tallis master thereof, 'the which (as he said) was not able to pay mee my feese.'

APP. V.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1667				1667	
May 4	The vessell 'Bermoodian Adventure'	1	—	Aug. 17	From Barbadoes.
,, 6	The good shipp 'Joseph & Beniamin'	1	—	Nov. 1	From Barbadoes for Jamaica.
,, 17	The vessell 'Blessinge'	Ferry	—	July 10	
,, 18	The Briganteene 'Ffriendship'	1	—	,, 10	
	The Barque or vessel 'Guift'	1	—	June 17	For New York.
	The Barque 'Elizabeth & Marie'	—	—	July 10	A new vessel built in Bermuda, bound for New York.
	The barque 'Releife'	—	—	,, 9	For New York.
July 15	The 'Elizabeth and Ann'	—	1		
,, 18	The vessell 'Paule' of Barbadoes	—	—	,, 31	
Aug. 20	The vessell 'Releife'	—	—	Sept. 23	John Faulkner (ship not named) carried home about 41½ tons of whale oil.
,, 20	The vessell 'Guift'	—	—	,, 23	
,, 27	The sloope 'Francis' of Rode Island	1	—	,, 14	
Sept. 4	The catch 'Swallow' of Charles Towne	1	—	,, 12	
,, 7	The barque 'Elizabeth & Anne'	1	—	Nov. 13	For Sayles Islands.
Oct. 12	The vessell 'Blessinge'	The Fferrie	—	Dec. 28	
,, 29	The galliote 'William and Elizabeth' came to an anker within the comand of Pagets Fort	1	—	Oct. 31	For Boston.
	A small vessell built by Mr. A. Peniston, called the 'Blessinge'	1	—	Nov. 18	For Barbadoes.
Nov. 25	The shipp 'Salisburie'	1	—	Dec. 20	
Dec. 27	The small vessell 'Guift'	1	—	June 17	
,, 27	The ketch 'Swallow' of Charles Town N.E.	1	—	Jan. 29	
,, 28	The Shallop 'Releife'	1	—	,, 14	
1668				1668	
Feb. 7	The ship 'Huntsman' of Bristoll	1	—	Feb. 15	
,, 7	The vessell 'Blessing'	1	—	,, 29	
Mar. 3	The barque 'Elizabeth & Marie'	1	—	April 18	
,, 24	The shallop 'Releife'	1	—	,, 23	
April 2	The Pinke 'ffoure Brothers' of London	—	1	June 25	
,, 12	The shipp 'Orman' of Dublin	—	1	April 13	
,, 13	The vessell 'Blessinge'	1			
,, 13	The ketch 'Adventure' of Boston	1	—	,, 18	
,, 17	The vessell 'Hopefull Adventure'	1	—	,, 25	

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1668				1668	
April 17	The shipp 'Joseph & Beniamen'	1	—	June 8	
„ 17	The shipp 'Charles' of Neuis	—	1	April 28	
„ 23	The vessell 'Blessinge'	1	—	May 25	
„ 25	The kech 'Swallow' of Charles towne	—	1	„ 20	
„ 29	The Pinke 'William & Elizabeth' of Barbadoes	1	—	„ 19	
May 14	The vessell 'Guift'	—	1	June 5	
„ 23	The magazine ship 'Bermooda Merchant'; Capt Thomas Morley	—	1	July 24	200 tons, 14 guns, 27 seamen, and a boy. (MS. iv. p. 73.)
June 19	The barque 'Elizabeth & Marie'	1	—	„ 7	She took 13½ tons of whale oil, and arrived home about Sept. 15.
„ 10	The ship 'Port Royall,' a man of war of Jamaica	1	—	Sept. 12	
„ 10	The shipp 'May fflower' of Jamaica	1	—	„ 10	
„ 11	The vessell 'Bermoodians Aduenture'	1	—	July 16	
„ 20	The shallop 'Releefe'	1	—	„ 7	
July 6	The ketch 'Doue' of Charlestown, New England	—	1	„ 31	
	The shallop 'Bettie'	—	—	„ 9	For the Bahamas; Mr. Antho. Jenour owner thereof.
„ 9	The shipp 'John & ffrancis' of Virginia	—	1	„ 10	
„ 14	The shipp 'Merchants Aduenture' of London	1	—	„ 16	
„ 13	The vessell 'Blessinge'	1	—	Aug. 6	
Aug. 13	The Briganteene 'Guift'	1	—	Oct. 8	
„ 13	The ketch 'Samuell & George' of Piscattowaie River in N. England	1	—	Sept. 7	
„ 17	The barque 'Richard & Marie' of Boston	—	1	„ 28	
Sept. 5	The barque 'Elizabeth & Marie'	1	—	Oct. 8	
„ 5	The shallop 'Releife'	—	1	„ 17	For Jamaica.
	The 'Samuells Adventure' erected principallie vppon the charge & disbursement of Mr. Samuell Stone	—	—	Sept. 8	
Nov. 9	The vessell 'Bermoodian Aduenture'	1	—	Jan. 4	From Barbadoes; carried off several passengers for New Providence and Jamaica.
Dec. 13	The vessell 'Blessinge'	1	—	Feb. 23	From Jamaica.
„ 17	The vessell 'Samuells Adventure'	—	1	Mar. 11	Bound to Salt Tartoodoes.
„ 28	The shipp 'John' of Barbadoes	1	—	Jan. 6	

APP. V.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1669				1669	
Feb. 8	The shipp 'True-Loue' of Barnstaple	—	1	Feb. 12	
Mar. 12	The shallop 'Releefe,' falling with the Islands to the Westward, came to an anker in Hearne Bay	—	—	April 28	
,, 15	The ship 'Pilgrim' of Roenoake came to an anker within the fforts of the Towne Harbor	1	—	Mar. 17	
	The sloope 'Supplie'	—	—	,, 23	For New Providence.
April 28	The vessell 'Blessinge'	—	1	Sept. 6	From Barbadoes for Jamaica.
	The shallop 'ffortune'	—	—	May 8	For New York.
May 10	The shipp 'Samuells Aduenture' (laden with salt)	—	—	Sept. 11	For Barbadoes.
,, 15	The 'Sumer Island Merchant'; John Jenkins master	—	1	July 19	Left England March 10; brought Sir John Heydon as Governor.
,, 25	The Briganteene 'Guift'	1			
	On the 26th to the fflatts by permission	—	—	,, 25	For New York.
June 14	The shallop 'ffortune'	Bayley's Bay	—	Oct. 23	From New York.
,, 14	The shallop 'Releefe' went to Hearne Bay 16th	1	—	Sept.	
,, 17	The ship 'Bermoodian Aduenture'	1	—	Aug. 11	From Jamaica and New Providence for Barbadoes.
,, 29	The ship 'Three brothers'	—	—	June 29	For Barbadoes.
	A magazine ship	—	—	July	Reached London August 27.
July 4	The vessell 'Supplie'	1	—	Aug. 11	From New Providence.
,, 26	The ship 'Marie Rose' of Bristow	1	—	,, 11	From Virginia for Barbadoes.
Aug. 22	The ketch 'Ffrendshipp' of Boston	—	1	Oct. 12	
	The shipp formerlie called the 'Blessinge,' now the 'Recouerie,' purchased and repayred by Captn. John Darrell and Mr. Hugh Wentworth	—	—	Sept. 11	For Barbadoes; carried away with him a French captain and 4 of his seamen, the which lost their ship of about 40 tuns burden by a hurricane about 6 leagues distant from Ireland (Island Bermuda) upon August 24 last past. The other 5 seamen went away with Capt. J. Stowe in the ship 'Samuells Aduenture.'

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1669				1669	
Aug. 24	A shipp of about 40 Tunns, of Apsum from Barbadoes, homeward bound Mr. James Knoght Mast. thereof was *cast awaie neare the Kings Castle and the aforesaid mast. and 5 seamen vtterlie lost.*	—	—	—	Only one seaman—viz. Drake swam ashore and went from hence to Barbadoes with Capt. Stowe.
Sept. 19	The Brigantine 'Guift'	1	—	Jan. 9	From New York for New Providence.
„ 19	The small vessell 'Elizabeth' of New Jersie	—	1	Sept. 27	
Oct. 12	The ketch 'Troyall' of Barbadoes	1	—	Oct. 19	
Nov. 8	The shipp 'Matthew and ffrancis'	1	—	Dec. 2	From Barbadoes, filled up with oranges and potatoes.
Nov.	A ketch of New England; John Alden	—	—	—	Carried away 21,000 lbs. of contraband tobacco.
Dec.	'One Bredaake'	—	—	—	Carried away 15,000 or 20,000 lbs of contraband tobacco.
Dec. 3	The ship 'Samuells Adventure'	1	—	Feb. 11	From Barbadoes.
„ 5	The shipp 'Recouerie'			April 25	For Barbadoes.
„ 6	The shipp 'William and John' of Barbadoes	1	—	Dec. 29	From Barbadoes.
„ 13	The shipp 'Bermoodian's Adventure,' with salt	1	—	Feb. 21	For New Providence.
„ 24	The vessell 'Blessinge'	1	—	April 2	
„ 25	The Brigantine 'Anne & Jane of Virginia	1	—	Dec. 29	
1670				1670	
Jan. 12	The ship 'Caroline' (wherein came Sir John Youman in his expedition for Port Royall) Captain Henrie Braine Comander thereof, sailed from these Islands the 26th of Ffebruarie vppon the expedition aforesaid, whereof Capt William Sayle went Comander in cheefe therevnto called and made choice of for the manadgeing the said honble expedition By the Right Honble Proprietor (Resident in England) Agents Sir John Youmans Captain Joseph West, &c., Since their arrivall in these Islands as aforesaid. [Port Royal is in South Carolina, between Savannah and Charleston.]	—	—	Feb. 26	

APP. V.

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1670				1670	
Jan. 10	The ketch 'Samuell' of Boston. Bound for Bahamas, brought to anchor in the towne harbor near St Georges by Mr John Bristowe, Junr., Pilat of these Islands vppon Mundaie the 24th of Januarie	—	—	Feb. 11	This vessel got entangled among the shoals off Somerset, and was rescued by boats.
Feb. 18	The Pinke 'ffowre Brethren' of London; John Faulkner carried away 19,000 lbs. of contraband Tobacco. Letter of 9 November, 1670	—	1	Mar. 15	
„ 26	The Briganteene 'Gift'	1	—	May 17	
Mar. 22	The ketch 'William and Judith' came to anchor within the Fforts of the Towne Harbour	1	—	„ 29	See the order, p.
April 14	The ketch 'Phenix' of Boston	1	—	April 20	
„ 23	The ship 'Diamon' of London sent by the whale fishing adventurers	1	—	June 19	
„ 30	The ship 'Samuell's Aduenture'	1	—	July 19	
May 4	The ship 'Bermoodian's Adventure'	1	—	Aug. 8	For Barbadoes.
„ 13	The magazine shipp 'Marigold'; Capt Sam Pensax	—	1	July 5	Left London outward bound February 10, returned August 31.
June 5	The ketch 'Endeavour' of Boston	1	—	June 18	For New Providence.
„ 14	The vessell 'Prosperous' returned from N. York	—	1	July 9	
„ 22	The vessell 'Blessinge' from Jamaica	1	—	Aug. 27	Sailed by the way of Somerset.
„ 30	The kech 'John and Jacob' of Boston	1	—	July 29	For New Providence; 5*s.* received for water money.
July 9	The vessell 'Blessinge' or 'Recouerie' from Barbadoes	—	—	Aug. 12	For New York.
„ 11	The ketch 'Graie hound' of Charles t wne	1	—	July 23	5*s.* received for water money.
„ 16	The good shipp 'Speedwell' of London	—	1	Aug. 4	For London; 5*s.* received for water money.
„ 16	The vessell 'Prouidence' (after was called the 'Orreng tree')	—	1	Jan. 18	Laden with oranges and potatoes.
„ 16	The sloope 'Three Brothers'	1	—	Sept. 7	
„ 15	The Briganteen 'Gift'	1	—	Oct. 29	
Aug. 29	The Briganteen 'Anne' of Va	1	—	„ 2	
Sept. 1	The ketch 'Endeavour'	1	—	Sept. 10	From New Providence for New England.
„ 13	The ship 'Agreement' of London; Thomas fforster (a Quaker) master	1	—	Dec. 24	From Jamaica.
Oct. 11	The shipp 'Samuells Aduenture'	1	—	Mar 15	From and for Barbadoes

Date of arrival in Bermuda	Vessel	Harbour		Date of sailing from Bermuda	Remarks
		Town	Castle		
1670				1670	
Oct. 27	The ship 'Recouerie'	1	—	Feb. 8	
—	The ship 'Bermoodian's Aduenture' loded with salt	1	—	Mar. 21	
Dec. 6	The ship 'True Love' of Bristoll by violence of wether and for want of the help of the Ruther, (lost the Sabbath daie before) was drawne vppon the sholes about a league to the westward of the northwest rock, and the said ship became a wreck	—	—	—	See a note as to the north-west rock, p. 717.
,, 26	The ship 'Arcarna' merchant of London	—	1	Jan. 18	From Jamaica.
,, 26	The ship 'Port Royall' merchant of London	—	1	,, 18	From Jamaica.
,, 26	The ship 'Owner' of Plimouth	—	—	" 7	From Jamaica.
,, 26	The Pinke 'Supplie' of Boston, New England	1	—	Mar. 6	From Bilboa.
1671				1671	
Jan. 1	The kech 'Prosperous' of Boston	1	—	Feb. 24	
,, 25	The ship 'Constant William' of London	—	1	May 4	For Virginia.
,, 27	The magazeen ship 'Marigold;' Capt Sam Pensax	—	1	Mar. 21	Left London Novem. 10, reached the Downs on her return, April 30, 1671. (MS. iv. p. 100).
Feb. 18	The ship 'Thomas and Marie' of Virginia	1	—	Feb. 24	For Barbadoes.
,, 16	The vessell 'Blessing' from Jamaica	—	—	April 21	For Carolina, carrying with him Richard Hanke (a Quaker), his wife, 9 children, and one negro man.

Part III.

APP. V

1671–1682.

Compiled from Notices in General Letters from the Company.

1671	
The ship 'William and Ellen'; Robert Morris.	Left London about January 23 for Virginia, thence for Bermuda.
The ship 'Orange Tree'; Thomas Shaw. The 'Jamaica Merchant'; Nicholas Pepperell. The 'Royal Port Merchant'; John Webber. The 'Owners Advice' of Plymouth; Ball.	These vessels were seized in England for carrying contraband tobacco some time before April 1671. Pepperell and Webber each had 10,000 lbs. weight.
The 'Marigold' of London; Samuel Pensax.	Was chartered by the Company in September, arrived November 26.
The 'Speedwell.'	Arrived in distress.
Several ships.	Arrived from Jamaica to take in oranges. (MS. letter, February 4, 167$\frac{1}{2}$.)
1672	
A ketch.	Was spoken with on the south coast of the islands, March 22: 'That was sent out of England by the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, Bound for the same Port, having in her two Indian Princes.'
The ketch 'Troyall' of New England; John Goose.	Arrived May 12.
The ship 'Jacob'; Steaven Nicholls.	Arrived May 12 from the Salt Tortoodas (Tortuga Salada) for England.
1673	
The magazine ship 'Charles' of London; John Jenkins.	Arrived July 10, left about October 26.
1674	
The ship 'Elephant'; Robert Kingsland.	Arrived November 11, bringing royal letters on the affairs of Mr. Perient Trott.

1675	
The magazine ship 'Fortune'; Matthew Norwood.	Left England about September 22, 1674, and got back April 5, 1675.
The magazine ship 'Hopewell,' 300 tons; Robert Smith.	Left England about August 13, and got back about February 11, 1676.
1676	
The 'Joseph and Anne'; Samuel Evans.	Left in June with tobacco.
1677	
The magazine ship 'John'; M. Norwood.	Left London about October 28; left Bermuda about February 28, 1676; arrived in the Downs June 30.
The 'Charles' of London.	Arrived about May 14.
The barque 'Resolution'; John Darrell, Sr.	From New Providence May 31; brought back 11 negroes, formerly taken there; ix. p. 5.
The 'Edisto' dogger; John Cumins.	Left for Caroline July 18; ix.
The 'Joseph and Anne.'	Left London about February 14, arrived in May.
The magazine ship 'John.'	Arrived again December 6.
1678	
The magazine ship 'John'; M. Norwood.	Left Bermuda in March, arrived in the Downs June 22.
1679	
The magazine ship 'John'; M. Norwood.	Left London about October 16; left Bermuda in April; arrived in the Downs June 21.
The ship 'Owners Advice'; W. Righton.	Left Bermuda about November arrived in London February 11, 1680, bringing 455 rolls of contraband tobacco amounting to 41 cwt. 2 qrts. 25 lbs. The Governor was rebuked for not seizing her.
1680	
The magazine ship 'John'; M. Norwood.	Arrived July 7; left Bermuda in October, and foundered at sea ten days afterwards.

APP. V.

1680.	
The 'Providence.'	Accompanied the 'John' and saved her crew.
The 'Ffriends Advice.'	Left Bermuda in October.
Three small ships, whose masters were Francis, Bond, and Stow.	The Company complain of their carrying off tobacco.
1681	
A French ship, 'La Benediction;' J. Toque.	Wrecked in January (MS. vii. p. 94).
The ketch 'Societie' of London; J. Fullwood.	Arrived May 11 with the Company's mail, sent 'in hopes that private ships have left some tobacco behind them.' (MS. letter, March 8, $168\frac{9}{1}$.) Sir John Heyden returned in her June 24; she arrived in England about August 15.
1682	
The 'Resolution,' 120 tons; Leonard Bushell.	Left Bermuda in March 1682, arrived in the Downs May 8.
The magazine ship 'Merchants Adventure,' 220 tons; W. Stone.	Left Bermuda in December 1682, arrived in England March 5, 1683.
1683	
The 'Constant Love'; John Bee.	
1684	
The 'Constant Love,' 180 tons; John Bee.	Left England again about October 26, 1683, and brought out Hon. Colonel Richard Coney, who arrived January 29, 1684. She brought the last official letter on record from the Bermuda Company; dated October 25, 1683.
The 'Joseph and Anne;' Cock.	
1685	
The 'Portsmouth Pinke' of London; John Flesher, bound for Virginia.	Put in to refit January 7.

No other arrival is recorded in 1685. It is, however, certain that instructions from the Crown were received some time between March and September, 1685, and that the Royal Government was then established.

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* Members of Council in Bermuda at some period.
† Shareholders or members of the governing body in London.

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[1] Under this head are included cases of conspiracy, debt, defamation, titles to land trespass, unlawful detention in servitude, &c. As it would have extended this work far beyond its present limits to have given even an abstract of them, they have been omitted.

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[1] Between these dates the records are lost.

[2] Actions for debt form a very large part of the business of every assize. They follow the Pleas of the Crown. For example, in 1630 there were sixty-eight actions. No notice has been taken of these in the text.

[3] The earliest deed of sale the writer has met with in private possession is dated 1629, and is identical in terms with this example.

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[1] Although many of this list are ecclesiastical offences, they are so frequently presented by the Grand Inquest or Jury as to preclude any distinction.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Spottiswoode & Co., Printers, New-street Square, London.

Scale Milliarium ad introductam rectificatam, inter insulas Bahamas et Virginiam Novam Angliam et Hispaniolam, omnes simul delatura lucis, subtilitq. sculptas: ac delineatas.

A Scale of Miles for measuring of the distance betweene the Sommer Ilands and Virginia. New England and Hispaniola. all very liteliie and curiouslie ingraven and pourtrayed.

50 150 200 250

250 English miles

Plymouth

Ca: Charles

Ca: Henry

Ca: Cold

VIRGINIA

Roanoke

NOVA ANGLIA

New England

Florida

Mappa ÆSTIVARUM Insularum alias Bermudas dictarum, ad ostia Mexicani æstuarij iacentium in Latitudine Graduum 32: Minutorum 25. Ab Anglia Londino Scilicet versus Libonotum 3300 Miliaribus Anglicanis, et a Roanoack (qui locus est in Virginia) versus Euronotum 500 Mil. accurate descr:

A Mapp of the SOMMER Ilands onee called the Bermudas Lying at the mouth of the bay of Mexico in the Lattitude of 32 degr: 25 mi: Distant from England viz from London toward the west southwest 3300. miles And from Roanoack in Virginia toward the east south east 500. miles exactlie Surveyed.

Daniele Iland

Chambers Tun bay

SOMERSETI INSULA

SOMERSET Iland

Gates Ilan.

HIBERNIA IRELAND

Oldsford Island

Flemish wreck

Hogg bay

Hogg Iland

LATUM

FRETUM

Pearle Iland

Spaniss point

Sandys

Hog bay

Sandys narrow

The Great Sound

Abbotts bay

Bermudas Insul. alias Sommer Ilands

The Stagg

Elisabeth Iland

Agers Il:

Brother Ilands

Ricketts Ila:

Ca: Tucker Hasf.

Dorel Iland

Brocksh Land

Pembroke Tribe

Pagets Tribe

Devonshire Tribe

Smiths Tribe

Hammilton Tribe

Haringtoni Fretum

Harington Sound

Sounds mouth

Part of the Generall land

Tuckers Towne

Southampton Harbour

SOUTHAMTONIÆ PORTUS

Walsingham bay

Kings Castle

Charles fort

Tobacco bay

Sandys fort

Warwick fort

ILAND

St GEORGES

Burnt point Prom. ad ustum

Cony Ila.

Longbarrow Iland

Stocks

Hens Iland

Dasers fort

Cavendish fort

Smiths

St Davids Iland

Gurnets head, Hyrcæ. promont.

Bermudas Insul. Alias Sommer Ilands

Circa solstitium æstivum anno 1616 solvere ex his Insulis quinque viri, in Schapha superne aperta, trium doliorum maiorum capacitatis, et septem hebdomadarum Naugationem, omnes incolumes in hiberniam apulerunt; quale ab hominum memoria vix accidisse creditur.

About midsomer 1616. five persons departed from these Ilands in a Smal open boat of some 3 tunn. and after 7. weeks arived al safe in Ireland, & like hath Scarse bene heard of in any age.

Are to be sold by. George Humble. in Pops-head Alley against the Exchainge— Ano. 1626.

Scala trium Milliarum, vel viginti quatuor Stadiorum.

A scale of three miles or four and twenty furlongs

Abrahm Goos Amstelodamensis sculpsit

Nomina, fortunæ bona submittentium in quæstus Virginiani alea, Anno 1622, quam fieri potuit accuratissime, expressa numeris, eorum portiones quam proxime in agrorum divisione referentibus, quæ portiones illic Separatim distinguntur in regione ipsa, quemadmodum hic lineis ab oculos ponuntur.

The names of the now Adventurer, viz. this yeare 1622 so neare as wee could Gather: expressed with numbers that have Reference to their Shares: which Shares are there distinguished and severed on the Land, as is here represented by lines.

Hamuilton alias Harrington Tribe.

Shares	
1	Ia. Lord Mary Hamuilton
1	Sr. Edward Harwood
1	M. John Delbridge
1	M. John Dike
1	Fl. Roberts
1	Rob. Phipps
1	Ralph King
1	M. Quicks heires, or assignes
1	M. William Canning
1	M. Will. Canaing
1	M. Dhl. Webbe
1	M. John Barnard
1	Mi. Tho. Haggin
1	M. John Gearing
2	M. Cleph. Smith
1	Robert, Earle of Warwick
1	M. The. Conell
1	M. Greenwels heires or assig
1	M. Clay
1	M. Peall
1	M. John Dike
1	Common ground
2	M. John Dike
1	M. Geo Thorpe, Esquire
1	M. Ralph King
1	M. Geo. Barckleys assign.
1	Sr. Sam. Sandys
1	M. Antho. Pennistone
1	Sr. Edwin Sandys
1	Sr. The. Smith
1	M. Rich. Morer
1	M. Henry Timberly
1	Rob. Johnson, Alderman
1	M. John Broth
1	M. George Smith

Smiths Tribe.

Shares	
1	Sr. Dudley Digges, since
1	M. Geo Sandys, or his assig
1	M. Rich Edwards
1	M. Will Payne
1	M. Rob. Smith
1	M. Geo. Barckleys assign.
1	M. Sir. Sam. Sandys
1	M. Antho. Pennistone
1	Sr. Edwin Sandys
1	Sr. The. Smith
1	M. Rich. Morer
1	M. Henry Timberly
1	Rob. Johnson, Alderman
1	M. John Broth
1	M. George Smith

Devonshire Tribe.

Shares	
1	M. Antho. Pennystone
1	M. John Dike
1	M. John Dike
1	M. John Barnard
2	Robert Earle of Warwick
1	M. Francis West
1	Will. Lord Cavendish
1	The said W. Lord Cavendish
1	Will. Earle of Devonshire
1	M. Edw. Lukin
1	M. Edw. Ditchfeild
1	M. Edw. Ditchfeild
1	M. Will. Nicholas
1	M. Edw. Ditchfeild
1	M. John Fletcher
1	M. Gideon Delawne
3	M. Anthon. Pennistone
1	M. Bolt
1	M. Edw. Lukin
1	M. Rogers
4	M. Will Palmer

Pembroke Tribe.

Shares	
1	M. George Smith
1	Gleabland
1	M. Nicholas Hide. Esquire
1	Sr. Laurence Hide
1	M. Thomas Isdwin
1	William, Earle of Pembr.
1	M. Richard Edwards
1	M. Harding
1	M. Richard Edwards
1	M. Ward
1	M. Richard Edwards
1	M. Iacobson or his assig
1	M. John Ferrar
1	M. John Ferrar
1	M. Michel Forrer
16	M. Will Canning
17	M. Richard Mal'ins, Esq.
16	M. Morres Abbot
1	M. Rich. Caswell
1	M. Rich. Caswell
1	M. Rich. Caswell
1	M. Rich. Caswell
1	M. Thomas Wheatly
1	M. Rich. Edwards
1	M. Rich. Edwards
1	M. Rich. Edwards
1	M. Geo. Sandys, or his assig
1	M. William Payne

Pagets Tribe

Shares	
1	M. John Chamberlain. Esq
2	M. Thomas Ayres and
2	M. Richard Wyeman
1	Rich Wiseman
4	William, Lord Paget
5	M. William Palmer
1	M. Bagwell
1	John Bish
1	M. Thomas Wheatly
1	M. Christopher Barron
1	M. John Woodall
1	M. John Woodall
1	M. Lewis
1	M. Geo. Ethersly
1	Unsequestred
1	M. William Wade
1	M. John Bernard

Warwick Tribe.

Shares	
1	Captaine Daniel Tucker
2	L. L. C. & M. Iosiph Man
1	M. Step. Sparrow
1	M. Francis Meuerell
5	M. Sam. Tickner
1	M. George Smith
1	Robert, Earle of Warwick
1	M. William Filpott
1	Capt. Daniell Tucker
1	M. Wheatly
1	Capt Daniel Tucker
1	Fowkes

18	Doct. Anth. Hun.
29	Hon. or his Assignes
1	M. Francis Meuerel
1	M. Rich. Dunston
1	M. Mathew Shepheard
10	M. Geo. Tucker
1	M. Christ. Clethrree
1	M. George Stoinhow
1	M. Edmund Scot
1	M. Antho. Abdy
1	Henry, Earle of Southampton
1	M. Arch. Brownefield
1	M. Henry Timberly
1	Thomas Hewet
1	Prince
1	Ralph Winwood
3	Capt. Tucker
1	M. John Briston
5	M. Rich Chamberlaine
1	M. Lo: Herwards or his assig
1	M. John Banker
8	Sr. Nathaniell Rich
9	Robert Earle of Warwick
1	M. Richard Morer
1	M. George Scot
1	M. Edmund Scot
1	M. Antho. Abdy
1	M. Martin Bond
1	M. Arch. Brownefield
1	M. Henry Timberly
1	Thomas Hewet
1	Prince
1	Ralph Winwood

Southampton Tribe.

Shares	
1	Capt. Tucker
1	Capt. Tucker

Residuum.

Quid hoc Residuum sit, et cur hic appellatum appareat ex libro Gazophylac. Societati exhibito.

The Overplus.

What this Overplus is, and why heare laid, appeareth by the Booke of Survey exhibited to the Company

Parts	
1	Captaine Tucker
1	Glasbe-land
1	Sandys Tribe

Sandys Tribe.

Shares	
5	M. George Barckley, or his heires
4	Sr. Edward Sandys
5	M. Ierom Heydon
8	Sr. The. Smith, & M. John Coffe
7	M. Richard Chamberlaine
5	M. Abraham Chambert
9	M. George Smith
10	M. Robert Gore
1	Sr. Edward Sackuile
11	Sr. John Danvers
1	M. Robert Dowe
13	M. John Delbridge
14	M. John Wroth Esq
34	M. John Wests heires or assig
15	M. Rich Chamberl. Esq

At communion agreen in Sagadahock Tribubus quod attinet, in quot portiones dividatur. at the Iacobat, quemadmodum partitus in Mappa. Chorographica augmentatur. Ita adeam sharing liquet ex Libro Gazophylac Virginiano societatis tradito

Touching the common ground in each Tribe, in what shares, or where it lies, as it is portion expressed in the Map. so is it more fully manifested in a Booke of the Survey of the Country, delivered in to the Company.

Photo Lithographed August 1879.

FROM AN ORIGINAL ENGRAVING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

FOR MAJOR GENERAL LEFROY, C.B. COVS AND C. IN C.

By Charles Praetorius.